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[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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THE BATTLE OF QADISIA

INTRODUCTION

[WE feel happy to begin our new Hyderabad series of Islamic Culture with an extremely interesting contribution, which, although technically a translation, possesses all the merits of a memorable piece of literature. This is an attempt at a fairly line-for-line translation of a chapter of the Persian epic 'Shahnama,' by our illustrious contemporary Nawab Sir Nizamat Jung Bahadur who has succeeded in preserving the terse lucidity and the rhythmic beauty of the text to a remarkable degree. Sir Nizamat's genius is a fine blend of the cultures of the East and West and probably few men are better fitted than him to undertake a literary task of this character. We may mention that amongst a number of complete or partial versions of 'Shahnama' which have so far appeared in European languages, the most recent translation by A. G. and E. Warner in 9 volumes is regarded to be the most faithful. But it is in blank verse and though comparatively more reliable in interpreting the immortal Firdausi, it can hardly claim to be endowed with the polished brilliance of Sir Nizamat's poetry. We quote below from the Warners' edition a few opening lines of the same chapter which Sir Nizamat has here translated :

“ When he sat happy on the throne of kingship
And placed upon his head the crown of might.
He said : “ By process of the turning sky
I am the true born son of Nushirwan.
Mine is the sway from sire to sire and mine
Are Virgo, Sol, Pisces. I will seek
For greatness, wisdom, hardihood, contention
And manliness, for life and fortune stay
With none, nor treasure, kingship, crown and throne.
Fame will abide for aye but not desire,
Put off desire then and exalt thy fame.
It is by fame that man shall live for ever
While his dead body lieth in the dust.
How good are Faith and Justice in a Shah
The times are full of blessings on his fame.
I purpose while I live to pluck up ill
Both root and branch.”

The chiefs applauded him
And hailed him as the monarch of the Earth
And thus it was, till sixteen years had sped
That Sun and Moon revolved on his head.”

(A. G. and E. Warner, Vol. VIII).

Editor, I. C.]

THE BATTLE OF QADISIA

بزرگی نگه کن که بایزد گرد چه کرد آن برافراخته هفت گرد

Unto Yazdagird, mark with a heedful eye,
What was done by the sevenfold sphere on high !

چو بر خسروی تخت نشست شاد کلاه بزرگی به سر بر نهاد

As he sat on the throne of a monarch elate,
With the crown on his head, of his high estate,

بخین گفت کردور چرخ روان منم پاک فرزند نوشیروان

Said he thus, " by a turn of the rolling sky
" The sole pious heir of Nowshirwan, I !

بدر بر پدر پادشاهی مراست خور و خسته و برج ماهی مراست

" And from father to son is this kingship mine,
" And for me Sol, and Virgo, and Pisces shine !

بجویم بنسبی و فرزانی همان رزم و تنی و مردانی

" It is mine to seek wisdom and greatness and height,
" And the pride of a warrior in manhood and might.

بر کس نماند همی روز بخت نه گنج و نه دیلم شاهی نه تخت

" For good fortune abides with no man as his own—
" Neither riches abide, nor his crown, nor his throne ;

همی نام جاوید ماند نه کام بیند از کام و برافراز نام

" But the good name will last—not the heart's desire ;
" So, away with each wish and to name aspire !

ز نامست تا جاودان زنده مرد که مرده شود کالبد زیر گرد

“That man is immortal who lives in his fame

“When sunk lifeless in dust is his mouldering frame.

چه نیکو بود شاه را داد و دین ز نامش زبانا پر از آفرین

“And how well faith and justice a monarch adorn

“When on tongues of acclaim are his praises upborne !

بر آتم که تا زنده ماند تنم بن و سیخ بد از جهان برکنم

“Until life's in my limbs, be it ever my will

“From the world to uproot every seed-root of ill !”

بزرگان براو آفرین خواندند و را شهر یار زمین خواندند

All his grandees applauded ; the praises that whirled
Around him acclaimed him as King of the World.

برین گونه تا سال شد بدو هشت هجده ماه و خورشید بر سر گزشت

And then twice eight years in this wise had sped—
While the sun rolled on, and the moon o'erhead.

چنان بد کجا سر فراز عرب که از تیغ او روزگشتی چو شب

So it was when Arabia's Ruler of might,
He whose sword could have darkened the day into night—

عمر آنکه بد مومنان را امیر ستوده و را خالق بے نظیر

Great Omar who then o'er the Faithful held sway,
Whom his Maker had blessed on the righteous way—

گزین سعد و قاص را با سپاه فرستاد تا رزم جوید ز شاه

With a host sent Sa'ad Waḳḳas, the chosen, to bring
On to battle the might of the Persian king.

چو بخت عرب بر عجم چیره شد همی بخت ساسانیان تیره شد

As the Star of Arabia in triumph arose
Over Persia's doom and Sassanian woes,

پر آمد ز شاهان جهان را قفیز نهان شد ز رو گشت پیدا پیشیز

Not for kings was this world—its full measure ran o'er ;
Petty coins appeared—there was gold no more ;

همان زشت شد خوب و شد خوب زشت شده راه دوزخ پدید از بهشت

And the fair turned to foul, and the foul turned to fair—
Thus to heaven, to hell was the path made clear !

در گونه شد جرخ گردون به چهر از آزادگان پاک برید مهر

Then, how changed was the sky that rolled on ! how its grace
And its favour withdrawn from the pure Persian race !

به داد جهان آفرین کردگار بیاید همی بنده را کرد کار

To the Maker of worlds and His righteous will
Must His creature submit and His purpose fulfil.

بآزار او بنده را پائے نیست جبر او جان ده و چهره آراے نیست

None can stand 'gainst His wrath—not a man that is born ;
None but He can give life, none can features adorn.

چو آگاه شد زان سخن یزدگرد ز هر سو سپاه اندر آورد گرد

And when Yazdagird heard the war tidings he bade
That his troops from all quarters be thither conveyed ;

بفرمود تا پور هر مزد راه به پیماید و برکشد با سپاه

That the son of Hormuz should then speed on his way
With the army and draw up in battle array.

که رستم بدش نام و بیدار بود خردمند گرد جهاندار بود

He was Rustom by name, and a prudent knight ;
Was a princely warrior, and wary in fight.

ستاره شمر بود و بسیار هوش بگفتار مو بد نهاده دو گوش

By his skill could the signs of the stars explore,
And his ears were intent on the Mobid's lore.

برفت و گران مایگان را برد هر آن کس که بودند بیدار و گرد

He went forward with leaders of worth and of name
Who of prudence and prowess the merit could claim,

بدین گونه تا ماه بگرشت سی هی رزم جستند تا قادیسی

And thus thirty moons on the march were spent,
Till Qadisia they gained, upon battle bent.

بدانست رستم شمار سپهر ستاره شمر بود باداد و مهر

And then Rustom, who signs on the skies could read,
And could reckon from stars with a pious heed,

همی گفت کاین رزم را روی نیست ره آب شامان بدین جوی نیست

"No good bodeth this war, and no monarchs may ride

"In safety" quoth he, "on this river's tide."

بیاورد صلاب و اختر گرفت ز روز بلا دست بر سر گرفت

Took the Astrolabe, and the planets he scanned—

Saw the day of doom, o'er his head raised a hand,

یکه نامه سوی برادر بدرد نبشت و سخنها همه یاد کرد

And then wrote to his brother a missive of woe,

And recounted therein all his brother should know.

نخست آفرین کرد بر کردگار کز و دیدنیک و بدر روزگار

First praised he the Maker of all, by Whose will

In his life he had seen both of good and of ill ;

و گرفت کز گردش آسمان پژوهنده مردم شود بدگمان

Said next : "From the movements now seen in the skies

Doubt and dread in the heart of a seeker arise.

گنمگار تر در زمانه منم از ایرا گرفتار اهریمنم

"I worst sinner of all in this age—undone,

"For in bondage I stand to fell Ahrimun !

که این خانه از پادشاهی تهی است نه هنگام فیروزی و قرهی است

"Oh, how empty this House of all Kingly power !

"Not a sign of triumph in victory's hour !

ز چارم هی .نکر و آفتاب .جنگ بزرگانیش آمد شتاب

" From the Chamber fourth does the Sun behold

" Tow'rd his chiefs with what swiftness the war-tide has rolled.

ز بهرام و زهر است مارا گزند شاید گزشتن ز برج بلند

" And for us Mars and Venus both evils portend—

" Who can now 'gainst the will of high heaven contend ?

همان تیر و کیوان برابر شد است عطارد و بروج دو پیکر شد است

" And both Saturn and Mercury stand equal on high—

" And there's Mercury seen in the Gemini !

چنین است و کار بزرگست پیش هی سیر گردد دل از جان خویش

" It is thus—and before us a giant strife !

" And my heart—it is sore. I am weary of life !

همه بود نیسا به .بینم هی و زان خامشی بر گزینم هی

" In my visions I see all the ills that shall be,

" And in silence I bear what I'm given to see.

چو آگاه گشتم ازین راز برج که مارا ازو نیست جز رنج برخ

" When this secret I learned from the spheres of the sky,

" That our lot is disaster predestined on high,

بایرانیان زار و گریان شدم ز ساسانیان نیز بریان شدم

" For the doom of the Persians my sorrows did flow,

" And my heart was consumed with Sassanians' woe.

دریغ آن سروتاج واورنگ و تخت دریغ آن بزرگی و آن فرو و تخت

“ Ah ! woe for that head, and that crown, and that throne,
“ And their might, pomp and grandeur to be overthrown—

کز این پس شکست آید از تازیان ستاره نگر دو مگر بر زریان

“ Full soon by the hands of the Arabs laid low
“ While the planets still roll on our loss and our woe !

بدین سالیان چار صد بگزرد کزین تخمه گیتی کسے نشود

“ And four hundred years in this wise shall have flown,
“ But not one of this seed will the wide world own !

از ایشان فرستاده آمد به من سخن رفت هر گونه برانجمن

“ There was an envoy sent from their side to me,
“ And we met for counsel and converse free ;

که از قادسیه تالاب جو مبار زمین را بنخشیم با شهر یار

“ ‘ From Qadisia ’ he said, ‘ to the river-side—
“ ‘ This we leave to the King, if he’d but provide

وزان پس کجا بر کشایند راه بشهری کجا هست بازار و گاه

بدان تا فروشیم و بخریم چیز وزان پس فرو و نی نجوئیم نیز

“ ‘ Over highways to towns, and to mart and to fair
“ Free passage to buy, and to sell our ware.

پزیریم با سو با زرگران نجوئیم دہیم کند آوران

“ ‘ Besides this—and the tribute—nought else shall we claim :
“ Not his royal state, nor his crown of fame !

شهنشاه را نیز فرمان بریم گراز ما بخواد گرو کان بریم

“ ‘ And for paying due heed to the king’s command,
“ We would offer a pledge, should he pledge demand. ’

چنین است گفتار و کردار نیست بجز اختر کثر در کار نیست

“ Such the words they spoke, but their words are not deeds.
“ ’Tis an evil star that this evil breeds !

بدین نیز جنگی بود هر زمان که کشته شود صد هزار دمان

“ And again and again in fierce battle and strife
“ What heroes by hundreds will sacrifice life !

بزرگان که با من بجنگ اندرند بگفتار ایشان همی نگرند

“ Yet the chieftains all, who are ranged on my side
“ Will not list to their words, and their terms deride.

چو کلبوی طبری و چون ارمنی بجنگند با کیش اهریمنی

“ They’re the clans of Armenia, the Tabris who fight
“ With a fiendish will and a fiendish might ;

چو ماهوی سوران و این مهتران که گو پال دارند و گرزگران

“ ’Tis the Mahvi or Sur and the chiefs of the race
“ With the battle axe and the ponderous mace.

همی سرفرازند آنان که اند بایران و مازندران برچاند

“ ‘ Who are these ? ’ they ask with their heads raised high,
“ ‘ Here in Iran, Mazindran ? what brings them—and why ?

اگر مرز و راهست اگر نیک و بد بگرز و بشمیر باید ستد
بکشیم و مردی بکار آوریم برایشان جهان تنگ و تار آوریم

“ ‘ Fields and roads—good or bad—they are ours the same ;

“ ‘ And with mace and with sword we will make good our claim. ’

ندانند که راز گردون سپهر دگر گونه گشت است باما بچهر

“ Ah ! the secret none knows, of the rolling sphere—

“ How bodeful it turns with an aspect drear !

چو نامه بخوانی تو بامهتران بر انداز و بر ساز و لشکر بران

“ Confer with the peers when this letter thou’lt read,

“ Then arrange all thy plans, and march out with all speed,

همه گرد کن خواسته هر چه هست پرستنده و جامه های نشت

“ And collecting thy treasures, what’s left thee by fate,

“ And gathering thy slaves and thy robes of state,

همی تاز تا آذر آبادگان بجای بزرگان و آزادگان

“ Unto Azarabadagan hasten with thee—

“ ’Tis the home of the mighty, the seat of the free.

همیدون گله هر چه داری براسب ببر سوئے گنجور آذر گشپ

“ And the herds of thy horses in pastures that stray,

“ On to Azargashasp, to the store-house convey.

ز زابلستان گزایران سپاه هر آن کس که آیند ز نارخواه

“ If from Zabul should come, or from Iran’s host

“ Any pleading for refuge from danger’s post—

بدارو بہ پوزش یارای مہر نگہ کن بدین کارگردان سپہر

"Show thou kindness to them and their fault forbear ;
" Watch the sky as it rolls—what it sends for our share !

کز شادمانیم وزو پر نیب زمانے فراز وزمانے تسیب

" All our joy unto it, all our sorrow we owe,
" And the times when we're high, and the times when we're low.

سخن ہر جہ گفتیم بہ مادر بگوئے نہ بیند ہمانا مرا نیز روئے

" To our mother say thou what I've said unto thee—
" For my face in this life she may never see.

درویش وہ از ماو بسیار پند بدان تا نباشد بہ گیتی نرشد

" Give my greetings to her—with entreaty and prayer—
" That she be not heart-broken with sorrow and care.

وراز من بد آگاہی آرد کے مباحث اندرین کار غمگین ہے

" And if any one bring thee ill tidings of me,
" Not too long over that must thy mourning be.

چنان دان کہ اندر سراے سہنج کسے کو نہ گنج بادست رنج

" In this way-side Inn of a few days' life
" He that hoards up riches with toil and strife,

ز گنج جہان رنج پیش آورد از ان رنج او دیگرے بر خورد

" From his worldly treasures but sorrow gains,
" Leaving others to gather the fruits of his pains !

چه بودت بے این جنین رنج و آزار که از بیشتر کم نگر دنیاز

" Say, what boon did thy pains and thine avarice impart,
" That the craving for wealth should be yet in thy heart.

همیشه به یزدان پرستی گراے پرواز دل زین سپنجی سراے

" Oh, now turn to thy Maker ! His favour implore,
" And away from this world teach thy spirit to soar.

که آمد بتنگ اندرون روزگار نه بیند مرا زین سپس شهریار

" They are days of dread trial that lie in the fore—
" And our monarch hereafter may see me no more.

تو با هر که ازدوده ما بود اگر پیر اگر مرد برنا بود

" Now with each and all that our clan doth hold—
" Ay, with each and all, be they young or old—

همیشه به یزدان ستایش کنید جهان آفرین را نیایش کنید

" Do thou give unto God His due tribute of praise,
" And His blessings and mercy implore in these days ;

که من با سپاهی بسختی درم برنج و غم و شور و سختی درم

" For in jeopardy all, and in woeful plight
" Are my soldiers and I in this hapless fight,

ربانی نیام سر انجام ازین خوشاباد نوشین ایران زمین

" Whence escape I see none—as the omens foretell.
" Sweet Iran, O fairest of lands, fare thee well !

جو گیتی شود تنگ بر شهر یار تو گنج و تن و جان گرامی مدار

"When the world grows narrow and drear for the king,

"Risk thy own life and limb quick succour to bring ;

کز ان تخمه' نامدار ارجمند نمائنده است جز شهر یار بلند

"Give thy gold and thy treasures—yea, all that is thine ;

"None is left but this monarch of loftiest line.

نگهدار او را بروز و شب که تا چون بود کار من با عرب

"Thou shouldst watch o'er him, guard him by day and by night

"Till thou know'st how I fare with these Arabs in fight.

ز کوشش مکن هیچ سستی بکار به گیتی جز او نیست پروردگار

"And no laggard in striving for him must thou be

"When for us on this earth there's no master but he.

ز ساسانیان یادگار است و بس کزین پس نه بیند ازین خانه کس

"But one monument left of the Sassan's fame,

"There'll be none, when he goes, of his house and his name.

در بنگ آن سرو تاج و آن مهر و داد که خواهد شدن تخت شاهی بیاد

"Ah, woe for that crowned head of justice and grace

"And that royal throne which the times will abase !

تو بدرود باش و بے آزار باش همیشه به پیش هماندار باش

"Fare thou well—unafflicted with suff'ring and pain.

"In the sight of thy king see thou ever remain.

گر اور ابد آید تو سریش اوے بشیرِ سپا رو یا وہ گویے

“ And should he mislike it—thy head to the sword !

“ Not a murmur from thee, not a useless word !

چو باتختِ منبر برابر شود ہمہ نام بوبکر و عمر شود

“ Comes the age when the Pulpit will vie with the throne,

“ When the names will be Bubekr and Omar alone !

بہ تہ گرد دین رنجہائے دراز تشیبی دراز است پیش فراز

“ When our labours of years all in ruins will lie—

“ 'Tis a long long decline ere again we're on high !

نہ تخت و نہ دہیم بینی نہ شہر ز اختر ہمہ تازیان راست بہر

“ When no city thou'lt see, and no crown and no throne ;

“ For the cause of the Arabs the planets will own !

چو روز اندر آید بروز دراز شود شان سر از خواستہ بے نیاز

“ But the day will come—when the years have rolled—

“ When they'll crave neither power, nor treasure nor gold ;

پوشند از ایشان گروہی سیاہ ز دیبا نہ از بر سر کلاہ

“ When a sect of them goes in black garments arrayed ;

“ What they wear on their heads will be caps of brocade !

نہ تخت و نہ تاج و نہ زرینہ کفش نہ گوہر نہ افسر نہ رخشان درفش

“ And no throne, and no crown and no shoes deckt with gold,

“ And no jewel, no crest and no banner's bright fold !

برنجہ یکے دیگرے بر خورد بداد و بہ تمشش کے نگر د

“ When one labours—another comes snatches the meed ;

“ There’s of justice no thought, and of bounty no heed !

شب آید یکے چشم رخشان کند نفقہ کے را رخشان کند

“ When the night comes it teaches some glad eyes to shine—

“ But it saddens some hearts, and they moan and they pine !

شتابان ہمہ روز و شب دیگر است کمر بر میان و کلاه بر سر است

“ Thus their nights and their days amid changes are sped—

“ With the band round the waist, and the cap on the head !

ز پیمان بگردند وز راستی گرامی شود کژی و کاستی

“ They will turn from the truth ; none will promise redeem ;

“ For the mean and the false will be held in esteem.

پیادہ شود مردم رزم جوی سوار آنکہ لاف آرد و گفتگوی

“ While the soldier is horseless, who’s eager to fight,

“ Each babbler and boaster goes mounted as knight !

کشاوری ز جنگی شود بے ہنر نژاد بزرگی نیاید بہر

“ And the martial yeoman will have lost his skill,

“ And the claim of high blood will then fare but ill.

رباید ہی این ازان آن ازین ز نفرین ندانند باز آفرین

“ One will wrest from another what neither can claim ;

“ They’ll be careless of praise, they’ll be heedless of blame.

نہانی بترز آشکارا شود دل مردمان سنگ خارا شود

“What lies hid in their breasts will be worse than is shown,

“For the hearts of mankind will be hardened to stone !

بداندیش گردد پدر بر پسر پسر ہمچنین بر پدر چارہ گر

“If some evil design 'gainst the son has the sire,

“Even so will the son 'gainst his parent conspire.

شود بندہ بے ہنر شہریار نژاد بزرگی نیاید بکار

“When some man of no worth in his turn comes to reign,

“Neither worth nor descent will be counted as gain :

ہیبتی نہاند کے را و نا روان و زبانہا شود پر جفا

“All untrusted, unfaithful each one on his part,

“With the tongue just as cruel as treacherous the heart.

از ایران و از ترک و از تازیان نژادے پدید آید اندر میان

“From the Persian's, the Turk's and the Arab's mixed seed

“There will spring into being a mingled breed :

نہ دہقان نہ ترک و نہ تازی بود سخنها بہ کردار بازی بود

“Neither Persian, nor Turk nor yet Arab are they

“Whose words but a game, never mean what they say !

ہمہ گنجہا زیر دامن نند بکوشند و کوشش بدشمن نند

“Whate'er booty they gain in their skirts they will hide ;

“They will labour and sweat—but for foes to provide !

جنان فاش گرد و غم و رنج و شور که رامش بهنگام بهرام گور

"As widespread will be suffering and sorrow and pain

"As were mirth and delight in the joyous reign

نه جشن و نه رامش نه گوهر نه نام بکوشش زهرگو نه سازند دام

"Of king Bahram Gur ; but no feast and no glee

"Will come ever their way, and no revelry.

"All unconscious of honour, unmindful of name,

"They will fling their nets wide—thus to capture their game.

زبان کسان از پے سود خویش بجویند و دین اندر آرند پیش

"They will seek others' loss but to make it their gain,

"And with vows of false faith seek their fraud to sustain.

نباشد بهار از زمستان پدید نیارند بهنگام رامش نبید

"All alike unto them will be Winter and Spring,

"For they never will wine to their festivals bring.

زبیشی و بیشی ندارند هوش خورش نان کشکین و شمینه پوش

"With no taste and no sense that's by luxuries fed,

"All their robes will be woollen, their food barley bread !

چو بسیار ازین داستان بگزرد کسے سوے آزادگان نگرود

" 'Tis a long tale of sorrow and shame ; at its close

"None will look at the Persian to pity his woes !

بریزند خون از پے خواسته شود روزگار بد ارسته

"He will strive to gain riches by bloodshed and crime ;

"He'll adorn with fair semblance the evils of Time !

دل من پر از خون شد و روئے زرد دہان خشک و لبہا پر از باد سرد

“ Oh ! my heart, it did bleed ; and my face, it grew pale,
“ And all cold was the breath which my lips did exhale;

کہ تا من شدم پہلوان از میان چنیں تیرہ شد بخت سامانیان

“ That their champion I should thus hasten their doom
“ And the fate of Sassan be thus shrouded in gloom !

چنیں بے وفا گشت گردان سپہ دژم گشت و از ما بترید مہر

“ Oh ! so faithless has turned the revolving sphere !
“ Its favour's withdrawn and its aspect's severe.

اگر نیزہ بر کوہ روئیں زخم گزارہ کند زان کہ روئیں تخم

“ If my lance I should hurl 'gainst an adamant rock—
“ Such my iron-strength, it would cleave with the shock !

کنون تیر و پیکان آہن گزار ہی بر برہنسہ نیاید بکار

“ But though iron-piercing my lance and my dart,
“ Yet they will not avail 'gainst a naked heart !

ہمان تیغ کان گردن پیل و شیر فلندے بر خشم اندر آورد زیر

“ And that selfsame sword which could once at a blow
“ Have an elephant's head, or a tiger's, laid low,

نبرد ہی پوست بر تازیان زدائش ز میان آدم بر زیان

“ Cannot carve its way now through an Arab's hide !
“ Oh ! My knowledge and loss, how they come side by side !

مرا کانکے گر غرد نیستے گر آگاہی روز بد نیستے

“ And this wisdom of mine—would I had it not !

“ Nor that day's foreknowledge—our evil lot !

برزگان که از قادیسی با من اند درشتند و با تازیان دشمن اند

“ What though stern are the chiefs from Qadisia that came,

“ What though fierce in their hate of the Arab name—

گمانند کاین بیشه پر خون شود ز دشمن زمین رود جیخون شود

“ Though they swear that these wilds shall be red with their blood

“ Which shall run in a stream like the Jaihun's flood ;

ز راز سبهری کس آگاه نیست ندانند کاین رنج کوتاه نیست

“ Yet not one of them knows what's the dread will of Fate,—

“ Nay, not one that these ills will not soon abate.

چو بر تخمه بگرزد روزگار چه سود آید از رنج در کارزار

“ What avail gallant deeds when there's respite no more

“ For a race all whose days on this earth are o'er ?

ترا اے برادر تن آباد باد دل شاه ایران بتو شاد باد

“ Health and joy to thee, brother, that life may bring !

“ Mayst thou solace the heart of the Persian king !

که این قادیسی دخمه گاه من است کفن جوشن و خون کلاه من است

“ But for me—this Qadisia is marked for my tomb :

“ Bloody helm and shroud-armour betoken my doom !

چنین است راز سپهر بلند تو دل را بدرد من اندر مبند

"Such the secret will of the sphere above ;

"Then let not thy heart be in grief for my love,

تو دیده ز شاه جهان بر مدار ندان کن تن خویش در کارزار

" 'Tis the king—from whom never shouldst turn hine eye ;

"Give thy limbs for his life, and to save him—die !

که زود آید این روز اهریمنی چو گردون گردان کند دشمنی

"Oh ! it comes on apace, comes the Demon's day

"When the rolling skies will their wrath display ! "

چو نامه به مهر اندر آورد گفت که پوینده را آفرین باد جفت

When the letter was sealed, with a word of heed

To the courier he gave it and wished him Godspeed ;

که این نامه نزد برادر برد بگوید جز این هر چه اندر خورد

Bade him the script to his brother convey

And to say to him all that was needful to say.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

(To be concluded.)

A BAGHDAD COOKERY-BOOK

[TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC]

Preface

THE banquets served at the royal courts of the Caliphs of Baghdad were proverbial for their variety and lavishness : it is therefore most regrettable that of the manuals of guidance in the noble art of cooking which are known to have been written in the golden age of the Caliphate,¹ none has survived. Until recently, all that we knew of the actual composition and preparation of such famous dishes as, for example, the pasty *sanbūsaj* was contained in that *locus classicus*, the famous passage in Mas'ūdī's *Meadows of Gold*, which may with propriety be quoted here at full length.²

One day Mustakfī³ said : " It is my desire that we should assemble on such and such a day, and converse together about the different varieties of food, and the poetry that has been composed on this subject." Those present agreed ; and on the day prescribed Mustakfī joined the party, and bade every man produce what he had prepared. Thereupon one member of the circle spoke up : " O Commander of the Faithful, I have some verses by Ibn al-Mu'tazz⁴ in which the poet describes a tray containing bowls of *kāmakh*."⁵ Being invited by the Caliph to repeat them, he proceeded :

Accept, I beg, this tray of wicker made
With serried cups symmetrically laid ;
Whate'er yon red and yellow bowls contain
The man of taste will surely not disdain.

1. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 375, mentions cookery manuals by Munajjim, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, Jāhīza and Ibn Miskawaih. " Leider scheint das alles verloren, die erhaltenen arabischen Kochbücher sind alle jüngerer Herkunft," he says, referring to such works as are contained in the Gotha MSS. 1344-6 ; cf. his *Abul-kāsim, ein bagdāder Sittenbild*, pp. xxxix f.

2. *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, viii, pp. 392 ff.

3. The unfortunate Baghdad Caliph (333/944—334/946), who was blinded and deposed by the Buyid Aḥmad ibn Abī Shujā', and died in 338/949 : see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iii, p. 767.

4. The tragic prince who ruled for one day only, and was put to death in 296/908. His *Dīwān* (collected poems) has been published (Cairo, 2 vols., 1891) : for a study, see Loth, *Über Leben und Werk des 'Abdallah ibn ul Mu'tazz* (Leipzig, 1882). His famous monograph on poetics, *Kitāb al-Badī'*, was published in 1935 by I. Kratchkovsky (Gibb Memorial : New Series, x.).

5. A kind of relish.

Here *kāmakh* is of flowering tarragon,
 Here capers grace a sauce vermilion
 Whose fragrant odours to the soul are blown
 Like powder'd musk in druggist's fingers strewn.
 Here, too, sweet marjoram's delicious scent
 With breath of choicest cloves is richly blent ;
 While cinnamon, of condiments the king,
 Unblemished hue, unrivalled seasoning,
 Like musk in subtle odour rises there,
 Tempting the palate, sweetening the air.
 Here crowns the bowl fresh-gathered savory,
 Rival to musk and pitch in fragrancy ;
 Here pungent garlic greets the eager sight
 And whets with savour sharp the appetite,
 While olives turn to shadowed night the day,
 And salted fish in slices rims the tray.
 Behold thereon the onion's argent frame
 Like silver body filled with inward flame ;
 There circles of horse-radish garnished are
 With meat, and blend their tang with vinegar—
 Meat that, in slices white and scarlet laid,
 Like gold and silver coin is arrayed.
 From every corner, gloriously bright,
 A star doth gleam with dawn's refulgent light :
 So might a garden flower in turn be kissed
 By sun and moon, by radiance and mist.

Mustakfī commanded that the bowls should be prepared, exactly as prescribed, adding, "We will eat nothing today except what you portray."

Then another of the company exclaimed : "O Commander of the Faithful, Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusain al-Kushājim¹ has described a dish of rarities as follows"—and he recited :

When to banquet we are eager
 Well the table floweth o'er,
 And the ready cook doth fill it
 With the choicest foods in store :
 Forth it comes with goodly burden,
 Garnished by his precious lore.

1. Poet, astrologer and culinary expert in the service of the Ḥamdānid ruler Saif al-Daula (303/915—356/967), Kushājim is besides the author of a very curious treatise on table-manners, the *Adab al-nadīm* : see Bröckelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Suppl. i, p. 137.

First a roasted kid, a yearling,
 With its inwards firmly strung,
 And upon it, well to season,
 Tarragon and mint are hung.

Next a chicken, full and tender,
 Fattened many moons ago,
 And a partridge, with a fledgling,
 Roast with care, and nicely done.

After pastry of *tardīna*¹
 Follows *sanbūsaj*,² well-fried :
 Eggs vermillioned after boiling
 Lie with olives side by side.

Strips of tender meat in slices,
 Dipped in oil of finest make,
 Tempt anew the flagging palate,
 And the appetite awake ;

Lemons, too, with *nadd*³ besprinkled,
 Scented well with ambergris,
 And, for garnishing the slices,
 Shreds of appetizing cheese.

Vinegar that smarts the nostrils
 Till they snuffle and they run ;
 Little dates like pearls, that glisten
 On a necklace one by one.

Sauce of *būrān*⁴ served with egg-plant,
 That will tempt thy very heart,
 And asparagus—enchanted
 With asparagus thou art !

Lastly, lozenge,⁵ soaked in butter,
 Buried deep in sugar sweet.
 And a saki's cloven dimples
 Promise joy when lovers meet :

1. A kind of pastry.

2. See below.

3. A mixture of perfumes : see Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, s. v.

4. From this word the Spanish *alboronia* is derived, for a description of which see Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, i, p. 126.

5. For an account of this sweet, see below.

There is passion in his glances,
 There is softness in his word ;
 And a ring-dove,¹ cooing softly,
 Sings new measures never heard :

“ Pity for the mournful lover
 Far from home, where she doth mourn :
 No excuse, if thou supposest
 He was not for passion born.”

“ Well said,” Mustakfī cried. “ The poet described the scene excellently.” Then he commanded that everything which had been mentioned in the verses should be brought in, so far as was possible. “ Has any other here any verses on the same theme ?” he demanded. Another then stood up, and recited a poem of Ibn al-Rūmī² describing *wast* :

If thou wouldst know the world’s supreme delight,
 Then listen to this tale that I recite :
 Well is my story woven, free of blot—
 A finer panegyrist there is not.
 So come, *feinschmecker*, do as I repeat.
 Take first a pair of loaves, of finest wheat,
 The like of which on earth was never seen ;
 Then cut the crusts around, and lift them clean.
 When naught remaineth but the supple dough,
 Cover one round with fresh-cut slices, so !
 Of flesh of chicken, and of flesh of cock,
 And, blowing, baste about with syrup stock.
 Thereon impose a regimented line
 Of almonds and of walnuts, flavoured fine ;
 With cheese and olives prick the points thereon,
 And add the vowels of mint and tarragon.³
 Let flowing cream the layers twain between
 Like Washy⁴ cloth of Yemen intervene.
 Boil next the eggs, and smear them all in red ;
 With gold and silver⁵ let the *wast* be spread.
 Now dust the lines with salt, yet not in haste,
 But in appropriate measure, well to taste.

1. Metaphorically, for a minstrel.

2. The famous poet, who was murdered by al-Mu‘tadid’s vizier, probably in 283/896. His collected poems have been edited, in 3 volumes, by the contemporary Egyptian critic and poet, al-‘Aqqād, who also published a biographical study of Ibn al-Rūmī in 1931.

3. The poet uses in this couplet similes drawn from Arabic orthography : the ‘points’ are the diacritical signs which distinguish several of the letters of the alphabet from each other, the ‘vowels’ are the symbols for a, i, u which are written above the line of script.

4. A kind of silk material, made in different colours, and sometimes threaded with gold : see Dozy, *op. cit.* ii, p. 809.

5. The cream being the silver, and the vermillioned eggs the gold.

With watchful eye examine it anon,
 And let thy gaze with pleasure feast thereon ;
 But when full satisfied hath grown thy sight,
 Replace the loaf, and eat with appetite ;
 With gusto chew, and let thy teeth be filled :
 Destroy in haste the structure thou didst build.

Another then spoke up : " O Commander of the Faithful, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm of Mosul¹ described *sanbūsaj* as follows "—and he declaimed

If thou wouldst know what food gives most delight,
 Best let me tell, for none hath subtler sight.
 Take first the finest meat, red, soft to touch,
 And mince it with the fat, not overmuch ;
 Then add an onion, cut in circles clean,
 A cabbage, very fresh, exceeding green,
 And season well with cinnamon and rue ;
 Of coriander add a handful, too,
 And after that of cloves the very least,
 Of finest ginger, and of pepper best,
 A hand of cummin, murri² just to taste,
 Two handfuls of Palmyra salt ; but haste,
 Good master, haste to grind them small and strong.³
 Then lay and light a blazing fire along ;
 Put all into the pot, and water pour
 Upon it from above, and cover o'er.
 But, when the water vanished is from sight
 And when the burning flames have dried it quite,
 Then, as thou wilt, in pastry wrap it round,
 And fasten well the edges, firm and sound ;
 Or, if it please thee better, take some dough,
 Conveniently soft, and rubbed just so,
 Then with the rolling-pin let it be spread
 And with the nails its edges docketed.
 Pour in the frying-pan the choicest oil
 And in that liquor let it finely broil.

1. For an account of this well-known author, who died in 236/851, see *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary* (tr. de Slane), i, pp. 183-7.

2. For a recipe for this seasoning, see below, p. 36, n. 1.

3. These details of seasonings recall most accurately the directions which are given by the author of this book. In this connection it is interesting to recall the words of Mez, *op. cit.* p. 375 : " Die erhaltenen arabischen Kochbücher... empfehlen scheussliche Mischungen von Fleisch, Moschus, Kampfer und Rosenwasser, wie sie auch die italienische Renaissance liebte." Apart from the exaggeration contained in this statement (for which cf. *Abulḡāsim*, p. xxxix, where the recipe quoted from Gotha 1345 is almost word-for-word the same as our own author's prescription for Ibrāhīmīya, see below p. 34), there appears little justice in the strictures.

Last, ladle out into a thin tureen
 Where appetizing mustard smeared hath been,
 And eat with pleasure, mustarded about,
 This tastiest food for hurried diner-out.

Another added : " O Commander of the Faithful, Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusain ibn al-Sindī Kushājim the Scribe has described asparagus " and he said :

Lances we have, the tips whereof are curled,
 Their bodies like a hawser turned and twirled,
 Yet fair to view, with ne'er a knot to boot.
 Their heads bolt upright from the shoulders shoot,
 And, by the grace of Him Who made us all,
 Firm-fixed in soil they stand, like pillars tall,
 Clothed in soft robes like silk on mantle spread
 That deep hath drunk a blazing flame of red,
 As if they brushed against a scarlet cheek
 Wherein an angry palm its wrath doth wreak ;
 And as a coat-of-mail is interlaced,
 With links of gold so twine they, waist to waist ;
 Like silken *miṭraf*¹ that the hands display—
 Ah, could it last for ever and a day !—
 They might be bezels set in rings of pearl.
 Thereon a most delicious sauce doth swirl
 Flowing and ebbing like a swelling sea ;
 Oil decks them out in cream embroidery ·
 Which, as it floods and flecks them, fold on fold,
 Twists latches as of silver or of gold.
 Should pious anchorite see such repast,
 In sheer devotion he would break his fast.

When the recital ended, Mustakfī observed : " At such a season, in such a land, a vegetable of this kind cannot well be found. Let us write, then, to the Ikhshīd Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj,² and request him to send us such asparagus from Damascus. Meanwhile, rehearse what can be obtained now."

Another then recited the following lines descriptive of *aruzza*,³ written by Muḥammad ibn al-Wazīr, known as the Ḥāfiẓ of Damascus :⁴

1. A kind of square-shaped wrap with ornamental borders.

2. The founder of the Ikhshidid Dynasty of Egypt, who died in 334/946. At the time of this narrative, Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj had defeated Saif al-Daula and driven him from Damascus : see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iii, p. 676.

3. A dish of rice (*aruz*) and sugar.

4. Ḥāfiẓ is the title given to a man who knows the Qur'ān by heart.

O glorious *aruzza* ! What a boon,
 Thou cook as lovely as high heaven's moon !
 Purer than snow that hath been furrowed twice
 By handiwork of wind and frosted ice ;
 Set out in ordered strips upon the dish,
 White as the whitest milk that heart could wish,
 Its brilliance dazzles the beholding eye
 As if the moon ere even shone in sky ;
 While sugar sprinkled upon every side
 Flashes and gleams, like light personified.

Yet another now spoke up : " O Commander of the Faithful, I will quote the verses of a modern poet on the subject of *harīsa* "¹—and he recited :

Of all the foods of man the tastiest,
 When host hath been oblivious of his guest
 And kid or lamb is tardy on the grill,
 Give me *harīsa*, made by woman's skill—
 For women's hands are resolute and pure,
 They have a lightness and a vigour sure.
 Within one saucepan let each other greet
 Kidney and fat of tail, butter and meat ;
 Then goose well-fattened, with the whitest cheese
 Deposit, following with little peas,
 Almonds and nuts, the very choicest kind,
 Which first the millstone thoroughly must grind ;
 And, lastly, sprinkle salt, and galingale
 From knotting which the aching fingers fail.
 When with so fine a dish the lads regale
 The diners, every other dish grows pale.
 Behold it on the table, served at need,
 Surmounted by a vault of bamboo reed,
 While walls support the balustraded roof
 That from auxiliar pillars rides aloof !
 Forth bring the lads these dainties to the board,
 Preferred by starving, as by filled adored :
 All, hosts and guests, are eager to attain
 This food for which the Sultan's self is fain ;
 For by its magic mind and brain both shine,
 And all the body's humours fall in line.
 The Sāsān in his day invented this,
 King Nūshirwān essayed it to his bliss.

1. For our author's recipe, see ch. 4. Barbier de Meynard (*Prairies d'Or*, viii, p. 438) remarks that the dish as described resembles a kind of *olla podrida*.

When hungry, ravenous men behold this dish,
They cannot wait to gratify their wish.

Another then said : " O Commander of the Faithful, another modern poet has written on *maḍīra*,"¹ and he read :

Maḍīra on the festive tray
Is like the moon in full array :
Upon the board it gleams in light
Like sunshine banishing the night,
Or as the crescent moon, whose beams
Transfix the clouds that shroud men's dreams.
Upon a platter it is brought
Of onyx, in Tehama wrought.
Abū Huraira² gladdened were
Had he been served a dish so rare,
And in his zeal for this repast
Might have forgot the will to fast,
Yet had been cautious not to try
This food beneath the abbot's eye.
Maḍīra cannot rivalled be
To heal the sick man's malady :
No wonder this our meal we make,
Since, eating it, no law we break.
'Tis as delicious as 'tis good—
A very miracle of food.

" O Commander of the Faithful," another then broke in, " Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusain³ has pictured *jūdhāba*⁴ thus," and he declaimed :

Jūdhāba made of choicest rice
As shining as a lover's eyes :
How marvellous in hue it stands
Beneath the cook's accomplished hands !
As pure as gold without alloy,
Rose-tinted, its Creator's joy ;
With sugar of Ahwaz complete
In taste 'tis sweeter than the sweet.
Its trembling mass in butter drowned
With scent the eater wraps around ;
As smooth and soft as clotted cream,
Its breath like ambergris doth seem ;

1. Described by our author below, p. 41.

2. The famous Companion of the Prophet, traditionist and ascetic, who died about the year 57/676.

3. Sc. Kushājim.

4. For the different varieties see below.

And when within the bowl 'tis seen,
 A star in darkness shines serene,
 Or as cornelian's gold is strung
 Upon the throat of virgin young ;
 It is more sweet than sudden peace
 That brings the quaking heart release.

Another next spoke : " O Commander of the Faithful, a certain modern has described another *jūdhāba*," and he sang :

Jūdhāba so bright, no cornelian so fine,
 In flavour, meseems, worthy rival to wine,
 With sugar composed of the purest degree
 And saffron well-brayed, for its tinting to be ;
 In fat of ripe chicken anointed and drowned—
 With such an immersion no finer were found !
 Delightful to taste when to palate presented,
 Like choicest *khaluq*¹ it is coloured and scented.
 The bowl, passed around, spreads its odorous mist,
 Its sweetness is sweeter than soul can resist.

Another said : " O Commander of the Faithful, Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusain Kushājīm has depicted *qaṭā'if*² also," and he read :

When in my friends the pang of hunger grows,
 I have *qaṭā'if*, like soft folios ;
 As flow of lambent honey brimming white
 So amid other dainties it is bright,
 And, having drunk of almond-essence deep,
 With oil it glitters, wherein it doth seep.
 Rose-water floats thereon, like flooding sea,
 Bubble on bubble swimming fragrantly ;
 As foliated book, laid fold on fold—
 Afflicted hearts rejoice when they behold :
 But when divided, like the spoils of war,
 All have their hearts' desire, and sated are.

The narrator concluded : " Never have I seen Mustakfī so overjoyed, since the day of his accession. To all present, revellers, singers and musicians, he gave moneys, causing all the silver and gold with which he stood possessed to be brought out of the treasury, in spite of his straitened circumstances. Never a day like this did I behold, until the day when Aḥmad ibn Buwaih the Dailamite

1. A kind of scent, which is described by the lexicographers as being viscid, and predominantly yellow or red in colour : it is prohibited for men to use it, since it is reserved for women.

2. Plural of *qaṭīfa*, used as a singular noun. See Dozy, *op. cit.* ii, p. 376 ; Lane, *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, ch. 5, n. 99, where the composition of this pastry is fully described.

seized him and put out his eyes."

In 1934, the Iraqi scholar, Dr. Daoud Chelebi,¹ published at Mosul a text which has immensely enriched our knowledge of the culinary art of the Arabs.² He discovered, as he tells us, quite by chance, in the famous library of the Aya Sofya mosque at Istanbul, an autograph manuscript written at Baghdad in the year 623/1226, that is, 33 years before the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols, containing recipes of dishes which were hitherto known only by name, or not known at all. The author, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Karīm al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, is otherwise completely unknown:³ that he was an enthusiast in his subject, however, is manifest from his preface to the book, in which he demonstrates the superiority of eating over every other human pleasure. "For my own part," he writes, "I subscribe to the doctrine of the pre-excellence of the pleasure of eating above all other pleasures:" yet he was a man not without piety, for he justifies his judgement with quotations from the Qur'ān; a man not without taste, for he will have nothing of "strange and unfamiliar dishes, in the composition of which unwholesome and unsatisfying ingredients are used;" a man not without discretion, for he says, "my principle throughout has been brevity and succinctness, and the avoidance of prolixity and longwindedness."

"This book," writes the editor in the preface to his edition, "is quite unique of its kind:⁴ it contains every variety of dish used in the times of the Abbasids, and is written by a man who has described most excellently the methods of preparing each variety in exact language, just as though he were detailing some alchemical operation." To us, who are familiar with the jargon of the kitchen, the language used by the author will not seem so strange, for there is a curiously characteristic ring about his phraseology; while his carefulness in specifying exact quantities is as admirable as it is, in such a context, unexpected.⁵

1. Dr. Chelebi's catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in Mosul, published at Baghdad in 1927, is of great value.

2. *Kitāb al-Ṭabikh*. Umm al-Rabi'ain Press, Mosul. Price, 45 fils. The text is well and, on the whole, accurately printed.

3. See Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, i, p. 904.

4. The Gotha manuscripts referred to above (p. 21 n. 1)—and to these add the Cambridge manuscript Qq. 196, see Browne's *Hand-List of the Muhammadan Manuscripts*, p. 181, no. 947—evidently draw on the present work, or on an older common source. The chapters on food and eating contained in such works as Ibn Qutaiba's *Uyūn al-akhbār* and Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi's *al-'Iqd al-farid* are disappointing from the culinary point of view, being mainly concerned with anecdote and "medical" evaluations of the beneficial or harmful properties of various foods.

5. Since this translation and preface were written, I have had the opportunity of examining an old manuscript of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which consists of a *Kitāb al-Ṭabikh* by one Abū Muḥammad al-Muẓaffar b. Naṣr ibn Saiyār al-Warrāq (Hunt 187). I hope to show in a forthcoming paper that this work, which is of the greatest interest, was written some time during the 4/10th century, by a writer who had access to the actual recipe-books of the Abbasid Caliphs.

It will be useful to append a table of weights and measures indicating the approximate equivalents of the Arabic terminology of the original.¹

1 raṭl = 12 ūqīya = 16 ounces = 1 pint

1 ūqīya = 10 dirham

1 dirham = 6 dānaq.

1. I am much beholden to Dr. Chelebi for giving me permission to translate his edition of this book. In explaining difficult points, I have drawn upon his excellent footnotes, indicating my indebtedness by adding the letter [C].

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE

Praised be God, creator of days and appointer of times, Who hath brought every creature to life and provided all manner of sustenance ; beast hath He fashioned, and made herbs to grow ; and He encompasseth all mankind with His manifest blessings. For them sent He down water from heaven, whereby He brought forth every kind of fruit ; and He hath made it lawful for man to taste of wholesome things, and hath permitted him to enjoy such foods and potions as be not unlawful. God bless His chosen prophet, Muḥammad, and his family and bring him to the loftiest degree : verily, He heareth prayers.

Now God hath made lawful every wholesome food, and permitted the enjoyment thereof, provided that it be not doubtful or unlawful, for He says : " Eat that which is wholesome, and work righteousness."¹ Certain exegetes indeed have alleged that the word ' wholesome ' in this context means ' lawful : ' but it is sufficiently known among men, what is the true meaning of the word ' wholesome.' God likewise says : " Eat ye of that wherewith We have provided you, lawful, wholesome : "² here God has made distinction between what is lawful, and what is wholesome.

Pleasures may be divided into six classes, to wit, food, drink, clothes, sex, scent and sound. Of these, the noblest and most consequential is food : for food is the body's stay, and the means of preserving life. No other pleasure can be enjoyed, unless a man has good health, to which food is ancillary. It is not prohibited to take delight in food, or to occupy oneself and specialize in it, for indeed God says : " Say, who hath made unlawful the adornment of God which He brought forth for His servants, and the wholesome things of sustenance ? "³ Likewise, whenever the Prophet was invited by any of his Companions to partake of food with him, which he had prepared to the best of his ability, according to his lights, he did not refuse. Lastly, a certain philosopher has said : " Four things comprise all excellence and perfect every blessing : strong faith, sincere endeavour, wholesome food, and healthy drink." It is proved, therefore, that there is no harm in taking pleasure in food, and specializing therein.

I have come across several books composed on the art of cooking, containing mention of strange and unfamiliar dishes, in the composition of which unwholesome and unsatisfying ingredients are used. Now men differ in their judgements concerning pleasures, some preferring food above all other pleasures, while others rank other pleasures more highly, such as clothes, drink, sex, or sound. For my own part, however, I subscribe to the doctrine of the pre-excellence of the pleasure of eating above all other pleasures, and for that reason I have composed

1. *Qur'ān*, xxiii 53.

2. *Do.* v. 90 ; xvi 115 : misquoted, the correct reading being " He hath provided you."

3. *Qur'ān*, vii 30.

this book, both for my own use, and for the use of whoever may wish to employ it, on the Art of Cooking. I have mentioned in it dishes selected by myself, perhaps passing over briefly such as are well-known and in common use, and then listing certain choice relishes, savouries, souses, fish, rissoles and sweets.¹ My principle throughout has been brevity and succinctness, and the avoidance of prolixity and longwindedness. I pray that God may help and assist me. The book is divided into ten chapters.

NOTE.—It is important that a cook should be intelligent, acquainted with the rules of cooking, and that he should have a flair for the art. He must also keep his nails constantly trimmed, not neglecting them, nor allowing them to grow long, lest dirt collect underneath them. Of cooking-pots let him choose those made of stone, or as a second-best those of earthenware : only as a last resort should he use pots of tinned copper. There is nothing more abominable than food cooked in a copper pot which has lost its tinning. He should choose dry wood, such as does not give forth an acrid smoke, as for example, olive-wood, ilex, and the like : the wood of the fig-tree should be especially avoided, for it gives off much smoke, as do all sappy woods. He must also know the quantity of fuel required. Of salt he should choose the rock variety,² or, if this is not obtainable, then pure white salt, free from dust and particles of stone. He should choose the following seasonings : of coriander, what is freshly-gathered, green, and dry ; of cummin and caraway, the same ; of cinnamon, that whereof the bark is thick and luxuriant, strong-scented, burning the tongue ; of mastic, the kind with large, bright grains, not small, and free of dust and dirt ; of pepper, fresh, not old, large-grained. The utmost care must be taken in cleaning the seasonings, and grinding them fine. So likewise when washing the utensils used in cooking, and the saucepans : let them be rubbed with brick-dust, then with dry, powdered potash and saffron, and finally with the fresh leaf of the citron. For pounding meat, a stone mortar should be preferred ; but seasonings must be ground fine in a mill, or else pounded in a copper mortar. In short, it is of the greatest importance that the seasonings shall be well and finely ground, and that the pots and utensils are washed as thoroughly as possible.

Seasonings are used freely with plain dishes, as well as with fried and dry foods, the latter of the sweet rather than the sour varieties ; but sparingly in sour dishes that have their own broth. The following rule should be observed in all cooking : when the saucepan is boiling, remove with great care the froth, cream, and dirt of the meat, and whatever else may be floating at the top of the pan, together with the bubbles

1. Sc. ch. 6-9.

2. *Andarāni* : see Ibn al-Baitār, *Mufradāt*, s.v. *milh*. The adjective is derived from *Andarān* the name of a place near Nishapur. [C].

that rise up. But first the meat must be washed with warm water and salt, to cleanse it of any blood or dirt that may remain on it: the ganglions, veins and membranes are also removed. In plain and fried dishes, the meat is lightly fried in oil¹ before boiling. The cooked meat should be left to settle over a slow fire for a good hour before being ladled out: this it is important to remember.

CHAPTER I—SOUR DISHES

SOME sour dishes are sweetened with sugar, syrup, honey or date-juice: others are not sweetened, but served in their natural bitterness. It seems best, however, to treat of them all in one chapter, as follows.

SIKBĀJ.—Cut fat meat into middling pieces,² place in the saucepan, and cover with water, fresh coriander, cinnamon-bark, and salt to taste. When boiling, remove the froth and cream with a ladle, and throw away. Remove the fresh coriander, and add dry coriander. Take white onions, Syrian leeks, and carrots if in season, or else egg-plant. Skin, splitting the egg-plant thoroughly, and half stew in water in a separate saucepan: then strain, and leave in the saucepan on top of the meat. Add seasonings, and salt to taste. When almost cooked, take wine-vinegar and date-juice, or honey if preferred—date-juice is the more suitable—and mix together so that the mixture is midway between sharp and sweet, then pour into the saucepan, and boil for an hour. When ready to take off the fire, remove a little of the broth, bray into it saffron as required, and pour back into the saucepan. Then take sweet almonds, peel, split, and place on top of the pan, together with a few raisins, currants, and dried figs. Cover for an hour, to settle over the heat of the fire. Wipe the sides with a clean rag, and sprinkle rose-water on top. When settled, remove.

IBRĀHĪMIYĀ.³—Cut the meat into middling pieces, and place in a saucepan with water to cover, salt to taste, and boil until the juices are given off.⁴ Throw in a bag of stout cotton containing coriander, ginger, pepper, all ground fine, then add some pieces of cinnamon-bark and mastic. Cut up two or three onions very small, and throw in. Mince

1. *Ta'riq*: to fry gently until the juice of the meat exudes like perspiration ('*araq*) [C]. Dozy, *Supplément* ii, p. 118 quotes a use of this form of the verb indicating "cooking [dry figs] in water, with a view to preserving them."

2. This appears to be the significance of the word *wasaf* (pl. *ausaf*) in this and similar context: cf. the proverb, "The *wasaf* (sc. golden mean) of a thing is its best part."

3. Named after the celebrated epicure, Prince Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (162/779-224/839, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ii, pp. 435 f.), who wrote a manual of cookery, see Mez, *Abulḥāsim* p. xxxix (where this recipe is quoted from Gotha 1345), al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (ed. Flügel), p. 317 (where ten other lost cookery manuals are mentioned).

4. This seems to be the meaning here of *ta'arruq*, cf. n. 1. above.

red meat and make into cabobs as usual, and add. When the ingredients are cooked, remove the bag of seasonings. Add to the broth the juice of sweet old grapes, or if unprocurable, of fresh grapes, squeezing in the hand without skinning, or else distilled vinegar: the juice is strained, then sweet almonds are chopped fine and moistened in water, the grape-juice is poured on them, and the mixture is sweetened slightly with white sugar, so as not to be too sour. Leave over the fire an hour to settle. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and sprinkle with rose-water. When settled, remove.

JURJĀNIYA.¹—Cut the meat into middling pieces, and leave in the saucepan, covered with water, and with a little salt. Cut up some onions small. When the saucepan is boiling, put in the onion, together with dry coriander, pepper, ginger and cinnamon pounded fine. If desired, add walnuts, first shelling and then chopping up into middling pieces. Stir, until the ingredients are cooked. Now take the seeds of a sour pomegranate and of black grapes cut in halves, grind fine, soak in water, and strain through a fine sieve, then throw into the saucepan, together with a little vinegar. Add sweet almonds, peeled and chopped up fine, and soaked in water. When boiling and almost done sweeten with sugar to taste. Throw on top a handful of raisins and sprinkle with a little rose-water. Cover to settle over the fire, then remove.

HUMMĀDIYA.²—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, and leave in the saucepan with a covering of water and a little salt. Boil, then throw in the stout cotton bag containing the seasonings, namely, dry coriander, ginger, pepper and cloves ground fine: add also a few pieces of cinnamon. Now mince red meat with seasonings, and make into cabobs: when the saucepan is boiling, throw in the cabobs, and as soon as these are cooked, remove the bag of seasonings. Now take the pulp of large citrons, seeded, and squeeze well in the hand, add about a quarter as much of grape-juice, and pour into the saucepan on top of the meat. Boil for an hour. Take sweet almonds, peel, chop up fine, soak in water, and add to the saucepan. Sweeten with sugar, or with syrup if preferred. Leave the saucepan over the fire to settle. Sprinkle with rose-water, wipe the sides with a clean rag, and remove.

DĪKBARĪKA.³—Cut the meat into middling pieces and leave in the saucepan, throwing in a little salt, a handful of peeled chick-peas, dry and green coriander, sliced onions and leeks: cover with water,

1. After Jurjān, a city in Persia.

2. Derived from *hummād*, the pulp of the citron.

3. Sic: Chelebi derives from the Syriac *dīkā barīkā*, i.e., "holy chicken." This seems unlikely, and I conjecture that the name is derived from the Persian *dīg bar īk*, sc. "pot on the ember." It is clear that *dikbardik* is not appropriate here, a medical term derived from Persian—"pot on pot"—and signifying "un remède composé, sublimé et caustique, qui corrode la chair et les ulcères" (Dozy, op. cit. i, p. 481). However, in Mez, *Abulḥāsīm* (text), p. 40, a dish is mentioned called *al-dikbarāja* which may be identical, but of which the etymology seems obscure.

and boil. Remove the froth. Now add wine-vinegar and murri,¹ with a little pepper brayed fine, and cook until the flavour is distinct. Some sweeten with a little sugar. When cooked, throw in a little *blattes de Bysance*,² and leave to settle over the fire. Then remove.

ZĪRBĀJ.³—Cut fat meat into small pieces, put into the saucepan, and cover with water, adding a few pieces of cinnamon, peeled chick-peas, and a little salt. When boiling, remove the scum. Then pour in a *raṭl* of wine-vinegar, quarter of a *raṭl* of sugar, and an *ūqīya* of sweet almonds, peeled and ground fine. Mix together rose-water and vinegar, and throw in on top of the meat. Add a *dirham* of brayed coriander, pepper, and sifted mastic, and colour with saffron. If it is desired to thicken, add starch with the saffron. Sprinkle on top of the saucepan a handful of almonds, peeled and halved, and spray with a little rose-water. Wipe the sides with a clean rag, and leave over the fire to settle: then remove. If desired, a chicken may be added: pluck and clean the bird, cut it into quarters, and when the saucepan is boiling, throw it in on top of the meat to cook with it.

NĪRBĀJ.⁴—Cut the meat into middling pieces and throw into the saucepan with a little salt, cover with water, and boil. Remove the froth, and put in sliced onions, and leeks if desired. Add dry coriander, cinnamon, pepper, mastic, ginger, and a few sprigs of mint. When this is cooked, take the seeds of a pomegranate, and about a third the quantity of the seeds of black grapes, grind up fine, mix with water, strain, and put into the pot. Grind up walnuts fine, stir in water, and add also, putting on top some whole pieces of walnut. Take a few

1. The following recipe for making murri is written at the end of the MS. "Take 5 *raṭls* each of penny-royal and flour. Make the flour into a good dough without leaven or salt, bake, and leave until dry. Then grind up fine with the penny-royal, knead into a green trough with a third the quantity of salt, and put out into the sun for 40 days in the heat of the summer, kneading every day at dawn and evening, and sprinkling with water. When black, put into conserving-jars, cover with an equal quantity of water, and leave for two weeks, stirring morning and evening. When it begins to bubble, leave it to settle, then strain, and put the lees back into the trough. Leave in the sun another two weeks, covered with an equal quantity of water, stirring morning and evening: then strain it into the first murri. Add cinnamon, saffron and some aromatic herbs. [Another recipe] Take penny-royal and wheaten or barley flour, make into a dry dough with hot water, using no leaven or salt, and bake into a loaf with a hole in the middle. Wrap in fig leaves, stuff into a preserving-jar, and leave in the shade until fetid. Then remove, and dry."

2. Certainly Chelebi is right in emending *aṭrāf* to *aẓfār*: this ingredient is mentioned several times in the book. The literal sense of the phrase is "perfumed nails" (in Persian *nākhun-i dīv* "devil's claw"): in J. von Sonthheimer's translation of Ibn Baiṭār's *Mufradāt*, i, p. 56, the Latin equivalent *Strombus lentiginosus* is given—Ibn Baiṭār describes in full this odoriferous substance 'of the nature of the shards of shells' as Lane says in his *Lexicon* s.v.—quoting among other authorities Dioscurides—while the French version is due to Leclerc, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, t. 23.

3. Persian *zīrbā* or *zīrbāj*, for which latter see Dozy, *op. cit.* i, p. 618.

4. Perhaps an alternative form of *Nīraj*, see Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 741.

sprigs of dry mint, and rub them into the saucepan. While the meat is stewing, and its juices are being given off, mince up red meat with seasonings, and make into cabobs. Sprinkle rose-water over the saucepan, wipe the sides with a clean rag, leave over the fire to settle, then remove.

TABĀHAJA.¹—Slice the meat from the bone and chop up small. Cut and slice the tail, and put it into the saucepan with a little water, half a *dirham* of ground salt, and a *dānaq* of saffron : let the tail dissolve, and remove the sediment.² Now throw the meat into the saucepan on top of the oil, adding pieces of onion, sprigs of mint, and celery, and stir until the juices are dry. Then add dry coriander, cummin, caraway, cinnamon and ginger, all ground fine, keeping back half of the seasonings to put in after the meat is cooked. Then take wine-vinegar, grape-juice and lemon-juice, mix, and add a little of all the seasonings : if desired, a little sumach-juice may also be added. Pour in these juices from time to time, until the cooking is complete. Take out the vegetables : sprinkle with old murri, or if this be not available, then with sumach-juice. Now add the remainder of the seasonings, together with a little pepper. Garnish with yolks of eggs, and spray with rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, leave over the fire to settle, and remove.

TUFFĀHIYA.³—Take fat meat and cut into small strips : throw into the saucepan with a little salt and dry coriander, and boil until almost cooked. Remove and throw away the scum. Cut up onions small and throw in, with cinnamon-bark, pepper, mastic and ginger ground fine, and a few sprigs of mint. Take sour apples, remove the pips, and pound in a stone mortar, squeezing out the juice : put in on top of the meat. Peel almonds and soak in water, then throw in. Kindle the fire under it, until the whole is done : then leave over the fire to settle. If desired, add a chicken, cutting it into quarters, and letting it cook with the meat. Then remove.

HİŞRİMİYA.⁴—Take fat meat, cut up, and throw into the saucepan, adding a little salt and dry coriander. Cover with water, [and boil] : then remove the scum. Cut up onions [and add]. Peel egg-plants, half-boil in a separate saucepan with water and salt, then strain and put into the [other] saucepan, adding a few sprigs of mint and pieces of gourd skinned and pulped. Throw in also pepper, mastic and cinnamon ground fine. Take fresh sour grapes, and squeeze well in the hand, then strain through a fine sieve : add about a tenth part of lemon-juice, and pour into the saucepan. Peel sweet almonds and grind, then mix

1. The usual form is *tabāhaj* (var. *tabāhij*), see Dozy s.v., who quotes Lane, *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, and *Lexicon*, p. 1821 : the description of the dish in the latter place is somewhat different.

2. The remains of the tail of the sheep after the fat has been dissolved (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 636).

3. From *tuffāḥ*=apple, which forms the distinguishing flavour of the dish.

4. From *ḥiṣrim*=unripe grapes.

with a little water: flavour to taste with the water and milk of the almond. Take also a little dried mint and rub it over the saucepan: some also add a little sour apple, which is also good. If desired, after the meat has been put in, a chicken may be added, cut into quarters. Spray the saucepan with rose-water, leave over a slow fire for an hour to settle, and remove.

HALAWIYA¹ (also called **FARHĀNA**).²—Cut up fat meat and tail separately: leave in the saucepan with a little salt, dry coriander, sliced onions, and leeks, covering with water: boil until almost cooked, then remove the scum and throw away. Add pepper, ginger, mastic and cinnamon, ground fine. When cooked, take wine-vinegar and sugar—or syrup or honey—and mix to taste, colouring with saffron, [and add]. When almost cooked, put on top of the saucepan sweet almonds cut into halves, raisins, peeled pistachios and filberts, seeded red raisins, and pieces of *mubaḥthara*³ and *qurāḍiya*⁴ cake (*ḥalwā*). Spray the saucepan with rose-water, wipe the sides with a clean rag, leave over the fire to settle, and remove. If desired, after the meat is half-boiled, add a quartered chicken to cook with it.

RUMMĀNĪYA.⁵—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, and put into the saucepan, with a little scented salt,⁶ and cover with water. [Boil, and] remove the scum thoroughly. Strip egg-plant of its black skin, and split well: peel and split onions also. Peel a gourd, remove the pith and seeds, and cut into strips. Throw all these into the saucepan, after half-boiling them in a separate pot. Add coriander, cummin, cinnamon, pepper, mastic, and some sprigs of mint, and cook well. Now take sour pomegranates, squeeze very well in the hand, strain, and throw into the saucepan. Rub in dry mint: pound a little garlic, and leave this also in the pot. A chicken, quartered, may be placed in the saucepan, to cook with the meat. Leave over a slow fire for an hour, then remove.

RIBĀSĪYA.⁷—Fry the meat lightly, then boil it with the seasonings, throwing in a little chopped onion. Squeeze out the juice of red-currants, and pour it in. Add a few sweet almonds, peeled and ground fine. Leave over a slow fire until cooked, then remove.

1. From *ḥalwā* = cake, the distinguishing ingredient.

2. This is the name of a white truffle (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2362): the connection seems obscure.

3. The recipe for this is given in ch. 10.

4. This word is not vocalized in the manuscript, and Chelebi conjectures that it is to be identified with *muqarraḍa*, the alternative name for *fistiḳiya*, see ch. 9. Neither form appears in any of the dictionaries. If we are right in spelling *qurāḍiya*, it is possible that the name is derived from *qurāḍa* = "petites pièces de dinār ou de dirhem, que l'on coupait avec les ciseaux" (Dozy *op. cit.*, ii, p. 329), and that the cakes were so called because of their shape.

5. From *rummān* = pomegranate.

6. The recipe for this is given in ch. 7.

7. From *ribās* = red-currant.

SUMĀQIYA.¹—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and leave in the saucepan, adding a little scented salt. Boil until almost cooked, and remove the scum well. Throw in beet cut the size of a finger, and carrots. Take onions and Nabatean leeks, peel, wash in salt and water, and put in on top. If egg-plant is in season, add this too, peeling off the black skin, and boiling in a separate pot. Take sumach, place in another saucepan with a little salt and the pith of a loaf, boil well, and strain. If desired, pluck and wash a chicken, cut it into quarters, and throw it into the saucepan. Mince red meat fine with seasonings and make into cabobs of middling size, then add these to the saucepan, together with seasonings of dry coriander, cummin, pepper, ginger, cinnamon and mastic ground fine, and a few sprigs of fresh mint. Now take the sumach and put it into the saucepan. Grind walnuts, soak in water, and add : rub over the pot dry mint, and throw in a few pieces of walnut whole. Grind a little garlic, moisten with a trifle of the broth, and pour in. Some garnish with poached eggs.² Leave over a slow fire to settle, then remove.

LĪMUWIYA.³—Cut up the meat and tail, and leave in the saucepan with a little salt. Cover with water, and boil until done, removing the scum. Then take onions, leeks, and carrots if in season, otherwise egg-plant. Wash the onions and leeks in lukewarm water and salt. Half-boil the egg-plant in a separate saucepan, then add it to the rest : if carrots are used, however, they need not be boiled by themselves. Throw on top dry coriander, mastic, pepper, cinnamon and ginger well-ground, and a few sprigs of mint. Take a chicken and quarter it, then place it in the saucepan : throw in the herbs. Take the natural juice⁴ of lemons, straining off the sediment and pips, and pour into the pot. Peel and chop sweet almonds, soak in water, and add. Rub over the pot sprigs of dry mint, and spray with rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave over the fire to settle : then remove. Some sweeten with sugar : but if sweetening, omit the mint and egg-plant.

MAGHMŪMA⁵ (also called **MUQATṬA'A**).⁶—Cut fat meat small. Slice the tail thin and chop up small. Take onions and egg-plant, peel, half-boil, and also cut up small : these may, however, be peeled and cut up into the meat-pot, and not be boiled separately. Make a

1. From *sumāq*=sumach (the word is derived from the Arabic). The culinary use of sumach is evidently unknown to the editors of the *O.E.D.*, who mention its properties for tanning leather and, medicinally, as an astringent.

2. Literally, "eyes of eggs : " when eggs are broken over a hot place, they set, with the yellow in the middle and the white around, so that the yellow is like the pupil of the eye, and the white like the white of the eye. [C].

3. From *līmū*=lemon.

4. Sc. the juice obtained without squeezing.

5. Literally, "covered."

6. Literally, "chopped up."

layer of the tail at the bottom of the pan, then put on top of it a layer of meat : drop in fine-ground seasonings, dry coriander, cummin, caraway, pepper, cinnamon, ginger and salt. On top of the meat put a layer of egg-plant and onion : repeat, until only about four or five fingers' space remain in the pot. Sprinkle over each layer the ground seasonings as required. Mix best vinegar with a little water and a trifle of saffron, and add to the pan so as to lie to a depth of two or three fingers on top of the meat and other ingredients. Leave to settle over the fire : then remove.

MAMQŪRIYA.¹—Cut fat meat small and throw into the saucepan with a little salt and a covering of water : boil, and remove the scum. When nearly cooked, add the seasonings, coriander, cummin, cinnamon, mastic, pepper, and chopped onion. When cooked, throw in a portion of wine-vinegar with two portions of murri, and sprinkle on top a small handful of dry coriander whole. Spray with rose-water. Leave over the fire to settle : then remove.

HUBAISHIYA.²—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, throw into the saucepan with a little salt, cover with water, and boil : remove the scum. When nearly cooked, throw in chopped onion washed in tepid water and salt, and peeled carrots from which the hearts have been scooped out. Add dry coriander, cummin, cinnamon, mastic and pepper. Take black raisins as required, pound up fine, moisten with water, and strain : take two parts of the juice of these, and one part of fine sharp vinegar, and pour into the saucepan. Grind in also a few walnuts soaked in the same juice. Rub over the pan a few sprigs of dry mint. Leave the saucepan over the fire to settle. Remove, after wiping the sides with a clean rag.

MISHMISHIYA.³—Cut fat meat small, put into the saucepan with a little salt, and cover with water. Boil, and remove the scum. Cut up onions, wash, and throw in on top of the meat. Add seasonings, coriander, cummin, mastic, cinnamon, pepper and ginger, well-ground. Take dry apricots, soak in hot water, then wash and put into a separate saucepan, and boil lightly : take out, wipe in the hands, and strain through a sieve. Take the juice, and add it to the saucepan to form a broth. Take sweet almonds, grind fine, moisten with a little apricot juice, and throw in. Some colour with a trifle of saffron. Spray the saucepan with a little rose-water, wipe its sides with a clean rag, and leave to settle over the fire : then remove.

NĀRANJIYA.⁴—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, and leave in the saucepan, covered with water, to boil : when boiling, remove the scum. Add salt to taste. Cut up onions and leeks, washing in salt and

1. From *mamqūr*=soused in vinegar and salt.

2. From *hubaish*=guinea-fowl (the connection seems obscure).

3. From *mishmish*=apricot.

4. From *nāranj*=orange (derived from the Persian).

water : scrape carrots, cut into strips four fingers long, and throw into the pot. Add cummin, dry coriander, cinnamon-bark, pepper, ginger and mastic, ground fine, with a few sprigs of mint. Mince red meat well with seasonings, and make into middle-sized cabobs. Take oranges, peel, remove the white pulp, and squeeze : let one person peel, and another do the squeezing. Strain through a sieve, and pour into the saucepan. Take cardamom-seeds that have been steeped in hot water an hour : wash, and grind fine in a stone mortar, or a copper one if stone is not procurable. Extract the juice by hand, strain, and throw into the pot. Rub over the pan a quantity of dry mint. Wipe the sides with a clean rag, and leave over the fire to settle : then remove.

NĀRSIRK.—This is a Persian word, meaning "pomegranate and vinegar."¹ Cut fat meat into middling pieces, then put into the saucepan and cover with water, adding a little salt. Boil, and remove the scum. When almost cooked, throw in coriander, cummin, pepper, cinnamon and mastic : bray all separately from the cinnamon, leaving this last in its bark. Cut up onions, wash, and put into the pot, with a few sprigs of mint. Add cabobs of red meat minced with seasonings. Take pomegranate seeds, grind up fine, mix with wine-vinegar, strain, and pour into the saucepan. Peel walnuts, grind them fine, soak in hot water, and add, flavouring the mixture to taste, and putting in sufficient walnuts to give it a consistency. Then throw on top a few pieces of whole walnut, and rub in sprigs of dry mint. Spray with a little rose-water : wipe the sides with a clean rag, and leave over the fire to settle. Then remove.

MAŞŪŞIYA.²—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, put into the saucepan, cover with water, add a little salt, and boil, removing the scum. Throw in chopped celery, washed, with roots and stems removed, a little chopped onion, and seasonings, coriander, cummin, mastic and cinnamon-bark. Pour in good vinegar, enough to cover. Colour with a trifle of saffron. Garnish with poached eggs. Leave over a slow fire an hour : then remove.

MILK DISHES

MAḌĪRA.³—Cut fat meat into middling pieces with the tail : if chickens are used, quarter them. Put into the saucepan with a little salt, and cover with water : boil, removing the scum. When almost cooked, take large onions and Nabatean leeks, peel, cut off the tails, wash in salt and water, dry and put into the pot. Add dry coriander,

1. *Nār*=pomegranate : *sirka*=vinegar.

2. From *maşūş*, "a certain kind of food, of flesh-meat, cooked, and steeped in vinegar, or, as some say, steeped in vinegar, and then cooked" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2718).

3. See above, p. 28. The word is derived from *maḍīr*=curdled.

cummin, mastic and cinnamon, ground fine. When cooked, and the juices are dried up, so that only the oil remains, ladle out into a large bowl. Now take Persian milk¹ as required, and put into the saucepan, added salted lemon and fresh mint. Leave to boil: then take off the fire, stirring. When the boiling has subsided, put back the meat and herbs. Cover the saucepan, wipe its sides, and leave to settle over the fire: then remove.

BUQŪLIYA.²—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and place in the saucepan with a little salt and water to cover. When boiling, remove the scum. When almost cooked, take vegetable leeks, cut up small, and grind well in a stone mortar, then throw into the pot. Take red meat, mince with the usual seasonings, together with a little of the ground leek, and make into cabobs: add these to the pot. When the juices have dried, add coriander, cummin and pepper ground fine, with cinnamon-bark. Pour in Persian milk as required. Rub in a few sprigs of dry mint. Wipe the sides of the pot with a clean rag, and leave over the fire to settle: then remove.

LABANIYA.³—Cut up the meat and throw it into the saucepan with a little salt and water to cover, and boil until almost done. When the meat has fried in its own oil, and most of the juice has dried, throw in chopped onions and leeks, after washing them: split egg-plant well, half-boil in a separate saucepan, and then add to the rest, with dry coriander, powdered cummin, mastic, cinnamon-bark, and some sprigs of mint. Boil in what remains of the juices until completely cooked. Add Persian milk to which ground garlic has been added. Rub over the pan a few sprigs of dry mint: wipe the sides with a clean rag. Leave over the fire for an hour to settle: then remove.

MUJAZZA'A.⁴—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and place in the saucepan with a little salt and water to cover: when boiling, remove the scum. Cut up two or three onions and add. Take two or three bundles of beet, according to the quantity of the meat, cut into pieces four fingers long, wash, and throw into the pot. Add dry coriander, cummin, mastic, cinnamon and pepper. When cooked, pour in Persian milk to which has been added ground garlic, as required. When the saucepan has settled over the fire, drop in a little *shūnīz*.⁵ Wipe the sides, and remove.

1. Evidently=curdled milk, although, as Chelebi remarks, the name does not occur in the lexicons.

2. Presumably referring to the *karāth al-baql*=vegetable leeks (as distinct from Nabatean leeks) used in the recipe (see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, p. 453): not from *baqūl*=mallow.

3. From *luban*=milk, esp. sour milk (fresh milk is *ḥalīb*).

4. Literally, "variegated, parti-coloured:" used to describe mosaics.

5. According to Ibn al-Baiṭār, *Mufradāt* (tr. Leclerc) s.v., this aromatic herb is *nigelle* (Greek) or fennel-flower: see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, p. 791. Lane (*Lexicon*, p. 1605) translates, "the black aromatic seed of a species of *nigella*, a sort of allspice."

'UKAIKA.¹—Take fresh tail, cut up, and dissolve, extracting the sediment. Then take fat meat, cut up small, and throw into the dissolved tail, stirring until browned. Cover with water and a little salt, and leave to cook and dry, until only the oil remains of the juices. Throw in dry coriander and cummin ground fine, cinnamon, brayed pepper, and mastic. Keep stirring. Take Persian milk as required, to which ground garlic has been added, and throw into the pot, leaving to boil. Now remove from the fire, and leave the saucepan over a gentle flame, until the milk coagulates, when the oil floating on top is thrown away. Then scatter a little fine-brayed cinnamon. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and remove.

MAŞLIYA.²—Cut fat meat and boil as usual, removing the scum. When cooked, throw in a handful of chopped onion, a little salt, dry coriander brayed, cummin, pepper, cinnamon-bark and mastic. When the juices of the meat are dry and the oil appears, take whey-cake, pound small, pour over it hot water, and dissolve well by hand until it becomes like sour milk and of the same consistency, then throw into the saucepan. Bruise a little garlic and add, with some sprigs of fresh mint. Sprinkle some fine-brayed cinnamon into the pot. Wipe the sides with a clean rag, and leave over the fire an hour to settle: then remove.

CHAPTER II—PLAIN DISHES

ISFĀNĀKHIYA.³—Take fat meat and cut into medium-sized pieces. Slice the fresh tail, dissolve, and remove the sediment. Put the meat into this oil and stir until browned: then cover with water that has been heated separately. Add a little salt: boil, and remove the scum. Throw in a handful of chick-peas that have been soaked and peeled. Take fresh spinach, wash, remove the lower roots, and cut with a knife into fingers, then pound in a stone mortar, and put into the saucepan. When nearly cooked, add dry coriander, cummin, brayed pepper, mastic, small pieces of cinnamon-bark, and a little garlic bruised fine. Now fill with water as required, letting the water be lukewarm. When it has boiled for an hour, add clean, washed rice as required, placing it over the fire until it is set firm and smooth: then leave over a slow flame for an hour, and remove. Meanwhile prepare red meat minced fine and made into cabobs, and fry these in oil with the usual seasonings. When the concoction is ladled out, strew over it this fried meat, together with the oil as required, sprinkle with fine-ground cinnamon, and serve.

1. Apparently diminutive of 'akka=magpie.

2. From maşl=cooked whey [C].

3. From isfānākh=spinach.

RUKHĀMIYA.¹—Cook rice with milk until set thick, then ladle out. Place on top of this, meat fried in tail-fat and seasonings in the form of cabobs, as in the preceding recipe. Sprinkle with cinnamon. Another recipe : Boil the meat, and when it is cooked, and little juice is left, throw in a quantity of fresh milk as required : add cinnamon-bark and mastic. When thoroughly on the boil, add washed rice as wanted. When cooked and set smooth, ladle out, strew with fried meat as described above, and sprinkle with cinnamon.

ARUZ MUFALFAL.²—Take fat meat and cut into middling pieces. Dissolve fresh tail, and throw away the sediment. Pour in the meat, and stir until browned. Sprinkle with a little salt and dry coriander ground fine. Then cover with water and boil until cooked, throwing away the scum. Remove from the saucepan when the water has dried and it is itself juicy, and not absolutely parched. Throw in dry coriander, cummin, cinnamon and mastic brayed fine, as required, and likewise salt. When quite cooked, remove from the saucepan, draining off all water and oil, and sprinkle with the aforesaid seasonings. Now take a *kail* of rice, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ *kails* of water. Dissolve fresh tail, about one-third the weight of the meat. Pour water into the saucepan, and when boiling, throw in the molten oil, add mastic and cinnamon-bark, and bring thoroughly to the boil. Wash the rice several times, colour with saffron, and place in the water without stirring : then cover the saucepan for an hour, until the rice swells and the water boils. Now remove the cover : lay the meat in strips on top of the rice, and cover again, placing a cloth over the cover, wrapping it up so that no air can get in. Leave the saucepan to settle over a gentle fire for an hour : then remove. Some make it simple, without the saffron colouring.

SHŪRBĀ.³—Cut fat meat into middling pieces. Dissolve fresh tail, and throw away the sediment. Put the meat into the oil, and stir until browned. Cover with lukewarm water, and add a little salt, a handful of peeled chick-peas, small pieces of cinnamon-bark, and some sprigs of dry dill. When the meat is cooked, throw in dry coriander, ginger and pepper, brayed fine. Add more lukewarm water, and put over a hot fire until thoroughly boiling : then remove the dill from the saucepan. Take cleaned rice, wash several times, and put into the saucepan as required, leaving it over the fire until the rice is cooked : then remove from the fire. Sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon. Wipe the sides of the pot with a clean rag, leave over the fire for an hour, and then remove. Do not leave so long that the rice becomes hard set. If desired, add some cabobs of minced meat.

1. Presumably from *rukhām* = white marble (rather than from *rukhāmā* = a certain plant bearing a white flower and with a white root).

2. Literally, "peppered rice."

3. Literally, "broth, soup," the Persianized form of *shūrbā* : see Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, s.v., Dozy, *op. cit.*, i, p. 740.

MUJADDARA.¹—The recipe for this is the same as for *Aruz Mufalfal*, except that it is not coloured with saffron. Put in half as much lentils as the rice, then proceed as for *Aruz Mufalfal*.

İTRİYA.²—Cut fat meat into middling pieces: dissolve tail, and throw away the sediment. Put the meat into this oil, and let it fry lightly, then throw in a little salt and cinnamon-bark, and cover with water. Cut up two onions and throw in, before adding the water, as well as a handful of peeled chick-peas, fingers³ of beet, and about two handfuls of rice, cleaned and washed. When the meat is cooked, add fine-ground dry coriander, a little pepper, and mastic. When thoroughly on the boil, add to the saucepan a handful and a half of macaroni. When the mixture is cooked, scatter in fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon. Wipe the sides of the pan with a clean rag, leave to settle over the fire, and then remove.

RISHTA.⁴—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and put into the saucepan, with a covering of water. Add cinnamon-bark, a little salt, a handful of peeled chick-peas, and half a handful of lentils. Boil until cooked: then add more water, and bring thoroughly to the boil. Now add spaghetti (which is made by kneading flour and water well, then rolling out fine and cutting into thin threads four fingers long). Put over the fire and cook until set to a smooth consistency. When it has settled over a gentle fire for an hour, remove.

'ADASIYA.⁵—Cut up the meat, and dissolve the tail as usual. Put the meat into the oil, and fry lightly until browned: then throw in a little salt, cummin, and brayed dry coriander, and cover with water. When nearly cooked, add beet washed and cut into pieces four fingers long. When thoroughly boiling, add as required lentils, cleaned and washed, and keep a steady fire going until the lentils are cooked. When set smooth and definitely cooked, add as required fine-bruised garlic, stirring with a ladle. Then leave over a slow fire: and remove. When serving, squeeze over it lemon juice.

HINTIYA.⁶—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and fry lightly in dissolved tail as described above: then throw in a little salt, brayed dry coriander, and some pieces of cinnamon. When nearly cooked, increase the water as required by the wheat, and add a little dry dill. When properly boiling, take sufficient shelled wheat, crush fine in a mortar, wash, and add to the pot. Remove the dill. Keep a steady fire,

1. The adjective means literally "one having the smallpox:" the designation of the dish by such a name is a grim jest indeed.

2. Chelebi in a learned note quotes authorities for identifying this with *rishta*: from one description, however (that of Dāwud al-Anṭākī), it seems very probable that *itriya* is macaroni.

3. Literally, "ribs."

4. A Persian word, literally, "thread," then commonly used for spaghetti: in the manuscript it is written *Rāshṭā*.

5. From *'adas*=lentil.

6. From *hinṭa*=wheat.

until it sets smooth. When settled over the fire for an hour, remove. Sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon, and if desired add squeezed lemon.

FARIKIYA.¹—Cut fat meat small and fry lightly in dissolved oil : then cover with water, adding a little salt and cinnamon-bark. When the meat is cooked, throw in some ground dry coriander, and add a little more water. Take fresh wheat as required, separate from the ear, clean, and add to the saucepan, letting it set thicker than in the preceding recipe. When settled over the fire, take off and ladle out. Sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon, pour on some of the dissolved fresh tail, and serve.

MUHALLABIYA² (also called **BAHATTA**).³—Boil fat meat after cutting it into middling pieces and frying it lightly in dissolved oil as usual. When cooked, add more water, and leave on the boil for an hour, putting in as required salt, dry coriander, mastic, and sticks of cinnamon. When the meat is cooked, pour in lukewarm water to make a broth as required, by the used quantity of rice. When the water boils, throw in the rice, washed, as required, colour with saffron, and sweeten with syrup or sugar to taste. Leave over the fire an hour to settle : then remove.

ISFIDBAJA.⁴—Fry lightly meat cut into middling pieces in molten oil of fresh tail until browned, then throw in salt to taste, fine-brayed dry coriander, cummin and pepper, pieces of onion, a handful of peeled chick-peas, and some sticks of dill. Cover with water, add a little salt, and boil until cooked. Remove the onion, and add a little more lukewarm water. Take a portion of sweet almonds, peel, grind fine, stir in water, and add to the saucepan, making a broth as desired of the milk of almond. Before putting in the milked almond, one may also add cabobs of red meat minced with the usual seasonings, and a chicken, plucked, washed and quartered. Then remove the dill. Garnish with poached eggs. Sprinkle with fine-ground cummin and cinnamon : wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave over the fire an hour to settle. Then remove.

SUGHDIYA.⁵—Cut up fat meat and throw into the saucepan, with some pieces of onion, two *dirhams* of coriander and scraped cinnamon-bark, and two *dirhams* of salt. Keep stirring. When juicy and fragrant with the seasonings, throw in a handful of peeled chick-peas, and stir. If desired, add a cock or chicks quartered. Cover with water : add a little oil of sesame, and a little washed dill. When boiling, remove the dill. Take some almonds, peel, grind fine, and mix with water : add to

1. From *farik* = " mets fait de froment cuit avec du beurre, etc." (Kazimirsky).

2. Literally, " shorn."

3. A Persian loan-word from the Hindi *bhāt* = boiled rice.

4. From Persian *isfid-bā* [j], literally, " white gruel."

5. Named after Sughd, a district of Persia between Bukhara and Samarqand [C] : see *Encyclopaedia Islam*, iv, p. 473 (Soghd).

this the white of egg, beat up well, then throw into the pan, with salt to taste. Now take thin slices of meat that have been half-boiled and flavoured with salt : lay sticks on top of the pot, and place these slices over the sticks to smoke in the ascending vapours. When the saucepan is cooked, throw in on top the slices of meat, together with yolks of egg. Then take red meat, cut up fine with a large knife, and pound in the mortar with seasonings and salt to taste, making into cabobs. Stew with the slices : then remove, and dip them in the whites of egg : let them be hot, so as to absorb the whites and be covered with them. Then put them back into the saucepan with the slices. Wipe the sides of the pan with a clean rag, cover, and leave over the fire an hour to settle. Then sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon, and remove.

SHURBĀ KHADRĀ'.¹—Cut fat meat into middling pieces and fry lightly in dissolved tail. When brown, add salt to taste, fine-brayed dry coriander, pieces of cinnamon, and a handful of peeled chick-peas. Cover with water, and put on the fire : when boiling, throw away the scum. Take two bunches of fresh vegetable leeks, cut small with a knife, pound in the mortar, and throw into the saucepan. Take a portion of red meat, chop up fine with seasonings, adding a handful of peeled chick-peas, washed rice, and a little of the pounded leek : make into cabobs, and throw into the saucepan. When all is cooked, add more water as required. Then take rice, a quarter as much as the water, wash several times, and put into the saucepan : let it continue to boil until thoroughly cooked, a little on the light side. Leave over the fire to settle : then remove.

MĀ' WA-HIMMAS'.²—Lightly fry the meat as usual, as described above : then add salt, coriander and cummin to taste, cinnamon-bark, peeled chick-peas, dill, and chopped onion. Cover with water, and boil until cooked. Pour off the fat. Leave to settle over the fire : then remove.

MĀ' AL-BĀQILĪ'.³—Make in the same way as the preceding : only for chick-peas substitute beans, peeled, soaked and split. When ladled out, add a little lemon juice, or sumach ground fine and seeded.

MĀSH'.⁴—Lightly fry the meat as usual. Take pulse, peel, add a quarter as much rice, and then proceed as for Aruz Mufalfal.

MULABBAQA'.⁵—Make in the same way as Aruz Mufalfal, only let there be half rice, and half lentils, pulse, and skinned chick-peas. Then proceed as for Aruz Mufalfal.

A. J. ARBERRY.

(To be concluded.)

1. Literally, "green soup."

2. Literally, "water and chick-peas."

3. Literally, "bean-water."

4. Sc. pulse.

5. Literally, "softened in fat."

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE TIME OF THE PROPHET

CLOSE investigation of the social conditions of Arabia, especially of Mecca, just before Islam, leads inevitably to the conclusion that the Arabs of that time were gifted with extraordinary talents. This alone was responsible for the fact that when the Islamic teachings polished them, the Arabs astonished the world with their originality and potentiality, and when their energies were concentrated and strengthened by the religion of unity and action, Islam, they defied the whole world and were able to wage war simultaneously against the then two world powers of Ctesiphon (Irán) and Byzantium.

In some of my articles I have shown at considerable length that the internecine feuds of the days of the *Jáhiliyah* formed in Arabs adventurous characters of remarkable endurance and other high qualities which achieved conquests even to the envy of Napoleon.¹ The developed system of periodical fairs and well-organised escorts of caravans brought the whole of the Arabian peninsula into an economic federation, inculcating the Arabs with the consciousness of unity which paved the way for political unity under Islam. Again, the highly developed constitution of the City-State of Mecca was responsible for training men to conduct the affairs of a world empire.²

Today I propose another thesis,—that it was the literary talents of pre-Islamic Arabia that during the first centuries of Islam were able to produce in Arabic such a rich and marvellous harvest in letters and sciences. To polish these talents, to awaken their latent qualities, and to exploit them usefully,—this, however, goes to the credit of Islam.

What better background can there be for the educational system of the time of the Prophet than a description of the literary conditions in the country at the dawn of Islam?

EDUCATION IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA

Unfortunately we do not possess sufficient records regarding educational matters in the *Jáhiliyah*. This is due partly to the fact that the

1. *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, III, 183.

2. *The City-State of Mecca*, in *Islamic Culture*, vol. XII, No. 3.

art of writing was not much in vogue there in those days, and partly to the wanton destruction of millions of literary monuments by Holagu and others in Baghdad, Cordova and elsewhere before the invention of the printing press. In spite of that, a reconstructed picture by the help of what little and scanty material came down to posterity in the 14th century of Hijra is sufficient to astonish us and exact tribute of admiration for the race which took pride in illiteracy.¹

Take first their language. It was once considered that a language grows rich in vocabulary, expressions and idioms in the days of its golden age ; and that its previous conditions are nothing more than a mirror of unimaginative and simple ideas not much superior to animal life. Judging from this criterion the Arabic language at the dawn of Islam, we are bewildered at the refinement of the language, richness of vocabulary, fixedness of grammatical rules and vastness of poetical literature of a high standard, so much so that it is the diction of the *Jáhiliyah* and not of the literary golden age of Islam which is considered as the classical and standard diction. If we compare two authors of some modern language, German, Russian, French or English, one author of to-day and one from ten centuries ago, their language will be so different that these writers of the same language would not be able to understand each other. Yet the vocabulary and the grammar of the language of Imru'ul-Qais is exactly the same as that of Shawqiy and Háfiz of modern Egypt. The Quran and the records of the utterances of the Prophet and his companions (hadíth) written in the language of *Jáhiliyah*, uninfluenced by the later culture of the Arab empire and intelligible to the Beduins of pre-Islamic Arabia, is not the less intelligible to the student of modern Arabic. Already at that time the Arabic language was so rich that it can compare favourably with the developed languages of modern Europe. I need not dilate on the details which are known to every Arabist ; I simply want to emphasise that the wonderful language of the pre-Islamic Arabs could not obviously have reached that stage of maturity and extensiveness without great literary activities and talents of the people who spoke it.

Apart from the very large number of poems ascribed to the *Jáhiliyah*, we possess verbatim records of a good many orations, sermons, proverbs, anecdotes, oracles, arbitral awards and other prose monuments. They will convince any reader of their rhetoric, minute observation, wit and fine taste.

Even the very word *Arab* is significant as it means " One who speaks clearly " as opposed to all the non-Arabs '*Ajam* or *dumb*'.

These are inferences and observations of the present writer. There are direct notices also in history.

As for schools, who would believe that there were regular veritable schools attended by boys as well as by girls ? Yet Ibn Qutaibah assures

1. A tradition runs (كتاب مختصر جامع - بيان العلم) إنا أمة أمية لا نكتب ولا نحسب by Ibn 'Abdul-Barr,

us in his '*Uyún'ul-akhbār* (iv, 103, cf. *Amthāl* of al-Maidāniy, ii, 60) that Zilmah, the proverbial harlot of the tribe of Hudhail, when in her childhood she attended school, used to amuse herself by thrusting pens in and out of the ink-pots. The fact is interesting inasmuch as it shows that, at least in the tribe of Hudhail, who were kinsmen of the Quraish and lived not far from Mecca, children of both sexes used to go to school, of whatever crude and primitive form it may have been.

Again, in the words of an enthusiast, the fair of 'Ukāz was nothing less than the annual gathering of a pan-Arab literary Congress. It has caught the imagination of historians and other Arab writers from very early days and recently Professor Ahmad Amin of the University of Egypt has contributed an interesting article on the subject to the *Journal* of his college. Here I have no space for the details except to refer to this institution which has played such a conspicuous part in standardising the Arabic language.

Ghāilan ibn Salamah of the tribe of Thaqif is reputed¹ to have been used to hold once a week a literary gathering where poems were recited and literary discussions and criticisms took place. On other days of the week he presided over the tribunal and administered justice and did other things. This is sure testimony of the high literary taste of his co-citizens of Ṭā'if in the *Jāhiliyah*.

The literary activity of the city of Mecca at that time seems to be of still higher standard. The seven *Mu'allaqāt* were hung in Ka'bah, the sanctuary of this city, and it was this approval which has immortalised those seven poems in the Arabic literature.

Waraqah ibn Nawfal was a Meccan. He translated in the *Jāhiliyah* the Old and the New Testament into Arabic.

Apparently, it was the people of Mecca who first made Arabic a written language.² And perhaps it is owing to this fact that even the uncouth privates of the army of this city were to a considerable extent literate.³

Story-writing and fiction, that important branch of prose literature, was much cultivated in Mecca as also in other parts of Arabia, and during the nights of full moon people assembled in their family clubs or the municipal hall, where professionals and others recited extempore night-tales (*musámarah*).⁴

Literary taste does not seem to have been cultivated by pagan Arabs only. We possess the *diwāns* (collection of poems) of Samaw'al ibn 'Ādiyā and other Jewish and Christian poets of the *Jāhiliyah*. The Jews of Madinah are reputed to have established a *Bait'ul-Midrās* (home of

1. *الازمنة والا مكنة* by Al-Marzúqiy, II, p. 79-80; *كتاب المعارف* by Ibn Qutaibah, in loco.

2. *الفهرسة* by Ibn Nadim, p. 7. cf. Fragment of *كتاب الخراج* by Qudāmah pub. in Oxford.

3. See *infra*.

4. Cf. my article, *The City-State of Mecca*, as cited above.

learning) which survived down to Islamic times and was a centre of literary and religionistic activities.

The large vocabulary for utensils of writing in the pre-Islamic Arabic is another proof in point. The Quran alone has used the following words : *qalam*=pen; *nún*=ink-pot; *raqq and qirtás*=parchment and paper; *marqúm, mastúr, mustatar, maktúb, takhuttuhu, tumlá, yumlila*=derivations of verbs meaning to write; *kátib*=amanuensis; *yamudduhu*=supplies it with ink; *kutub, shuhf*=books; etc.

In short, it must have been these and similar solid foundations on which the high and lofty buildings of Art and letters could rise later in Islamic times to the pride of humanity.

PRE-HIJRA ISLAM

Islam began, as is commonly known, when the Prophet Muḥammad received his first revelation in his 40th year. There are no records to show that he ever studied the art of reading and writing in his youth, and generally he is believed to have remained illiterate all through his life. Yet how interesting and inspiring it is to note that the very first revelation he received from God was a command to him and his followers to read (*iqra'*), eulogising the pen and ascribing to it all human knowledge :—

“ Read, in the name of thy Lord Who created,
Created man from a clot.
Read, and it is thy Lord, Most Bountiful
Who taught by the pen,
Taught man that which he knew not.”¹

The Pen has been declared in a tradition ascribed to the Prophet² to have been the first of God's creation.

We can conveniently adhere to the traditional division of the pre- and post-Hijra periods in detailing the life of the Prophet which coincide with the periods in which he did or did not wield any temporal authority as the head of a State.

It is significant that almost all the verses of the Quran in praise of or in connection with learning and writing belong to the Meccan period, while the Madinite verses lay greater emphasis on action and performance. For instance :—

1. Are those who know equal with those who know not ?³
2. And of knowledge ye have been vouchsafed but little.⁴
3. Fear Alláh alone the erudite among His bondmen.⁵

1. Quran, 96 : 1-4.

2. Tirmidhīy, pp. 44 : 68 ; Abū-Dáwūd, pp. 39 : 16 ; Ibn Ḥanbal, V, p. 315 ; Ṭayālisīy, p. 577.

3. Quran, 39 : 9.

4. Id., 17 : 85.

5. Id., 35 : 28.

4. And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.¹
5. Ye were taught that which ye knew not yourselves nor did your fathers (know it).²
6. And if all the trees in the earth were pens, and the sea, with seven more seas (added to it), were ink, the words of Alláh could not be exhausted.³
7. By the Mount (Ṭūr) and by a Scripture inscribed, on parchment unrolled...⁴
8. (By) the Ink-pot and by the pen and that which ye write therewith...⁵
9. Had we sent down unto thee actual writing upon paper...⁶,
10. Ask the people of remembrance if ye know not.⁷

are all Meccan verses.

The purpose of raising a prophet in a nation is nothing but to teach, and hence no wonder if the Prophet remarked : " I have been raised up as a teacher (*mu'allim*).⁸

This is testified to by the Quran in the following terms :—

1. (Abraham and Ishmael prayed) : Our Lord ! And raise up in their midst a messenger from among them who shall recite unto them Thy revelations and shall instruct them in Scripture and in Wisdom and shall make them grow. Lo ! Thou, only Thou, art the Mighty, Wise.⁹
2. He it is Who hath sent among the unlettered ones a messenger of their own, to recite unto them His revelations and to make them grow, and to teach them the Scripture and Wisdom, though heretofore they were in error manifest.¹⁰
3. Alláh verily hath shown grace to the believers by sending unto them a messenger of their own who reciteth unto them His revelations, and causeth them to grow, and teacheth them the Scripture and Wisdom, though heretofore they were in error manifest.¹¹

In fact preaching and teaching are the same thing, especially for one who made no distinction between Church and State and whose ideal was :—

Our Lord ! Give us good in this world and good in the Hereafter, and guard us from the doom of Fire.¹²

And as early as the 2nd covenant of 'Aqabah, about two years before the Hijra, when a dozen Madinites embraced Islam, they asked the Prophet to send along with them a teacher who could teach them the Quran and instruct them in Islam and the religious rites. Naturally,

1. Quran, 20 : 114.

2. Id., 6 : 92.

3. Id., 31 : 27.

4. Id., 52 : 1-3.

5. Id., 68 : 1.

6. Id., 6 : 7.

7. Id., 16 : 43.

8. Ibn 'Abdul-Barr, *الم* p. 25.

9. Quran, 2 : 129.

10. Id., 62 : 2.

11. Id., 3 : 164.

12. Id., 2 : 201.

teaching at this stage meant only the explanation of the rudiments of the faith and the rituals connected therewith.

The most important thing connected with the Meccan period is that already at this early date, the Prophet had scribes who took down regularly whatever was revealed to him and whose copies multiplied rapidly. We know, for instance, that when 'Umar embraced Islam, he had come across a copy of some of the *súras* of the Quran in the house of his sister and apparently she also could read.

Lastly, I may refer in this connection to the story of Moses, mentioned, again, in a Meccan *súra* (*kahf*), who set out in quest of knowledge and had many thrilling experiences. The moral of the story is that no man, however learned he may be, knows everything, and that one must travel abroad in order to gain further knowledge and learning. In connection with travels in quest of knowledge, I may also refer to some traditions.¹

POST-HIJRA ISLAM

Instead of a chronological arrangement of the data available regarding the Madinite period, we may conveniently divide the material under several heads such as administration of schools, examinations, boarding and lodging of resident students, arrangements to teach writing and reading, teaching of foreign languages, course and syllabus of general studies, women's education, education in provinces, inspection of provincial schools, and miscellaneous.

To begin with, as we have just remarked, the Prophet had sent a teacher to Madinah even before he himself migrated to that place. Immediately after the Hijra, we see him, in spite of enormous preoccupations in connection with defensive and precautionary measures, finding time to supervise the work of eradicating illiteracy from Madinah.

To this end he appointed Sa'id ibn al-'Ās to teach reading and writing; and he is reputed to write a good hand.² The Prophet was so much interested in this matter that a year and a half after his Migration, when two score and more Meccans were taken prisoners by him after the victory of Badr, he asked those among them who were literate, that each one of them should teach ten children of Madinah how to write.³ 'Ubádah ibn as-Šámit says that the Prophet appointed him a teacher in the school of Šuffah (Madinah) for classes in writing and in Quranic studies.⁴

1. مقدمة الدارمى p. 46.

2. استيعاب by Ibn 'Abdul-Barr, p. 393 :

وذكر اب التراتيب الادارية والعمالات والصاعات والمتاجر والحالة العلمية التي كانت على عهد تأسيس المدينة الاسلامية في المدينة المنورة العلمية،

by 'Abdul-Haiy al-Kattānī, I, 48 (citing Abū-Dāwūd).

3. Kattānī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 48; Ibn Ḥanbal, I, p. 247 Ibn Sa'd, 2/1, p. 14; روض الافان by as-Suhailī, II, p. 92.

4. Kattānī, I, p. 48, citing Abū-Dāwūd and others.

Şuffah, literally an appurtenance of a house, was an enclosure connected with the Mosque of the Prophet in Madinah. This was set apart for the lodging of newcomers and those of the local people who were too poor to have a house of their own. This was a regular residential school where reading, writing, Muslim law, memorising of chapters of the Quran, tajwid (how to recite the Quran correctly), and other Islamic sciences were taught under the direct supervision of the Prophet, who took pains to see after the daily requirements of the boarders.¹ The students also earned their living by labouring in their spare hours.²

The school of Şuffah provided instruction not only for the boarders but also day scholars and casual visitors attended it in large numbers. The number of the boarders in Şuffah varied from time to time and a record shows that at one time there were seventy living in the Şuffah.³

Besides the local population, batches of students from far-off tribes used to come and stay there for a while and complete their course before returning to their country.⁴

Often the Prophet asked some of his trained companions to accompany the tribal delegations on their return journey in order to organise education in their country and then return to Madinah.⁵

In the early years of Hijra, it seems to have been the policy of the Prophet to ask all those people who embraced Islam from the people living outside Madinah, to migrate to the proximity of the metropolis,⁶ where sometimes he allotted them crown lands for colonisation.⁷ The military and religious reasons which might have actuated this decision are obvious. Ibn Sa'd⁸ records, that once the Prophet sent a teacher, as usual, to a tribe recently converted to Islam. The teacher, according to the general instructions, asked the tribesmen to leave their homes and migrate to Madinah. And he added: 'whoso does not migrate, his Islam is no Islam and he will be treated as an unbeliever.' A delegation of the tribe set out for Madinah, waited on the Prophet, and were enlightened. The Prophet explained to them that if they found difficulty in leaving their country on account of landed and other vested interests, it was not at all incumbent upon them to come over to Madinah. They would nevertheless be treated just as those who had embraced Islam and had migrated to Islamic territory.

1. And shared with them his daily bread.

2. Bukhārī, § battle of Bi'r Ma'unah.

3. Ibn Hānbal, III, 137.

4. Bukhārī, § رحمة البهائم ; تفسير by Ṭabarī, XI, p. 50; تفسير خازن; concerning verse 9:122.

"And the believers shall not all go out to fight. Of every troop of them, a party only shall go forth, that they (who are left behind) may gain sound knowledge in religion and that they may warn their folk when they return to them, so that they may beware." (9: 122); Ibn 'Abdul-Barr, العالم pp. 20-21.

5. Kattānī, I, 43 ff.

6. Wensinck مفتاح كنوز السنة s. v. هجرة

7. Abū-Dāwūd, II, p. 32; and others.

8. طبقات § وفود.

The despatch of teachers was a regular feature of the educational policy of the Prophet all through his life in Madinah. In the case of Bi'r Ma'unah, he had despatched 70 of his best Quran-knowers obviously because they had to deal with a vast country and a very large tribe.

The arrival of batches of students was not the less frequent.¹ As said, the Prophet personally took interest in the school and boarding-house of Şuffah where they were generally lodged.

Şuffah was not the only school in Madinah. Ibn Ḥanbal² records that at a certain time, a batch of 70 students attended the lectures of a certain teacher in Madinah, and worked there till morning. There were at least nine mosques in Madinah even in the time of the Prophet,³ and no doubt each one of them served simultaneously as a school. The people inhabiting the locality sent their children to these local mosques. Qubá is not far from Madinah. The Prophet sometimes went there and personally supervised the school in the mosque of that place.⁴ There are general dicta of the Prophet regarding those who studied in the mosque-schools.⁵ He also enjoined upon people to learn from their neighbours.⁶

An interesting episode has been recorded by 'Abdulláh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Áṣ,⁷ that one day the Prophet found, when he entered his mosque, two groups of people, one of them was engaged in prayer and devotional service to God, and the other in learning and teaching Fiqh. Thereupon the Prophet remarked that both the groups were doing praiseworthy things, yet the one excelled the other. As for the first, it prayed to God Who may or may not give them what they asked for at His will. As for the other, it learned and taught the ignorant. And in fact he (the Prophet) himself was raised up as a teacher (*mu'allim*).—And the Prophet took his seat with this latter group.

In this connection I may also refer to the famous and oft-quoted tradition that a learned man is far harder on Satan than one thousand devout ascetics together.⁸

The Prophet also taught personally. 'Umar and many other prominent companions regularly attended these classes and learned the Quran, etc. Sometimes the Prophet inspected the study-circle in his mosque and if he found any incongruity, he at once took steps to put it right. So, at-Tirmidhiy⁹ mentions that once the Prophet heard a discussion in his mosque for and against predestination. He came out of his room

1. Cf. *supra*.

2. III, 137.

3. Abū-Dāwūd, § كتاب المراسيل II, 468.

4. Ibn 'Abdul-Barr, *المعجم* p. 97.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

6. Kattānī, *op. cit.*, I, 41.

7. Ibn 'Abdul-Barr, *المعجم* p. 25; and others.

8. Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, s. v. *عالم* and *نقيه* citing Bukhārī and Dailamī.

9. *شمائل* in loco.

and he was so angry that, in the words of the narrator, the juice of pomegranate seemed to have been poured over his cheeks and forehead. Then he forbade discussion in such matters and remarked that many a former nation went astray on account of that question.

Again, it was the decided policy of the Prophet, that only the most learned in the Quran and in the *Sunnah* should conduct the religious service¹ which implied the chieftainship of the place, tribe or town, and so people vied with each other in learning and passing the tests of government schools.

These attempts did not prove futile, and literacy spread so rapidly that very soon after the Hijra the Quran could prescribe compulsory records in documents and attestation of at least two persons for every transaction on credit however small. In the words of the Quran the aim of written documents was as follows :—

“ This is more equitable in the sight of Allah, and more sure for testimony and the best way of avoiding doubt between you.”²

Obviously this could not have been enforced without a large diffusion of literacy³ among the inhabitants of the Muslim State. The writing down of the *wahy* (revelations), political treaties and conventions, state correspondence, enlistment of militia,⁴ permanent representation, especially in Mecca, to inform the central government of what was going on in other countries and states, census,⁵ and many more such things, were in those days directly connected with and necessitated the expansion of literacy. More than 200 letters of the Prophet have come down to us in history⁶ and many more must have been lost since the Prophet ruled over a country of over a million square miles in area for a whole decade.

The Prophet was the first to introduce seals in Arabia.⁷ His care for legibility may be gathered from his obiter dicta, that you must dry the ink on the paper with the use of dust before folding it ; ⁸ that you must not omit the three curves of the letter (س) and not dash it with a single stroke of (س)⁹ as it shows carelessness and laziness ; that you must put the pen, during the intervals of writing, on your ear since this is more of a reminder to one who dictates (أذكر للمملي)¹⁰.

Already in the time of the Prophet, specialisation had developed

1. Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj, *in loco*.

2. Quran, 2 : 282.

3. There were also professional scribes for the use of public, Kattāniy, vol. I, pp. 275-77.

4. Id. p. 221 citing Muslim.

5. Bukhārīy, pp. 56 : 181 (1).

6. Cf. my “ *Corpus des Traités et lettres diplomatiques de l’Islam à l’époque du Prophète et des Khalifes Orthodoxes.* ”

7. Kattāniy, I, p. 177 ; Baladhuriy, فوح etc.

8. Kattāniy, I, p. 129.

9. Id. p. 125 ff.

10. Ibid.

considerably and the Prophet encouraged it. So, he has said that whoever wants to learn the Quran must go to such and such a person, and whoever wants to learn tajwīd, and the mathematics of dividing a heritage, and law must have recourse to such and such persons.¹

There are several traditions forbidding teachers to accept any remuneration,² which shows that it was a custom of long standing to reward the teacher. 'Ubādah ibn aṣ-Ṣāmit relates that he taught the Quran and the art of writing in Ṣuffah, and one of the pupils presented him with a bow. The Prophet, however, commanded him not to accept the same.³

As the head of the State, the Prophet required the services of those who knew foreign languages. Zaid ibn Thābit, the chief amanuensis of the Prophet, is reputed to have learnt Persian, Greek (رومى) Ethiopian, and Aramaic.⁴ And at the express instance of the Prophet, he learnt the Hebrew script in some weeks.⁵ It was he who wrote letters addressed to Jews and it was he who read out to the Prophet letters received from them.

The question of the course and syllabus is difficult to pronounce upon with exactitude. From the scanty material at our disposal we come to the conclusion that no uniform course was followed everywhere. The teacher rather than the course was the main factor. Still we can glean this much of information that besides the all-embracing Quran and the *Sunnah*, the Prophet enjoined instruction in shooting (of arrows),⁶ swimming,⁷ mathematics of dividing a heritage in the Quranic proportions,⁸ the rudiments of medicine,⁹ astronomy,¹⁰ genealogy¹¹ and the practical phonetics necessary in reciting the Quran.¹² Again, the teacher was to be treated with respect.¹³

The Arabs of Mecca laid great stress on purity of language and on desert life free from the vices of the cosmopolitan Mecca. So, they used to send their new-born babies to various tribes in the interior of the country for several years. The Prophet himself had undergone this useful training and remembered it in his later life. It is said that the

1. Ibn Sa'd and others, *in loco*.

2. Suyūṭī, *جمع الحوامع* s. v. علماء citing Ṭabarānī; Bukhārī, 37: p. 16; Abū-Dāwūd, 22: 36.

3. Abū-Dāwūd, II, p. 129 also cited by Shibli, *سيرت النبي*, II, p. 88.

4. Kattānī, I, p. 202 citing Ibn 'Abd-Rabbihi, *نقد الأثر* and others.

5. Id., I, p. 203 citing Bukhārī and others.

6. Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, s. v. علموا citing أبو نعيم *دبلى* ابن مندة، أبو نعيم

7. Id., s. v. علموا citing ابن مندة *دبلى* أبو نعيم

8. Id., s. v. تعلموا citing طبرانی *دار قتي*, and others; Ibn-'Abdul-Barr, *العالم* p. 80; Abū-Dāwūd 18: 1; Ibn Mājah p. 23: 1.

9. Suyūṭī, s. v. تعلمن citing Mālik.

10. Id., s. v. تعلموا citing Ibn Sa'nīy.

11. Id., s. v. علموا من النساك، citing Mālik, Tirmidhī, Ṭabarī, Baihaqī.

12. Id., s. v. تعلموا من امر النجوم citing Dailamī.

13. Id., s. v. تعلموا citing Ṭabarānī.

practice has not been discontinued to this day among the aristocracy of Mecca. Again, as commerce was the main profession of the Meccans, young men were apprenticed to leaders of caravans.

Some distinction was made even in those early days between the education of children and that of adults. Shooting and swimming were expressly enjoined, upon children (*ṣibyān*). Again, the Prophet said that boys of seven should be taught how to take part in religious service, and should be beaten at ten if they disregarded it.¹

Girls were treated separately. The Prophet set apart a special day when he lectured to women exclusively and replied to their questions.² Spinning was regarded by him as their special occupation.³ A tradition records that he asked a lady to teach the art of writing to one of his wives.⁴ His wife 'Ā'ishah was so gifted in Fiqh and Muslim sciences besides letters, poetry and medicine⁵ that the Prophet is said to have remarked that she mastered half of the human sciences. The Quran had also specially enjoined upon the wives of the Prophet to teach others.⁶ An interesting tradition says :—

“Whoso possesses a slave-girl and teaches her and teaches her well and trains her and trains her well, and then liberates her to marry her as a regular wife, he shall have double merit.”⁷

Gradually the Muslim State, which at first consisted only of part of the city of Madinah, extended far and wide in the Arabian peninsula, and not only nomadic tribes but also settled Arabs of towns and cities embraced Islam in large numbers. The conversion to the new faith necessitated a very extensive educational service embracing the million square miles under the Muslim sway in the time of the Prophet. Teachers were sent from Madinah to important centres and the provincial governors were made responsible for the organisation and control of local schools. The long document⁸ exhaustively enumerating the duties of 'Amr ibn Ḥazm as governor of Yaman has fortunately been preserved by historians *in toto*. It contains express instructions for the diffusion of knowledge of Muslim sciences, the Quran, Ḥadith and Fiqh. There is an interesting sentence which throws a flood of light on the distinction between religious and secular education. It runs : “And persuade⁹ people to take to reli-

1. Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, s. v. علموا اللهی citing Ibn Ḥanbal, Tirmidhī, Baghawīy.

2. Bukhārī, العلم

3. Suyūṭī, s. v. علموا (نعم لهو المومنة في بيتها أنزل) citing Abū-Nu'aim, Ibn Minda.

4. Kattānī, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 49-55 citing Abū-Dāwūd, & Qādī 'Iyād.

5. Shibli, سيرت النبي II, p. 407; etc.

6. Quran, 33 : 34.

7. Ibn-'Abdul-Barr, العلم p. 46.

8. Ibn Hisham, p. 961-62; Tabarīy, Annales, p. 1727-29; Kattānī, I, 248-9; Suyūṭī, جمع الجوامع. مسند عمر و بن حزم Ibn Ishāq, (MS. of Paris), fol. 215 a, b.

9. Suyūṭī, s. v. علموا (علموا ويسروا ولا تعسروا) — علموا فان العالم خير من العنف — علموا (علموا) citing Ibn Sa'd, Baihaqīy, Ibn Ḥanbal.

gious lore." Daily ablutions, weekly baths, congregational services, yearly fasting and the pilgrimage to Ka'bah were also to be taught by the governor-teacher.

To enhance the standard of provincial education, the Prophet appointed at least in Yaman an inspector-general of education, who was a touring officer in the various districts and provinces and looked after the schools and other educational institutions.¹

Finally we may refer to the theoretical aspect of education as emphasised in the Quran and the tradition.

The Quran is full, from the beginning to the end, of most unequivocal and vehement denunciation of unimaginative imitation,² enjoining original thinking and personal investigations. No other religious Book in the world has laid such stress on the study of nature, the sun, the moon, the tide, the approaching night, the glittering stars, the dawning day, plants and animal life,—presenting them all in testimony of the laws of nature and the power of the Creator. According to the Quran, knowledge is unending and the whole universe is made subservient to man, the Agent of God in this world. Again one must abide by the truth and not be prejudiced by narrow notions of hereditary customs and beliefs.

In the ḥadīth also learning has been praised lavishly and learned people have been declared to be the best of men⁴ and even the inheritors and successors of prophets.⁵ Lastly, I shall refer to an oft-quoted tradition.⁶ Though not universally acknowledged to be genuine in its present form of wording, yet its sense is quite in consonance with the general teaching of the Quran and the tradition. I mean the command: "Seek knowledge even if it be in China since the seeking of knowledge is obligatory upon every Muslim man and woman."

اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَسْأَلُكَ عِلْمًا نَافِعًا وَرِزْقًا طَيِّبًا وَعَمَلًا مُتَقَبَّلًا

M. HAMIDULLAH.

1. Regarding governors of Mecca, etc., cf. Kattāniy, I 43 ff

2. Ibn-'Abdul-Barr, العلم، ذم التقليد referring to الله من دون الله

3. Cf. Abū-Dāwūd, pp. 24: 1, 3; Tirmidhiy, pp. 39: 2, 19; مقدمة ابن ماجه، 17؛ مقدمة الدارمى، 31؛ etc.

4. مقدمة الدارمى، 17؛ مقدمة ابن ماجه، 10: 96؛ 3: 10، 13؛ من يرد الله به خيرا يفقه في الدين § 23—Ibn-'Abdul-Barr, العلم p. 16-17 خيرا الناس العلماء والمتعلمون

5. العلماء ورثة الانبياء (Bukhāriy, 3: 10; Tirmidhiy, 39: 9; Ibn-'Abdul-Barr, p. 21.

6. Baihaqiyy, العلم، (Ibn 'Abdul-Barr, العلم) اطلبوا العلم ولو كان باليمن فان طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة. (الكامل Ibn 'Adfy, شعب الايمان)

7. Ibn 'Abdul-Barr, العلم p. 84 "O God, I ask thee for useful learning, a righteous livelihood and action accepted [by Thee]."—Such was generally the prayer of the Prophet.

AN EARLY PROSE-WRITER OF MODERN URDU

INTRODUCTORY

MOH. HUSAIN, Tahsīn, the author of one of the most important Urdu books, entitled the "Nau Tarz-i-Muraṣṣa'" lived somewhere in the middle of the eighteenth century and belonged to a middle-class family. As an author he represented the artificial tendencies of a decaying literary taste and culture. His work, however, constitutes for many reasons a landmark in the history of the Urdu language and literature. Various dates, 1798, 1780, etc., have been assigned to it, but as clearly shown elsewhere the book or at least a large portion of it was completed in 1768. Its text embodies in Urdu the well-known stories of the four darveshes which were first written in Persian and given the name, *Chahar Darvesh*. During the course of sixty or seventy years the book was rehandled and partly rewritten by other men of letters. Certain portions were omitted and new matter was introduced. By means of exhaustive comparison of eight manuscripts of the Nau Tarz-i-Muraṣṣa' preserved both in British and Continental libraries the genuine or original text now seems to have been fixed and a complete and correct copy made by the writer of this article. In the year 1846 the book was published in Bombay under the supervision of an English officer, but although this edition was apparently made from some good manuscript it does not contain one very engaging story, embracing full 60 pages, which after strenuous search have now been discovered and obtained from a Berlin manuscript of the Muraṣṣa'.

The real value of the work lies in the fact that it is the first Urdu prose of the School of Lucknow and sums up all the characteristics of the literary mind of that centre. It is in fact a creative force which gave lead to the subsequent peculiar masterpieces produced by eminent writers of Lucknow for more than a century.

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

External
Evidence.

The name of the illustrious author of the 'Nau Tarz-i-Muraṣṣa' is Mīr Muḥammad Husain 'Atā Kḥān, who was poetically surnamed Tahsīn. For the last century and a quarter, i.e., since the epoch-making literary activities of Dr. Gilchrist, his name, together with that of his book, has

¹ I am publishing separately the Nau Tarz-i-Muraṣṣa' with a comparative study of its various texts, and allied problems.

been widely known, but till quite recently no account of his life was available. One possible reason may be that although the masters of the Urdū language in India cultivated and produced much poetry and wrote extensive tazkiras of poets with some sort of literary criticism, their apathy towards Urdū prose and its writers was conspicuous till the advent of the new era whose apostle was Sir Sayyad, and it was only Muḥammad Ḥusain, Āzād, who in his monumental work, the *Āb-i-Ḥayāt*, published in 1883, first mentioned the name of Taḥsīn amongst the few early writers of prose and gave 1798 as the date of the compilation of his work, the *Muraṣṣaʿ*. But as Āzād himself knew practically nothing about the author or the book, his account is hopelessly meagre, embracing only a couple of lines. However, for years other Indian biographers of Taḥsīn who followed Āzād could not from any new source add anything to the particulars given by him. Of the many Muḥammad Yaḥyā, Tanhā, merits reference. He wrote, forty years after the publication of *Āb-i-Ḥayāt*, the first biography of purely prose writers, called the *Siyarul Muṣannifīn*, in which in his notice of Taḥsīn he simply rewrites in his own phraseology Āzād's few lines, and at the conclusion of it records his confession as to the non-existence of material on the subject.

Of the authorities examined by me, the author of *Gul-i-R'ana* has, like Tanhā, chiefly drawn from Āzād and his notice is extremely scant. Panjāb mē Urdū and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* contain passing references to Taḥsīn but add nothing to our knowledge. Saksainā and Sayyad Muḥammad give accounts of our author but they are almost entirely derived from Blumhardt's note in the Catalogue of the British Museum and not from that in his Catalogue of the India Office, which is much better. Hence we dismiss all these writers from consideration. Shefta, Bāṭin and Nassākh, as will be seen later on, discuss Taḥsīn's grandson Sayyad Qāsim 'Alī Khān, Qāsim.

Of the rest all more or less deal with the facts of Taḥsīn's life. Khūb Cand, Zakā, writing probably in 1788,¹ seems to be the first biographer of Taḥsīn, whom he notices on p. 944 of his tazkira, and calls him "a poet of the older group, a prolific writer, a man of dignity and modesty," and he quotes some of his verses, but he does not mention his book, the *Muraṣṣaʿ*, and he gives a wrong name to his father, who according to him, was Murād Khān, Shauq.

In 1801² Sarvar speaks of two Taḥsīns without parentage, one on

(1) Sprenger (Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindu'sta'ny MSS. of the Libraries of the King of Oudh, p. 185) gives 1793, 1798 and 1831 as the date of the compilation of his memoirs. Ethé (Cat. of the Persian MSS., India Office) accepts these dates. But Zakā on p. 2 of the MS. mentions 1788 in a chronogram.

(2) Ethé calls his work Tazkira e Sarvar and places it in 1807, basing his view on a colophon on fol. 378 a, while Sprenger (Oudh Cat. p. 185) styles it 'Umdu e Muntakhaba, chronogrammatic for 1801 (fol. 376 b) and assigns this year which is supported by another chronogram, Safina e A'zam (fol. 376 b), yielding 1801, and also by a statement on fol. 333 b in Mīr Qudratullāh, Qāsim's tazkira, Majmū'a e Naghz written in 1806. Sprenger's view seems to be more tenable.

fol. 122 b whom he names Munshī Ḥusain 'Atā Khān and describes as resident of Etawah and one of the gentry of the district, who lived his life in peace and comfort and had a "fondness for Rekhta poetry fixed in his heart," and the other on fol. 123 a, who is mentioned as Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, Muraṣṣa' Raqam, resident of Lucknow, a servant in the department of Calligraphy in the Government of Vazīrul Mumālik and well versed in the art of prose composition. In both the noticed verses are cited as specimens but no reference is made to the Muraṣṣa'.

The two Taḥsīns, however, are identical. Sarvar has split up his full name into two names (with the repetition of the word Ḥusain in each case) and made two persons out of one. Likewise his account has erroneously been divided into two portions. In one case the native place is stated to be Etawah and in the other Lucknow. But we know that Taḥsīn was a native of Etawah and also lived in Lucknow. His verses meet with the same fate. The two given under the first Taḥsīn are to be found on p. 99 of the printed edition of the Muraṣṣa', with the wrong heading of *quatrain*, as they are independent in meaning, and the one ascribed to the alleged second Taḥsīn forms the last two half-verses of the opening stanza of the Mukhammas on p. 66.

Amongst Western scholars, that immortal patron of the Urdū language Dr. Gilchrist was the first to mention the name of Taḥsīn and his work, which he did in the preface subjoined to his edition of Mīr Amman's Bāg-o-Bahār. But consistent with his aim there his allusion constitutes merely a criticism of Taḥsīn's style in the Muraṣṣa' and gives no biographical information.

Muḥīyuddīn gives Taḥsīn's full name together with that of his father Muḥammad Bāqir Khān, Shauq, and says¹ "he lived in the Court of Abū Mancur 'Ally Khān Cafdar Jang. He is the author of the Zawābiḥ-i-Angrezī and of the Twārikh-i-Qāsimī in Persian, and of the Nau Tarz-i-Muraṣṣa' which is an Urdū version of the Four Darwyses." The most salient facts brought out here by him as well as the dates of some of his own works, like the Persian tazkira, Majmū'a-e-'Ishq or Bāg-i-Gulshan-i-Ḥusn and Chahār Daftar-i-Shauq, written in 1774 and 1786 respectively, point to the inference that he was Taḥsīn's contemporary and hence his notice of him has the advantage of being original. Besides, he is the first Indian writer who mentions the Muraṣṣa'.

A passing allusion proving that he was a loyal and trustworthy servant of the British Government is made to Taḥsīn in a History of the Kings of Oudh, called the 'Imāduss'ādat, composed in Persian by Gulām 'Alī Khan in 1808. Taḥsīn was then probably in the employ of one Captain Harper, referred to on p. 115 of the above history as Resident at the Court

(1) Sprenger, in presenting a brief biography of Rekhta poets (Oudh Cat. pp. 195-306) as based on abridged accounts of them recorded in various tazkiras he examined in the royal libraries of Lucknow, includes in the material he availed himself of Muḥīyuddīn's tazkira (Oudh Cat. pp. 187-88) which was written in 1807.

of Lucknow, and the incident in which he figures as participant is the interception by the Captain of a reply from Shujā'ud-daula to Shekh Haidar Nāyak, (1702-1782), expressing friendship with the British. The Captain handed it over to Taḥsīn in confidence, asking him to make its purport clear, which he did. The date of this episode is not given in the text but it can positively be inferred from other statements preceding and following it, both of which are dated A. H. 1185, A. D. 1770-71.

The reference in the MS. "Tazkira of the Hindustānī poets," of 1808 or 1815,¹ is very sparing of details and consists of Taḥsīn's correct name, the title of the *Muraṣṣa'*, which is also called *Qissa e Chahār Darvesh*, and all the seven stanzas of his *Mukhammas*, occurring on pp. 66-67 of the printed edition.

The voluminous anonymous "Tazkira e Shu'arā i Urdū"² contains a much fuller account of Taḥsīn than any of the preceding biographical works. Here he is described as belonging to the Ruzvī Sādāt, a native of Etāwah and a poet whose "verses are worthy of praise and whose talk is united to the neck of eloquence," a pupil of the great calligraphist, 'Ejāz Raqam Khān, himself a master of calligraphy, addressed as *Muraṣṣa'* Raqam, a man of eminent position in prose and poetry who wrote in addition to *Zavābiṭ i Angrezī* and *Tārikh i Qāsimī* in Persian, the *Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa'*, whose purity of idiom and entertaining phraseology were admired by lovers of literature. He is also mentioned as a writer of much Persian poetry and his grandfather Navāzish 'Alī Khān as *Tehsildār* of *Sikandrābād* under the English Government, who also wrote good *Nasta'liq* and *Shikasta* scripts. Taḥsīn's verses, both Persian and Urdū, are quoted, of which the latter are to be found on p. 63 of the printed *Muraṣṣa'*.

Muṣṭafā Khān, Sheftā, writing his great *tazkira* between 1832 and 1834, does not devote any article to Taḥsīn but refers to him in the account of his grandson, Qāsim 'Alī Khān, Qāsim, whom he states to be a master of the art of Music, residing in Lucknow and to have held the post of *Tehsildār*. Specimens of his poetical production are also reproduced.

Garcin de Tassy says that the reading of Saudā's couplets filled Taḥsīn with a desire to interest himself in Hindustānī poetry. He lived at Calcutta, Patna and Faizābād in turn, got access to the Court of Shujā'uddaula and his son Āṣafuddaula, wrote the *Muraṣṣa'* by the command of the former and the book was liked by the latter; then he reiterates Gilchrist's critical note. He also knew the names of Taḥsīn's works, *Zavābiṭ i Angrezī*

(1) Blumhardt allots no definite date to it. I venture to suggest that it was compiled or at least copied near 1808 or 1815 by one 'Aṭa' ullah of Gangoh as it bears the impression of his seal, dated A. H. 1223, A.D. 1808, and is bound together with another MS., the *Dīvān* of Dard, U. 35 a, which, as he himself observes in the colophon, he copied in 1815. The scribbled handwriting of the *Dīvān* closely resembles that of the *tazkira* on p. 19.

(2) It was apparently begun immediately after the death of Shāh 'Ālam in 1806 whose memory is fresh in the author's mind, and not completed before 1826 (see fol. 124 b). The writer seems to be a Hindu as numerous Hindu poets of whom he speaks were his very intimate friends. The *tazkira* is full of useful and trustworthy information.

and *Tārikh i Qāsimī*, mentions seven manuscripts of the *Muraṣṣa'*, two of which were among the MSS. of Fort William College, one in his own possession, one in that of Sprenger (the Berlin MS.) and another belonged to the *Niẓām's Vazīr*. The remaining two are the B.M., M.S., No. Add. 8921 and the Royal Asiatic Society MS., No. 12. In the beginning he misunderstands certain words, for instance, he takes *mukhāṭab* (=addressed) to mean "orator" and *muraṣṣa' raqam* (=a sobriquet) for *Taḥsīn's takhalluṣ*, etc.

Karīmuddīn, whose *taẓkira*, *A History of Urdū Poets or Ṭabāqatī Shu'arā* is, as is well known, chiefly based on *Garcin de Tassy*, follows the original and states that he had "perused the *Nau Ṭarẓ i Muraṣṣa'* himself a number of times."

Mīr Quṭbuddīn, *Bāṭin* was personally known to *Taḥsīn's* grandson, *Qāsim*, but he says nothing of the grandfather. According to him, *Qāsim* enjoyed high official position in the British Government, and was a pupil of the poet *Nāsikh*. *Abdul Ghafūr Khān Nassākh*, from whom alone we derive our knowledge of the name of *Taḥsīn's* son, which is given as *Sayyad Ḥaidar 'Alī Khān*, poetically surnamed *Ḥaidar*, corroborates *Sheftā's* account of *Qāsim in toto*. All the three authorities cite his verses.

So far the evidence is external and though it does not comprise adequate facts of *Taḥsīn's* early days and education, his environment and his various activities and vicissitudes of life, even the date of his birth and death having been left out, yet, briefly, it is sufficient to show that he was a man of high birth and of great respectability. His family was distinguished for the cultivation of art and poetry and for general intellectual attainments. He, as well as his grandfather *Navāzish 'Alī Khān*, his grandson and probably his son *Ḥaidar* all in turn served under English officers, and, as is quite evident from the anecdote recounted in the *'Imāduss'ādat*, his devotion and loyalty to the early British administrators was unquestionable. He also enjoyed, probably through the influence and recommendation of Captain Harper, the patronage of *Shujā'uddaula* and his son and successor, *Āṣafuddaula*.

As a poet he is described as writing both in Persian and Urdū and he not only transcended the rank of a versifier but he is acknowledged as a poet of distinction and originality at a time when poetical standards were very high. He composed elegies also; he was gifted with great oratorical powers and was "*Bisyār go wa pur go*" enormously productive, though the outcome of his poetical talent is now in a large measure lost to us. He was not less notable as a calligraphist than as a poet. He is reckoned also as an accomplished writer of prose. As can be seen from the foregoing notices, he found favour with the biographers, who in their treatment of contemporaries are apt to be swayed by personal political and religious prejudices and predilections.

We now turn from these fragments of biography to the consideration of internal evidence. Fortunately for us *Taḥsīn* has left a preface prefixed to the *Muraṣṣa'*, which affords the most authoritative source of certain

Internal
Evidence.

particulars, specially concerning the causes which prompted him to undertake, postpone for some time, and then complete the writing of this book. The preface is written in a highly ornate style generally cultivated and admired by the School of Lucknow, with lengthy sentences, and opens with few but beautiful verses, immediately after which Taḥsīn speaks in spirited terms of his father, whom he represents as well known throughout the length and breadth of Hindustān, in the circle of the accomplished and the learned, for his religious and secular achievements. He then refers in passing to his teacher Ē'jāz Raqam Khān who, besides being a poet and a writer of note, was a very good calligraphist. From him he received his education and training, and he says that after the death of his father he entirely devoted himself to the study and production of interesting and sweet stories. He tells us that once he had to travel in a boat to Calcutta in the company of General Smith, commander of the English forces. But the journey being long and wearisome, a companion of his used to amuse him by telling curious and entertaining tales. One day he related the story which is the subject of the present book ; then he (Taḥsīn) thought that though he had already composed *Inshā e Taḥsīn*, *Zavābiṭ i Angrezī* and *Tārīkh i Fārsī* in Persian, yet he should write that story in flowery Hindī, for no one among the old masters had ever attempted this *Ijād-i-tāza*, the new invention. Accordingly he reduced to writing a few chapters of the commencement of the tale. Afterwards, as General Smith at the time of his departure to England invested him with responsible duties and powers of attorney at Patna, he was unable, in the midst of anxieties about his new work, to continue his literary pursuits, always, however, keeping in view the completion of what he had begun in order to perpetuate his memory. He therefore put off the compilation of the tale for some time. He now saw better days through the patronage of English officers, but certain people in power in the Province threw him out of office and he was rendered helpless. Then he recollected some consoling "verses of Saudā who carries the palm of poetry in these days," and received a sort of revelation that as he had for the greater part of his life lived happily and comfortably, he should not mind passing a few days in adversity ; but as destiny always goes hand in hand with counsel, he should seek light from the merit-recognising sun, that is, Nawāb Shujā'uddaula Abul Maṣṣūr Khān Ṣafdar Jang. In pursuance of this inspiration he came to the city of Faizabād and soon after was favoured with an audience of the King and taken on to his special staff.

One day he read a few sentences of the story above mentioned to the King who was so much pleased with it that he ordered it to be completed. Consequently he "clothed it with the garb of language" and was about to present it to the King when the latter suddenly died.

He then "remained quiet and contented with his fate." In the meantime the deceased King's eldest son Nawāb Āṣafuddaula Yaḥyā Khān Hizhbr Jang kindly sprinkled on his disappointed soul the water of life. It then occurred to him that the tale which had been decorated with the

name of 'Inshā e Nau Ṭarṣ i Murāṣṣa' could not acquire fame unless it was prefaced with praises of the King approved by him. So "I write a panegyric constituting the glories of the 'Janāb i 'Alī' and present it to him. Thank God that my hopes are fulfilled and with a gladdened heart submit this Guldasta e Dāstān in the following diction and style."

The prefaces of the eight MSS. of the Nau Ṭarṣ i Murāṣṣa' preserved in the libraries of the India Office, the British Museum, and the Royal Asiatic Society and the Library of Berlin furnish corroboration of all the important details given above. As was to be expected, some of them, no doubt, differ in certain matters not only from the printed edition but from one another also in direct consequence of the fact that they are copies of copies written at various times and sometimes by very careless or incompetent copyists. But the differences to be met with in them are, from the standpoint of our line of enquiry at the present moment, such that we can safely ignore them.

Blumhardt in preparing his two notes in the Catalogues of the British Museum and the India Office on Taḥsīn has utilised in the main these prefaces. But one detail given in both of them, viz., that it was after the death of his father that Taḥsīn settled at Faizābād, is not substantiated by the autobiographical narrative, in the beginning of which Taḥsīn himself puts the death of his father long before his going to Calcutta, and much longer before his return to Patna and proceeding to Faizābād. Another observation in the India Office Catalogue also needs amendment. Blumhardt specifies Taḥsīn's journey with General Smith as "from Lucknow to Calcutta," whereas, according to Taḥsīn, it was a "journey on the Ganges to Calcutta." More probably it began at Allahabad which, and not Lucknow, is situated on the Ganges.

TAḤSĪN'S WORKS

TAḤSĪN himself enumerates in his published autobiography three other works which he wrote in Persian, to wit, *Tavārikh i Fārsī*, *Ẓavābiṭ i Angrezi* and *Inshā e Taḥsīn*, long before the *Murāṣṣa'* came into existence. This list occurs in almost all the MS. prefaces with the word "Vaghairah," meaning *etc.*, which points to the inference that he had compiled other books also, most likely of minor importance. In corroboration, in I.O.MS.U. 53 there appears to be at least one book more, namely, *Ruqqa'āt i Nādirāt i Roz Marra Navīsī*, and this, though it falls under the category of epistolary composition, is mentioned separately from *Inshā e Taḥsīn*, which is here called, *Inshā Ṭarāzī*.

All these books are buried in oblivion for the present and we know nothing except their names. My learned friend, Alṭāf Ḥusain, Headmaster of the well-known Islāmiya High School, Etawah, Taḥsīn's native place, to whom some time ago I addressed a letter, requesting him to institute local enquiries regarding Taḥsīn and his works, communicated

to me the fact that there survives up to the present time a gentleman, named Maulvī Sayyad Ḥasan of the family of Taḥsīn, who claims to be in possession of three manuscripts written by Taḥsīn himself. It is hoped that some literary institution in India or authorities here like those of the British Museum will see their way to taking up the question of the securing of these manuscripts, and that the immediate future will throw abundant light on them.

A few words, however, may not be out of place in this connection. The book *Tavārikh i Fārsī* mentioned in the printed edition is stated, particularly in MSS. U. 52, p. 1036 of the India Office and 316 of Berlin to be *Tavārikh i Qāsimī*. Blumhardt accepts both the names, the former in his catalogue of the India Office and the latter in that of the British Museum, while the *Tazkira e Shu'arā e Urdū* (p. 63 supra) and Garcin de Tassy both give the name of *Tavārikh i Qāsimī*. Scantiness of information on the point renders it impossible to declare definitely which of the two is the correct name. I may, however, venture the remark that the title *Tavārikh i Fārsī* conveys little or no sense, and its rival *Tavārikh i Qāsimī* has decided superiority over it, and that the book may be some sort of history connected with the name of Nawāb Qāsim 'Alī Khān who was raised to the Masnad of the Government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 1760 and deposed in 1763 and who was Taḥsīn's contemporary and perhaps patron at some time when our author visited Bengal.

The book *Zavābiṭ i Angrezī*, as its title implies, seems to be a work either on English Grammar or on the principles of the Company's administration, and serves to show that Taḥsīn, besides being an eminent scholar in the Persian language and most probably in Arabic also, as in those days the two languages were cultivated side by side, must have attained some proficiency in the English language. So far as our knowledge of the history of English education in India goes, he belonged to the first batch of the English-knowing Indians, and not very unlikely was the first Muḥammadan known to history who apparently knew English quite well. The book, as has already been remarked, is known by its name only, and therefore we are precluded from pronouncing judgment on its merits.

THE NAU ṬARZ I MURAṢṢA'

The name of this book as given in the printed edition of 1846, on page 11, is not *Nau Ṭarz i Muraṣṣa'* but *Inshā e Nau Ṭarz i Muraṣṣa'*. The four MSS. in the India Office all furnish the same title with the word *Inshā* on folios 7a, 7b, 7a and 8b respectively. But in the prefaces of the two MSS. of the British Museum this preliminary word is omitted and the name appears only as the *Nau Ṭarz i Muraṣṣa'* which is also to be found in 'Ishq's *Ṭabāqāt i Sukhan* written in 1807, as well as in a manu-

script anthology of 1815 described on pages 8 and 9, and in the *Tazkira e Shu'arā e Urdū*, p. 10.

It is obvious that one set of authorities is opposed to the other and we have no reason to accept the one or discard the other, their dates also being of no service as they are not definite in all cases. But when we think that in olden times the names of Urdū books, in imitation of the Persian fashion, besides being charged with a predominant Arabic element and tinged with a poetical sense, used to be, in particular, heavy and lengthy, the word 'Inshā' seems to be wanting in the present name of *Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa'*. Moreover 'Inshā' means writing and writing in a new ornate style, not inventing. The story of the Four Darveshes, which already existed, was the chief thing accomplished by Taḥsīn in the production of the book. It was therefore, natural for him to employ a term connoting the precise nature of his share of the labour. Indeed, the residual expression '*Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa'*,' the new gold-embroidered style, refers exclusively to the language of the book and demands 'Inshā,' the writing of, to complete its sense.

Dr. Gilchrist was the first Urdū scholar to publish *Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa'* as the name of the book. This he did in his preface to the *Bāg o Bahār*. In 1832-34 Muṣṭafa Khān Sheftā, also mentions it in referring to its author as Sāhib i *Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa'* in his *Tazkira*, and the book when printed was also entitled *Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa'*. This name is now so firmly established that it defies all possibility of changing it into any other form, even that proposed by the author himself.

It may also be noted that Garcin de Tassy, in the opening paragraph of his article on Taḥsīn, calls the work *Guldasta e Dāstān* as well, which is but an oversight. This expression is metaphorically used for the story by Taḥsīn at the end of his preface like many others, viz., *Dāstān i Bahāristān* and *Guldasta e Bahārī* on p. 5 and not as the name of the book. Approximately a hundred years afterwards Muḥammad 'Evāz Zarri, of whom we shall speak in the following pages, entitled his version of the tale *Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa'* without any acknowledgment of or reference to its prototype.

Glaring blunders have been committed by various biographers of Taḥsīn as regards the date of the compilation of the *Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa'*. Of the numerous authorities we have examined, Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, is the writer who first mentioned its date as 1798, basing it on the belief, derived from the existence of the qasida in the preface of the *Muraṣṣa'* in praise of Āṣafuddaula, that the book was written under this king's patronage and finished near the time of his death in A.H. 1213, A.D. 1798. This date was accepted unreservedly by Blumhardt in 1898 in his note on the MS. of the *Muraṣṣa'* No. Add. 8921, in the British Museum.

Other authors of note like those of Siyarul Muṣannifin, *Gul i Ra'nā* and *A History of Urdū Literature*, etc., unhesitatingly followed Āzād and Blumhardt in this respect. But about 24 years later, obviously on a more careful perusal of the preface of the *Muraṣṣa'*, Blumhardt rightly

rejected this date in his Catalogue of the India Office, page 68, where he says :—

“According to Āzād (Āb i ḥayat p. 24) the work was completed in A.H. 1213 (A.D. 1798) ; but this must be a mistake, for it appears from the author's preface to have been almost finished when Shujā' al Daulah died (A.D. 1775), and was completed before the death of Āṣaf al Daulah (A.D. 1797). The date of composition would therefore be probably about 1780.”

This is much nearer the truth than Āzād's statement. But still Blumhardt's inference is not free from flaw. In fact, the actual work, to the exclusion of the qāṣida in glorification of Āṣafuddaula and the autobiographical preface, as set forth in the most indisputable terms in Taḥsīn's preface itself on page 10, was completed some time before Shujā'uddaula's death in 1775. And, as will be seen, (p. 65 supra) he began the tale and wrote a portion of it much earlier, postponing it for some time, perhaps a year or two, during his stay at Patna ; and since the death of Shujā'uddaula had deprived him of the fruits of his labour he composed a qāṣida hymning his son Āṣafuddaula's praises, and amalgamated it in the preface in 1775 when the latter king was elevated to the throne and rewarded the author as he avers in the closing lines of the preface.

We must now pass on, in pursuance of our intention, to the determination of the approximate, if not the exact, year in which Taḥsīn first wrote a portion of the *Muraṣṣa'*. This date, as can be seen from the information vouchsafed to us by him, (p. 65 supra), must lie somewhere between the time of General Smith's journey on the Ganges and that of his departure from Calcutta to England, and it would have been a matter of comparative convenience to find out the two dates had there been a full account of the life of our author's General available. Unfortunately no book has ever been written on the life of this officer. Spark, Foster Laurie, Kay and Beale do not mention any Smiths in their works, called respectively, *East Indian Worthies*, *Heroes of the Indian Empire*, *Sketches of the Distinguished Anglo Indians*, *Lives of Indian Officers* and *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*. Sidney Lee enumerates in his voluminous *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. III., scores of them, but here the majority are heroes of affairs on the European horizon, and the rest are in no way connected with the military history of the English in India. The *Dictionary of Indian Biography* by Buckland mentions on p. 394 one General Joseph Smith who was apparently Taḥsīn's contemporary and lived between about 1733 and 1790 ; “Served under Clive in the Carnatic in 1752, taken prisoner by the French in 1753 ; commanded the Trichnopoly garrison, 1757-58 ; was present at the taking of Karikal and the siege of Pondicherry, 1760-61, created Colonel 1766, in command of the forces which defeated Haidar and the Nizām at Trinomalai. Sept. 21, 1768 ; made treaty with the Nizām 1768 ; Major-General ; took Tanjore, 1773 ; retired ; died Sept. 1, 1790.”

According to this sketch he seems to have retired after 1773 about a year or two before Shujā'uddaula's death, probably when Tahsīn went from Calcutta to Patna. This is to a very great extent supported by widely scattered and isolated pieces of information to be found in the Indian Record Series, *Vestiges of old Madras* by Henry Davison Love, Volumes II and III, where in addition to numerous minor details and anecdotes of his early career from 1746 when he was a boy and an ensign in the Madras garrison to the time when he rose to the rank of Brigadier-General during the years 1767-1770, he is stated to have resigned (Vol. III. pp. 73 and 547) first in 1772 and (Vol. II. p. 597) after being superseded by Col. Wood, to have been reinstated shortly after by the Madras Council and finally to have resigned a second time, (Vol. III. pp. 73-74 and 81) retired in October 1775 and sailed for England. His connection with India then comes completely to an end when Stanhope, writing in February 1776, remarks in his Memoirs "the memory of General Smith will ever be revered in India."

The name and the title of this officer and some of the later dates of his career lead one to the belief that Joseph Smith may have been the Tahsīn's Smith, but there are two outstanding grounds which negative the idea. Firstly, he appears nowhere to be associated with the parallel events occurring in Northern India and hence had no chance or need to undertake a boat journey on the Ganges; he came, lived and served in the South. Secondly, although he was in favour with the rulers of the Vālah dynasty in the Northern Sarkars and once, (Vol. II., p. 620) on the 25th of May 1770, received 1500 pagodas as reward from the king there, he was never the recipient of any native titles like Mubārizul Mulk, Iftikhāruddaula, Şaulat Jang Bahādur, by which Tahsīn characterises his Smith.

There is, however, another contemporary General Smith whose Christian name is Richard and whose life sketch is also ignored in all the above authorities, excepting the last, *Prestiges of old Madras*, Vols. II, and III. Even this contains very minor and unimportant details of his arrival in India and his earliest appointment as gate-keeper, etc., but he has been referred to in the Index (p. 662) of the India Office Records, styled Home Miscellaneous Series, as Brigadier-General Smith, Madras and Bengal Army. Further investigations into other commonly unknown records and European manuscripts preserved in the India Office disclose, however, that this was the Smith who spent most of his life in the North of India and was invested with native titles also, thus supplying the two chief links missing in the hypothesis relative to Joseph Smith.

Accordingly there exists in Volume 37 of European Manuscripts, called the Orme Collection, on p. 81, a letter, No. 4, dated, Head Quarters at Allahabad, 4, July, 1767, from Colonel Smith to the Governor and Council, Fort William, enclosing letters from Shāh 'Ālam to the Governor and to the Council, regarding a present of two lakhs of rupees which the King wishes to make him; another original letter, No. 17, in the same

volume, pp. 131-138, dated, Head Quarters near Allahabad, 31, August, 1767, from Richard Smith to R. Browne, asking him to use every effort to induce the Court of Directors to sanction the King's present to him, and adding in the concluding paragraph, "the King after two years attendance and soon after my coming to the chief command of the army was desirous of bestowing a mark of his royal munificence on me—the same he had given to my predecessor—two lakhs of rupees did he offer me." And yet another letter on pp. 195-206, dated, Head Quarters near Allahabad, 13, September 1767, from Richard Smith to the Court of Directors concerning the Shahzāda's present of 2 lākhs, in which he says: "Notwithstanding I have the honour to command an army consisting of no less than 34 battalions of Infantry, yet all my emoluments in your service do not exceed seven hundred pounds per annum...."

There are other letters amongst the European manuscripts, cited above, under the headings Shujā'uddaula and Shāh 'Ālam, as well as under his own name, written by himself to his friends or signed by him, which all go to place the fact beyond the possibility of doubt that for years and years his field of activity unlike that of Joseph Smith was the North of India, particularly the area lying to the east between Delhi and Calcutta, and in these records there can also be traced two royal letters which embody Shāh 'Ālam's orders with regard to the present of 2 lakhs of rupees alluded to in R. Smith's letters, of which the first is "addressed to the Prime Minister of Britain (Lord Chatham is named) in Smith's own handwriting, eulogistic of him," and in which he has been at two places called 'Col. Smith Bahādur,' and the second which is like the first undated, "to the Governor of Fort William, translated from the original by one Mr. Maddison, the Company's translator of Persian letters, again in Smith's hand, regarding the present." It would not be going too far should we give here this second letter as it contains the native titles, of course in English translation, conferred on General Smith probably by the Court of Delhi.

" FROM THE KING SHĀH 'ĀLAM

To

THE GOVERNOR OF FORT WILLIAM

" After the Form

" It is now two years during which the Dignity of Nobility and Honour, the Seat of Awe and Terror, our loyal Servant, Worthy of Remuneration, the Aggrandizer of Fortune, the Mirror of the Empire Col. Smith Bahawder, Tremendous in War, has, from the

integrity of his most labored (?) in tendering obedience good wishes and services in the resplendent presence, has rendered our sacred and propitious Personage well pleased and satisfied by the excellency of his services, his attachment and fealty. In return therefore for all these good services and out of our regard to our servants' welfare two lākhs of rupees have been granted by the sublime Sircar as a donation to that gentleman. You therefore the Dignity of Nobility will on the receipt of this Royal Shuckah pay the afore-said sum agreeable to the Draught to the Warrior of the Empire Bahawder and agreeable to that Draught it shall be brought to the account in the Sublime Sircar. Seeing that the above-mentioned Bahawder will not accept this without the order of your Worthy of all Bounty we therefore direct that you the Dignity of Nobility should write to the Colonel upon the subject of accepting the afore-said donation so that he may receive the above-mentioned sum agreeable to the Draught. For the rest know that our sacred and auspicious Personage have you from our heart ever in remembrance."

The titles occurring in this document are (1) Dignity of Nobility and Honour, (2) the Seat of Awe and Terror, (3) the Aggrandizer of Fortune, (4) the Mirror of the Empire, (5) Tremendous in War, (6) Warrior of the Empire, Bahawder, the last of which is a correct rendering of Mubārizul Mulk, and the last but one may be taken to stand for Şaulat Jang which literally means Terror or Fury of War. Taḥsīn's third title İftikhār-uddaula equivalent to the Pride of the Empire is not there nor are the rest of the titles of the translation to be found in Taḥsīn's preface. This disagreement, which is immaterial, is probably due to the difficulties of translation in those days and partly to inclusion of forms of address in the list of titles on the part of the translator.

These data regarding his connection with Northern India and possession of native titles are, in my view, sufficient to show that this Richard Smith is the man whom Taḥsīn accompanied in his journey to Calcutta. Now it is time to recur to our main issue, that is, the determination of the time of the journey and that of Smith's departure from India, between which Taḥsīn wrote a portion of the tales of the Muraşsa'. It may be remembered that Taḥsīn in his preface describes Smith as General and seemingly the date of the journey should be subsequent to his elevation to that rank which took place (according to a very significant document I discovered in the heaps of India Office Records, Home Series, Miscellaneous, 24, Contents p. XXII, Text p. 148) on the 2nd of November, 1768. But such is not the case. Before that date he was placed in the position of a Commander, as he himself, writing on the 31st August and 13th September, 1767, respectively, makes clear (pp. 70 & 71 supra): "The King, after 2 years' attendance and soon after my coming to the chief command of the army," and "notwithstanding I have the honour

to command an army consisting of no less than 34 battalions of Infantry," or in accordance with the Indian interpretation of the word 'commander,' he was a General about a year before the Commission was issued. Moreover, even granting that Smith commanded large English forces when he was not yet created a General, I contend that because Tahsīn wrote his preface some years after the grant of the Commission, he could not, it is quite obvious, then have called him other than a General.

Therefore, the date of the Commission, November 1768, does not stand in the way of our seeking the date of the journey before it. Curiously enough, I have observed amongst Richard Smith's letters, bound in Volume 38 of the European Manuscripts, quoted above, a series of movements of his a year earlier, indicated by succeeding dates of his letters and by the names of the various camping places which are situated between Allahabad and Calcutta :—

One letter is dated	near Allahabad	1, January 1768
The following	„ Myr Absels (a garden near Patna)	10, February 1768
Another	„ near Patna	17, March, 1768
<i>Other Letters Missing.</i>		
And the last dated	Calcutta	19, September, 1768

In none of the letters, however, is any reference to journey by river or land made for reasons unknown to us. But the fact that he was at this time moving from place to place is unquestionable and I strongly feel inclined to think that these movements constitute Smith's journey lasting for about 9 months from January to September 1768, of which, as he complains in the preface, Tahsīn was tired and to pass the time he listened to interesting stories narrated by one of his companions.

In regard to the second important date of Richard Smith's departure from India, there exists, so far as I have been able to explore, no official published information. However, in the same European MSS. pp. 45-47, and 49-65, there are two very serviceable letters from which we can with great certainty infer the date desired.

One letter, dated St. Helena, 17th February, 1770, is from R. Smith to his friend Robert Orme in England, asking him to break the news of his arrival to his wife ; the other, dated Calcutta, 28, August, 1770, is from Charles Floyer to Richard Smith, describing the course of affairs in Bengal since Smith's departure and the quarrel between the Council and the Select Committee. He sends him a copy of the debates ; says that no news has been received of the Aurora which left the Cape with Commissioners Forde, Scrafton and Vansittart nine months previously, refers briefly to the relations of the Government with Shujā'uddaula, the Marathas, Haidar 'Alī, etc. .

In view of the importance of Smith's letter we quote it below :—

“ ST. HELENA,
17th February, 1770.

“ MY DEAR ORME,

“ Thus far, my dear friend, am I advanced in my passage to England in good health and good spirits. At this place I have heard of the Commissioners who are gone abroad. It is true I wrote the Company of my intentions to quit their service whenever the situation of their affairs would permit but I never (? expected) to see a military man sent abroad with superior power, however disguised, until they know of my resignation. However I shall suspend all judgment of these matters until we meet and as I shall sail within seven days after the vessel which carries this letter and as the Hampshire is remarkable for good passages it is most improbable but I may be in England ere this shall reach you.

“ I have thought it more eligible for you to inform Mrs. Smith than for me to write her of my near approach. The tidings should be broken to her by degrees rather than for her to feel so sudden a participation of such welcome intelligence, and desire Mr. Brown to convey the same advices to my friends at Reading. At Bengal we enjoy the profoundest external tranquillity. The Commissioners will not have much to do beyond the Department of Financing. The Brigade recalled into the Provinces and perfect harmony with Shujā'uddaula. Indeed I have finished my career at a time and in a manner the most agreeable to my fondest wishes.

“ In the pleasing hope of a speedy and happy meeting I beg you will remember me amongst the sincerest of your friends, for I am, dear Orme," etc.

Considering the slowness of the means of communication in those days it calls for no comment that in order to be able to write from St. Helena in the month of February, 1770, Smith should have left India at latest towards the close of the year 1769 when Taḥsīn returned from Calcutta to Patna to practise, probably as a pleader on his recommendation. This date is corroborated by the episode related by the author of the 'Imāduss'ādat who speaks of Taḥsīn as being in Lucknow in 1770-71 and reading Shujā'uddaula's Kharīṭā for Capt. Harper (pp. 62 & 63 supra) after spending in all probability a year or so at Patna.

Thus it is clear that the earliest portion of the Muraṣṣa' was, broadly speaking, penned between the early part of 1768 when the journey on the Ganges was undertaken and the close of 1769 when our Smith bade adieu to India ; and, judging by the trend of Taḥsīn's statement in the preface, I am tempted to the conclusion that the first instalment of his

prose was begun and completed during the Gangetic voyage the last date of the termination of which is 19th September 1768.

This is about 30 years earlier than 1798, the date assigned by Āzād, and about 12 years before 1780, the date suggested by Blumhardt in his Catalogue of the Hindustānī Manuscripts in the India Office.

SAYYAD SAJJAD.

AL BIRUNI'S "GUZERAT"

AL BĪRŪNĪ wrote his *Kitab-ul-Hind* about A. D. 1030. The book narrates that "from Kanauj travelling south-west, you come to Āsī, at the distance of eighteen parasangs; to Sahīna, seventeen; to Chandrā, eighteen; to Rajaurī fifteen; to Narāna the capital of Guzerāt, eighteen. When the capital of Guzerāt was destroyed, the inhabitants removed to a town on the frontier. The distance between Narāna and Māhūra is the same as between Māhūra and Kanauj, that is twenty-eight parasangs." "From Narāna, in a south-west direction lies Anhalwāra, at a distance of sixty parasangs; thence to Somnāt, on the sea, fifty."¹

The name of the new capital of Guzerāt is mentioned by two manuscripts as Hidūda.² Anhalwāra is represented by the modern Patan, in northern Gujarāt. It is thus clear that Al Bīrūnī's Guzerāt is not the same as the modern Gujarāt, in Western India. According to Al Bīrūnī one parasang is equal to four miles.³ Cunningham takes one parasang as equal to three and a half miles.⁴ If the above report of Al Bīrūnī is summarised it follows that Narāna, the old capital of Guzerāt, is fifty-six parasangs from Kanauj *via* Mathura, and eighty-six parasangs south-west from Kanauj *via* Āsī, Sahīna, Chandrā, and Rajaurī.

Cunningham identifies Guzerāt with Bairāt or the ancient Matsya. He remarks—"Bairāt was the capital, but it was also used for the name of the country, as for instance, by Hiuen Tsang, who calls it Po-li-ye-to-lo. Firishta gives these two names as Kairāt and Nārdin, which he says, were two hilly tracts, overrun by Mahmūd of Ghaznī. Now Guzerāt and Kairāt are only slight corruptions of Bairāt, when written in Persian characters; Nārdin and Narāna are still slighter alterations of Nārāyana, which is the name of a town to the north-east of Bairāt, about twelve miles. Mathura is said to be equidistant from Kanauj and from Narāna, which agrees with this identification." "Āsī is on the Jumna below the junction of the Chumbul, and therefore a favourable point for crossing.

1. Elliot, I 58, 59, 61. Sachau, I.

2. Elliot, I 59 fn. 2. شهر حدود

3. Ibid, p. 54.

4. An. Geo., 387.

Sahina I take to be Suhania, a very ancient town thirty miles to the north of Gwalior, and which is said to have been the capital of the country in former days. Its ruins cover several square miles. Chandrā I take to be Hindou, and Rajaori is still known by the same name. It will be found between Hindou and Bairāt, to the north of the Ban Ganga river."¹

Cunningham's view, given above, has been supported by all scholars. The distance and direction of Guzerāt from Kanauj, as laid down by Al Bīrūnī, bring one near to Nārainpur, in the western border of the Alwar State, Rajputana. Hence Narāna may very reasonably be identified with this Nārainpur. But Cunningham's view that Guzerāt is an error for Bairāt does not seem to be of any value.

An inscription from Ghatiyala, Jodhpur State, Rajputana, dated Vikrama Samvat 918-A. D. 861, states that the Pratihāra Kakkuka obtained renown in Travani, Vala, Māḍa, Gurjaratrā, Parvata, and Lāṭa.² An inscription, found near the village of Sewa, about seven miles E.N.E. of the town of Didwana, in Jodhpur, dated V. S. 900=A. D. 843, reports that the *agrahāra* of Sivā was situated in the Dendvānaka-Viṣaya, in the Gurjaratrā-bhūmi.³

Sivā is the village Sewa, in the neighbourhood of which the inscription has been found, and Dendvānaka is identical with Didwana.

An inscription from Kalinjara, Banda, U. P., mentions that Mangalānaka is situated in the Gurjaratrā-Manḍala.⁴ Mangalānaka is identified with Maglona, in the Jaipur State, Rajputana.

It is clear from the above reports that there was a country called Gurjaratrā, which comprised at least some portions of the Jodhpur and Jaipur States in the eighth and ninth centuries. It will be admitted on all hands that the name Guzerāt is the contraction of the name Gurjaratrā. Narāna, the old capital of Guzerāt, as has been stated by Al Bīrūnī, is situated in the western border of the Alwar State, which is contiguous to the Jaipur State. So there cannot be any doubt that Al Bīrūnī's Guzerāt is identical with the country of Gurjaratrā, referred to above. Thus Cunningham's view that Guzerāt is an error for Bairāt is no longer tenable.

The above identification of Guzerāt with Gurjaratrā bears some important political significance. We now know the names of the old and the new capitals of Gurjaratrā, viz., Narāyanapura and Hidūda. I am inclined to identify Hidūda with the place Hindaun, in the south-eastern border of the Jaipur State, which, according to Cunningham, is identical with Al Bīrūnī's Chandrā. The country of Gurjaratrā thus extended from Maglona to Hindaun, in the Jaipur State, and from Nārainpur, in Alwar, to Didwana in the Jodhpur State. This is of course the minimum boundary of the country. It comprised the eastern part of Alwar, the western part

1. Elliot, I 58 fn. 9.

2. *Epigraphica Indica*, IX, 277.

3. *Ibid.*, V, 211.

4. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, XXI. EI, V. 210, fn. 3.

of Jodhpur, and nearly the whole of Jaipur.

The Arab Geographers, Merchant Sulaimān (A. D. 851), Ibn Khurdādba (A. D. 912), Al Mas'ūdī (A. D. 956) and Al Idrīsī mention about the king of Juzr or Jurz.¹ It is admitted by all the scholars that Juzr or Jurz is identical with Gurjara.² Al Bilādūrī states that Junaid "sent a force against Uzain and he also sent Habīd, son of Marra, with an army against the country of Mālība. They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharīmad and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered al Bailamān and Jurz, and he received at his abode, in addition to what his visitors presented to him, forty millions, and he himself carried off a similar sum."³ Jurz or Gurjara, mentioned by Al Bilādūrī, is evidently a name of a country. The same expression appearing in the works of the other Arab Geographers may unhesitatingly be taken to convey the same meaning. Modern Gujarāt, in western India, assumed the name Gurjara and Gurjaratrā in the eleventh century.⁴ The name Gurjara is evidently a contraction of the name Gurjaratrā. The only country which was known as Gurjaratrā before the eleventh century A. D., is that mentioned in the Daulatpur and Kalinjara inscriptions, and by Al Bīrūnī, and it was situated, as has been noticed above, in Rajputana. Hence Jurz of the Arab Geographers should be identified with this country, Gurjaratrā.

D. C. GANGULY.

1. Elliot, I; Abu Zaid (A. D. 916) says that 'Kanauj is a large country forming the empire of Juz.' (Elliot, I, 10. cf. p. 358 fn. 1). Some are inclined to believe that 'Juz' is an error for Jurz. But it is equally possible that it is an error for Bhoj, i.e., the Pratihāra Bhoja I or Bhoja II.

2. Cf. Elliot, I, 358.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

4. Author's *History of the Gurjara country*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, X, 613.

MUSLIM WATERWORKS

A LOVE for the presence of water—especially of running water—is characteristic of Muslim design, whether it be of a royal or of a more modest domestic interior, or of a formal garden around tomb or shrine. Mussalmans have always been extremely fond of running water ; and this particular taste led them to a thorough study of the subject. Very fine manuscripts, full of good illustrations, exist on hydrostatic automaton, on elevation of water, waterwheels, on balances and on water-clocks. The earliest treatise on mechanics extant appeared about the year 860 as the *Book of Artifices* by the mathematicians Muhammad Ahmed and Hasan, sons of Musa ibn Shakir. This book contains one hundred technical constructions, among them being accounts of vessels for warm and cold water, and waterwells with a fixed level. Most are descriptions of scientific toys such as drinking vessels with musical automata and the like.

With the advent of Muslims into India, their inherent taste for decorative water found expression in abundance in the country. Once the stern business of conquest was accomplished, they stinted neither time nor money in satisfying the æsthetic cravings of their souls. Together with the erection of forts, palaces and mosques went the lay-out of gardens and courts and, in all, provision on a lavish scale was made for water—precious alike for its life-giving refreshment, its cool, soothing beauty and its symbolism.

The gardens and monuments which grew out of the Mughal genius in India testify to their marked fondness for ornamental water, which is not only one of the most pleasing conventions in Saracenic architecture but, in garden-planning, is the element that has probably done more than anything else to stereotype the form which, to Muslim feeling, the ideal garden should take. Running water was quite essential to a Muslim garden, and the greatest care was taken concerning the supply of water. Babür, who believed that "a garden was the purest of human pleasures" and made long and wearisome journeys to supervise the laying out of gardens in this sun-smitten land, found that "one of the chief defects of Hindusthan is the want of artificial water-courses. I had intended wherever I might fix my residence to construct waterwheels to produce an artificial stream and to lay out an elegant and regularly planned pleasure ground." In some cases water was brought into the garden by means of long chan-

nels which then divided into many smaller ones supplying every nook and corner of the garden ; or a running stream was dammed and brought in use. One cannot imagine an eastern garden without a system of water, and that not merely for the feeding of the plants but for the cooling of the atmosphere inside the garden. It was a vital necessity to create cooling effect in the rooms in which the people dwelt, and to supply the baths, often open-air ones.

It has been said that a garden, whether it contains flowers or not, must include masonry, trees, sward and running water in its composition in order to become a satisfying work of art. By the skilful use of running water, confined and conveyed by a modicum of mason's work, and relieved by, sometimes a very restrained quantity of vegetation, Muslim garden planners have undoubtedly succeeded in creating delightful, sequestered oases of refreshment in the most unpromising corners of a parched and thirsty land.

The placid surface of a pool or tank—except in the fore-court of a mosque—seems seldom to have satisfied the taste of the Muslim conqueror, in sharp contrast with the Hindu love for large expanses of still water, as exemplified by the innumerable sacred lakes of India. The Muslims found greater pleasure in the plash of lively fountains, in the tinkling music of a jet playing into a basin, and in the ripple and glitter of a flowing stream. In the devising of fountains they showed no lack of ingenuity, though limitations of pressure and supply precluded the use of too many heads of water and too profuse displays. In general, a number of fine, feathery jets falling into a delicately sculptured basin, set amid the intersecting canals and geometrical parterres of a pleasance, or sunk into the stone-floor of an apartment, combined the dual purposes of ornament and utility. In both cases, the indispensable provision for water became occasions for masons and sculptor who were wont to give full rein to their inventiveness and artistic fancy in the design and execution of exquisite basins finished like ivory and enriched with the chromatic jewellery of *pietra dura* or of encaustic tiles.

In order to give the surface of a stream a myriad facets that would catch the light and send it sparkling on its way the bed of channels and shutes was often cut into a diaper of scale-shaped depressions—little pockets against which the water impinged and over whose rims it spilled in a series of miniature rapids. Or the bottom of the channel was inlaid with wavy or zigzag strips of black or deep-tinted marble which created the illusion of waves as the smooth water flowed over them—an ingenious and pleasing adaptation of the principle of camouflage. Sometimes these inlaid strips were ridged so that the water struck them in its passage, and instances are known of the carving of fishes in high relief on the marble bed, around which the water eddied and, by its motion and refraction, gave the impression of fish swimming. Excellent examples of several of these devices may be seen at Delhi and Agra and also in the Deccan—in the large garden surrounding the mausoleum called Bibi-ka-Maqbara, an

imitation of the Taj Mahal without its soul.

A visitor to the Imperial Mughal palace in the fort of Delhi would have found a shallow water channel that runs through the whole length of the private apartments including the Diwan-i-Khas. This channel was fed from tanks situated over the beautiful *humam* which contains the royal bath, the water flowing down a steeply inclined chute into a conduit in the marble pavement. In its passage it not only assisted to cool the apartments through which it flowed, but charmed the eye with its sparkling motion, while its gentle, rippling murmur mingled with the conversation of the Court, to which it provided a refreshing obligato. It is related that one of the royal diversions as a pastime was to cast into this crystal stream little coloured fishes with jewelled collars fastened round their scaly necks.

Occasionally more ambitious and spectacular schemes in hydraulic engineering were undertaken and these are generally found in Muslim forts. In the old city of Ajmer, lying in the valley below the famous stronghold Taragarh and now abandoned, is the spring known as Chashma-i-Noor. Among the remains of an extensive garden-house built here by the Emperor Jehangir can be seen the masonry works of a water-lift intended to raise the water to the heights of Taragarh, which, if completed would have been an engineering feat of wonder for all times. Another remarkable achievement in hydraulic engineering stands to the credit of Muslim kings in the Deccan. In the famous fort of Golconda in Hyderabad can be seen even today the earthen pipes which conveyed water to all the palaces, gardens and cisterns standing at a height of 400 feet.

The city and neighbourhood of Bijapur, owing to the arid nature of the district and the distance from which the city's water supply had to be obtained, the nearest rivers, the Don and the Bhima, being some miles away, are particularly rich in examples of Muslim waterworks. These include the Torveh tunnel which conveyed water four miles from the Surang *baoli* into the city as well as several storage reservoirs both within and without the walls. The Torveh aqueduct is in itself a very creditable engineering achievement. Owing to the lie of the strata through which it is cut it is masonry-faced on the lower side only. It therefore receives the percolation through its unfaced side and the inflow thus acquired, being unable to escape through the lined side, increases the volume of the outfall at the city end. It was vaulted over after excavation, its direction being traceable by the air shafts erected at intervals.

An excellent example of the practical craftsmanship of bygone Muslim plumbers can be seen in the *Sath Manzili* or seven-storey building, just within the south wall of Bijapur city, which had an elaborate lay-out of piping providing water to the bath on each floor and to its numerous cisterns. Another building, called Mubarak Khan's Mahal, appears to have been built expressly for the elaborate display of water something after the manner of a pyrotechnic set-piece. It is a domed pavilion of three storeys and water was carried through the entire building in a maze

of pipes enclosed in the masonry. Around the plinth are brackets in the form of peacocks. These are grooved on top and, also, pierced through, so that water conveyed by the pipes behind could issue from the crests and beaks of the birds. The cornice of the second storey is similarly channeled and the dome is pierced by the outlets of a further system of pipes. A fountain seems to have stood on the floor of the third storey and when all the jets were spouting and the whole building was running with sparkling water dripping into the tank below it must have presented a very enchanting spectacle entirely after its designer's heart.

Other minor works of this type took the form of ornate pavilions standing in small reservoirs. From holes and faucets placed at different angles in the masonry water spurted in slender jets and fell like a shower of diamonds into the tank below. Kumatgi, near Bijapur, was the resort of the reigning nobility who made it a hunting centre and retreat during the hot weather. Here they built a number of pavilions beside the lake, decorating them with scenes of the chase and fitting them with a plentiful water-supply. The extensive waterworks both within and around these buildings are typical of the purpose for which they were built. They were meant to be places of recreation—for the sportsman's relaxation after the fatigue of shikar, and in consequence were laid on with water after the characteristic Muslim fashion. Without, besides cisterns and fountains, there was a water-pavilion playing an intricacy of jets, and within, from perforated stone roses in the ceiling, fed from lime-lined tanks on the roof, water rained in showers as refreshing as the natural rain from the sky.

A curious but exquisitely pretty device sometimes to be found in Muslim buildings is what may best be described as a water labyrinth. This consisted of an involved pattern of shallow ribbon-like channels cut into a stone pavement and winding about in all directions, divided from each other by very narrow partitions. The effect, when water was flowing through them, was that of a moving puzzle, the water flowing hither and thither in opposite directions, sometimes in adjacent channels, and twisting and turning upon itself endlessly.

Thoroughly did the Muslims know, in the words of an elegant writer, the restful charm and decorative value of water, who could plan for their enjoyment in life the fountains and courts of Shalimar and who could bestow no greater honour upon the precincts of death than was imparted by the dignity and peace of a garden. And who that has felt the solace and repose of those same gardens, mellowed with the years that have stricken full many a moment and laid Sultans in the dust, has not rejoiced that the vicissitudes of Empire have spared these lowly, yet priceless, retreats from ruin. To have seen their fountains splashing in the golden radiance of noon, or showering their pearls into a silver pool amid moon-made shadows is to have said, even as the Creator of Eden, "Behold ! it is very good."

C. SCHWEITZER.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

ن

ناحیه (nāḥiya): A "country or district," (sometimes as regards its natural constitution and position). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 3).

مملکت ایران از ناحیه تشکیل یافته است که بدون امداد آب مصنوعی *** نمیتوان استفاده زراعتی نمود -

The country of Persia is so formed in its natural constitution that without the help of water artificially supplied the benefits of agriculture cannot be obtained.

نازل (nāzil): "Low," (as a price). (یک 1924, No. 18, p. 4, col. 1).

قیمت بلیط نازل معین شده که عموم بتوانند استفاده کنند -

The price of the tickets has been fixed low, so that the general public may be able to share in the pleasure.

ناشناس (nā-shinās): "Unknown, unrecognized." (ترقی 1924, No. 7 p. 2, sub-col. 2).

دولت برزیل ** ژنرال انقلابیون را که بطور ناشناس در ریو گراند توقف داشت دستگیر نموده است -

The Brazilian Government has captured the General of the insurgents who was staying unrecognized in Rio Grande.

ناظر

فکر آزاد (naẓir būdan): "To look on, to be a spectator." (1924, No. 148, p. 4, sub-col. 1).

تا این اندازه هم میشود ** ناظر بود که هر چه میتوانند بکنند -

Is it possible for us to look on so long whilst they do whatever they can ?

نائب : A "deputy."

نائب اول سفارت (nā'ib-e avval-e safārat) : The "First Secretary of Legation." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 4). See under مصاحبه .

نائل (nā'il ; sometimes with به) : "Attaining" (to). (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 1).

و حق حیات خود را در قرن بیستم در همین قرنی که ملل منقرض شده نائل با استقلال خود شده اند -

And affirm our right in the twentieth century to line—in this same century in which nations (practically) extinct have attained to independence.

نائم

نائم سیار (nā'im-e saiyār) : A "somnambulist." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

از این قبیل اند حرکات نائم سیار شخص مقناطیسیده تحریر مربوطه الخ

Of this class are the movements of a somnambulist, of a person mesmerised, of the writing in mediumism, etc. [These movements are those made without the conscious attention].

نبش (nabsh) : "Scratching up." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

حرکات جبلی ** حرکت مکیدن بچه یا حرکت پاهای جوجه برای نبش زمین ودانه جستن -

Instinctive movements :—Movement of sucking of an infant ; the movement of the legs of a chicken in scratching up the ground and seeking grain.

در نتیجه (dar natīja). See, under نتیجه (natīja).

نخبه (nukhba) : "The gist." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 1).

ونیز نخبه حکم عمومی مورخه ۳ ژانویه ۱۹۱۸ فرمانده کل قوای فرانسه را ذیلا متذکر میشویم -

We record also as follows the gist of the General Order of January 30, 1918 given by the Commander-in-Chief of the French forces.

ایران جوان (na-khvānda ; as ناخوانده) : "Illiterate, ignorant." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2). See under ریخته (rikhta), زیر دست و پار ریخته .

نرخ

طوفان (narkh-e mubādalāt) : “The rate of exchange.” (1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 1).

لندن - يك ليره انگليسي = پاریس - ۱۲۴ فرانك.

London—One pound sterling=Paris—124 fr.

نشان (nishān) : A “trade-mark.” (1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 3).

كاكاو هولندي * دختر نشان : The Dutch Cocoa—Trade-mark, “Dukhtar.”

Cf. مارك .

نصب العین (naṣbu'l-'ain) : “One’s constant aim.” (1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 2).

راحت و آسایش عمومی را فرض ذمه و نصب العین خود قرار داده -

(Who) have made the public ease and tranquillity their moral obligation and constant aim.

نظام (niẓām) : “Military service.” (1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 2).

مشار اليه اظهار داشت موضوع اجرای نظام اجباری در عراق بدو آراجع بخود دولت عراق است -

The above-named (Member) represented that the subject of the carrying out of obligatory military service in ‘Irāk manifestly concerned the ‘Irāk Government itself.

—“The regular army.” (*Passim*).

نظامی (niẓamī) : “Military.” (1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

امروز اداره بلديه بدست يك نفر نظامی افتاده است -

At the present time the municipal government (of Teheran) has fallen into the hands of a military man.

نظامی : “Martial ;” e.g., in حکومت نظامی (ḥukūmat-e niẓāmī) : “Martial Law.” (1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 3).

دو اغلب نواحی مملکت حکومت نظامی سختی از طرف دولت اعلان گردیده -

In most districts of the country (Rumania) strict Martial Law has been proclaimed by the Government.

نظر

نظربه اینکه (naẓar ba-īnki) : "Seeing that, in view of the fact that."
(ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2). See, under طفره (tafra), بطفرة گزاندن.

نظر

در نظر گرفتن (dar naẓar giriftan) : "To keep in view." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

لازم است دولت بادر نظر گرفتن حوائج ایران *** طرح متحد الشکلی *** ترتیب داده -

It is necessary that the Government, whilst keeping in view the needs of Persia, should arrange a uniform plan.

—"To think advisable." (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 3).

در نظر گرفته شده است جهت پاره تقاط دیگر *** اطباءى استخدام و اعزام شوند -

It has been thought advisable that some doctors should be engaged for a number of other places and sent to them.

—"To consider." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 1). See, under موقع (mauḳa), بموقع.

نظری (naẓarī; adj.) : "Of views;" e.g., اختلاف نظری (ikhtilāf-e naẓarī), a "difference of views." (مهر 1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 5).

نظمیه (naẓmīya) : "The Gendarmerie," of which there are two branches—one stationed in places, and the other serving to patrol the roads. [محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2; and گنج شایگان (1335 A.H.), p. 184, etc., under اداره ژاندارمری].

نفت (naft) : "Naphtha, petrol, petroleum." (مهر 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1 and passim).

نفر (nafar) : A "person, individual."

نفری (nafarī) : "Of a person, an individual."

سیزده نفری (sīzda nafarī) : "Consisting of thirteen persons" (as a Committee). (ایران 1936, No. 4955, p. 2, col. 5, l. 30).

جلسه کتبه ۱۳ نفری بساعت ۱۸ محول شده است -

The sitting of the Committee of Thirteen has been changed to 6 P.M.

نفرین

نفرین کردن (nafrīn kardan ; with به) : " To curse." (1924, No. 8, p. 1, sub-col. 3).

ما اگر بدبخت * * هستیم حق نداریم بکس دیگر جز خود مان نفرین کنیم -

If *we* are unfortunate, we have no right to curse any other than ourselves.

نقی (nafī) : " Discarded, disowned." (Redhouse ; and ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3).

نقی عهدی که همسایه های ما هم مانند خود ما بودند -

A discarded and disowned age when our neighbours were even like us ourselves.

نقار (niḡār) : " Altercation, disagreement." (Redhouse ; and ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 1).

ذره کدورت و نقاربین ایران و هیچ يك از دولتين یافت نشده است -

Not a particle of misunderstanding or disagreement has been found between Persia and any one of these (neutral) States.

نقش

باغ نقش جهان (bagh-e naḡsh-e jahān) : The name of a fine garden in Isfahan. (H. I., p. 309b).

نقشه (naḡsha) : A " plan " (used metaphorically in اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 2, cols. 2, 3).

شارژی دافر بریطانی * * اعتراض کرده است لیکن یونانی ها با اجرای نقشه خود مبادرت نموده اند -

The British Chargé d'Affaires has lodged an objection, but the Greeks have set about carrying out their plan.

نقشه برداری (naḡsha-bar-dārī) : " Drawing out plans," (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 3).

شش * مهندس سیار که در شمال و جنوب مشغول نقشه برداری میباشند -

Six travelling engineers to be engaged in drawing out plans in the North and South.

نقطه (nuḳṭa): "A locality, a particular place." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 4).

البته تحقیقات درحشرات يك نقطه و رفع اقسام موزیة آن نتایج بزرگ برای سلامتی آن ناحیه خواهد داشت -

Undoubtedly investigation into the insects of a locality, and getting rid of noxious kinds will offer great results for the health of the inhabitants of that district.

نقطه نظر (nuḳṭa-ye naẓar): "Point of view." (In newspapers, *passim*).

نقل (naql): "Transference." نقلیات (nakliyāt; fem. pl. from نقلی): "Transferences or confiscations" (of property). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 4).

شکایات اتباع ایرانی مقیم ترکیه راجع بمطالبات و نقلیات عسکری دولت ترکیه رفع شده -

The complaints of Persian subjects living in Turkey regarding the requisitions and confiscations of Turkish soldiers have been satisfied.

نقلیه (naqlīya): A "vehicle," i.e., a carriage. (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 4).

کثافات ظاهری این نقلیه ها بدرجه زیاد است که همه کس بخوبی حس میکند -

The visible impurities of these (public) vehicles are so excessive that every one can readily perceive them.

نگران (nigarān): "Anxious." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 2,).

علاقه مندان بسعادت این مملکت و مطلعین بحیل و دسیسه انگلیسها از این سکوت طولانی نگران شدند -

Those who are interested in the welfare of this country and aware of the machinations and devices of the English have grown anxious at this long silence.

(with بر): "To be anxious" (about). نگرانی داشتن

نمایش (namāyish): A "demonstration." (Redhouse; and ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 1).

نمایشات دادن (namāyishāt dādan): "To make demonstrations." (*Ibid.* in ترقی).

در بعضی از شهرهای انگلستان نمایشاتی از طرف جوانان کونیست داده شده است -

In several towns in England some demonstrations have been made by Communist young men.

نمایش

درآوردن (ba-namāyish dar āvardan): "To exhibit," (as goods in an exhibition). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 12, col. 1).

آقایان تجار ایرانی میتوانند در بازار مزبور * * نمونه مصنوعات و محصولات ایران را بنمایش درآورند -

Persian merchants may exhibit specimens of the manufactures and productions of Persia in the above-mentioned market.

نمایشگاه (namāyish-gāh): An "Exhibition." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 3).

فهمی اظهار کرد که گفته شده صد هزار تومان برای نمایشگاه فیلاذلفی خرج شده -

Fahīmī stated that it was said 100,000 tūmāns had been expended for the Philadelphia Exhibition.

نمایشگاه (namāyish-gāh): An "emporium." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 4).

دولت شوروی * * * در این اوان * * * طیاره های مرغوب وارد نموده و در نمایشگاه طهران ماشین و ادوات فلاحتی * * * تهیه کرده است -

The Soviet Government has now imported some good aeroplanes and has provided machines and agricultural implements in the Teheran emporium.

نمایشگاه: "Scene on theatre." (Used metaphorically in اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 3, col. 2).

آن نمایشگاه بگناه و صحنه بدبختی روز بروز در تحت فشار غیر قابل تحمل اگراد روبفنا و اضمحلال است -

(Urūmīya), that theatre of calamities and scene of misfortune, under the intolerable pressure of the Kurds is day by day approaching nearer to destruction.

نماینده (namāyandagī): "Representation." Often used for "representatives." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

انساب آن بود که دولت * * * امتیازات نمایندگی تجارت را پس میگرفت -

It would be best for the Government to take away the privileges of the commercial representatives.

نماینده (namāyanda) : A "representative," (as in Parliament). (*Pas-sim* in newspapers).

نمک : Salt.

نمک آلود (namak-ālūd) : "Tearful." (نوبهار 1917, No. 59, p. 3).

نوع پرستی (nau'-parastī) : "Philanthropy." (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, col 3).

امید است از نقطه نظر نوع پرستی و دادخواهی از درج آن عموم ملت زرتشتی را رهین منت فرمایند -

I hope that from the point of view of philanthropy and justice you will put the whole Zoroastrian community under an obligation by inserting this.

نوع پرورانه (nau'-parwarāna) : "Philanthropical," (a deed). (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 1).

حاجی رحیم آقای قزوینی * همیشه باین گونه اعمال نوع پرورانه مبادرت نمایند -

Hājji Raḥīm Ākā of Qazvīn is continually engaging in philanthropical deeds of this kind.

نوغان (naughān) : "The silkworm moth." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 5).

د راپرت وضعیات تخم نوغان و حاصل نوغان را خواسته بودید اطلاع خود را عرض مینماید -

You asked for a report on the conditions of the silkworm moth eggs and the yield of silkworm moths, (so) I am now offering you the information I have.

[See also گنج شایگان p. 83. The sense here given is only conjectural ; تخم نوغان may be simply نوغان].

نوتیوس "The papal Nunies." (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 1).

نه

نه اینکه (na īn ki) : "That—not." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 1).

و هم از روی آزادی نماینده از طرف خود تعیین نمایند نه اینکه تعیین نمایند * * باختیار متنفذین یا غیره بعمل آید -

And also (that the labourers) should appoint their own Representatives themselves independently, (and) that the appointment should not be made at the will of the influential or others.

نہانی (nihānī) : "Secrecy."

نہانی گری (nihānī-gari) : "Secret, underhand practices." (۱۹۲۷ محشر، No. 55, p. 3, sub-col. 3).

از زمان ورود حبیب المجاہدین کلیۃ شعب نظمیه بواسطہ نہانی گری وطمع او رو بنحرابی گذارده۔

Since the arrival of Ḥabibu'l-Mujāhidīn all branches of the Gendarmerie have become disorganised through his underhand practices and greed.

نہائی (nihāyī) : "Final." (۱۹۳۶ ایران، No. 4985, p. 2, col. ۱, l. 45).

هیئت ممتحنہ را تعیین و سپس طبق پروگرام مصوبہ شروع بامتحانات نہائی محصلین *** نمودہ اند

The body of Examiners was appointed, and then in accordance with the approved programme the final examinations of students were begun.

نہر (nahr) : A "canal." (Steingass ; but emphasised here, since the commonly known equivalent is "river"). (۱۹۲۴ ستارہ ایران، No. 9, p. 2, col. 3). See, under قرار بودن (karār), قرار .

نہرن (nahrain, obl. case of نہران) : "The two rivers;" i.e., the Tigris and Euphrates.

نہضت (nahẓat) : "Movement;" (sometimes in a metaphorical sense). (۱۹۲۷ طرقات، No. ۱۹۱, p. 3, col. 4). National movement in the East : نہضت ملی در شرق .

و

وا دار

وا دار کردن (vā-dār kardan ; with کہ or with از) : "To restrain" (from). (۱۹۲۴ مہین، No. 27, p. 2, col. ۱).

مردم را وا دار میکنند کہ از انتخابات دورۂ پنجم شکایت کنند۔

He is restraining people from complaining about the elections to the fifth Parliament.

—(with بر) : "To incite, induce, compel." (Phillott). May also have the prep. بہ

واقع

در واقع (dar wāki'): "As a matter of fact." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2).

و در واقع غالب محصلین تمسک دارند وارد آن شوند.

And as a matter of fact, the majority of the students are eager to join that Branch; (i.e., the Arts Branch).

واقع بودن (wāki' būdan), often means "to be situated;" e.g., in a certain locality.

واقع شدن (wāki' shudan), has often the sense of "to be, to become." (ایران جوان 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 3).

زهرهائی که ملانماها * * میان توده منتشر کرده اند بطوری موثر واقع شده (الخ)

The poisons which the false Mullās have spread amongst the masses have been so efficacious, (etc.).

وبا (wabā): A term especially applied to "Cholera." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 2).

درعبادان وبا شیوع پیدا کرده تقریباً روزی پنج نفر مبتلادیده میشود عبور و مرور از آنجا به بصره و بالعکس هنوز بحال وقفه باقی است.

Cholera is spreading in 'Abbādān, and every day about five persons are seen stricken down by it. Traffic between that place and Baṣra still remains in a state of suspension.

وجدان: "Conscience."

وجدان لطیف (wijdān-e laṭīf): A "delicate conscience." (نوبهار 1917, No. 56, p. 3).

وجداناً (viydānan): "As a matter of conscience." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 4). See, under اعتبار (i'tibār).

وجه (vajh): "Money, price." (Steingass).

وجه اشتراك (vajh-e ishtirāk): "Terms of subscription." (مبین 1924, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3).

Terms of subscription, yearly: 100 kīrāns.

وجه اشتراك * سالیانه ۱۰۰ قران

(. وسیله pl. of وسائل).

وسائل نقلیه (vasā'il-e naqliya): "Transport workers;" (lit., "means of transport"). (مهر 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1).

بوسائل نقلیه قشونی امر به برداشتن خاکهای میدان توپخانه شده -

Orders have been given to the military transport workers to remove the accumulations of earth from the artillery square.

—"Vehicles." (ستاره ایران 1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 4).

بدون اینکه داخل در مخاطراتی که از این وسائل نقلیه متوجه اهالی پائے تخت میشود

نشود پیشنهاد میکنم (الخ)

Without entering into the dangers which may happen to the inhabitants of the Capital from these vehicles, I would propose, (etc.).

وسط

محد وسط (ba-ḥadd-e vasat): "On an average." (مهر 1924, No. 27 p. 1, sub-col. 5).

وهرگاه ** محدود وسط در هر ثانیه ۳۰ ذرع مکعب آب حساب نمائیم در ظرف یک ماه ۸۰

میلیون ذرع مکعب آب در این رود خانه جاری است -

And if we reckon, on an average, 30 cubic metres of water a second, in the course of a month 80 million cubic metres of water are flowing in this river.

وضع

وضع شدن (vaṣṭ' shudan): "To be posed, premised." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, sub-col. 2).

این که وضع شد با این ترتیب که نمی شود اخلاق و حیثیات یک ملت را در انظار ملل سائر

حفظ کرد -

This being premised, in such a state of affairs it is impossible to hold up the morals and reputation of a nation to the eyes of other nations.

وضعیت (vaṣṭ'iya): "Attitude." (اتحاد 1922, No. 217, p. 1).

—"Position, state of affairs." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 4).

و این وضعیت مصارف با بحران ممتد کابینه آقای مشیرالدوله و تشکیل کابینه فعلی آقای

قوام السلطنه بود -

And this state of affairs has been coincident with the prolonged crisis of the cabinet of Ākā Mushīru'd-Daula and the formation of the present Cabinet of Ākā Kivāmu's-Saltāna.

وطن خواهی (vaṭan-khvāhī): "Patriotism." (فکر آزاد, 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 1.)

بهر حال سردار سپه و کابینه ملی او وطن خواهی و ملت پرستی خود را ثابت کرده -

At all events the General Commanding-in-Chief and his national Cabinet have established their patriotism and devotion to the nation.

وقفه (vaḳfa): "Suspension, abeyance." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 2). See, under و با .

وکیل (vakīl): A "member of Parliament." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 3). See, under کار (kār), بکار بودن .

ولکان (Fr.): "Volcano." (1927, No. 77, p. 2, col. 5).

۸

هجوم

هجوم آوردن (hujum āvardan; with به): "To flock" (to), "to invade."

ایران جوان (har chand ba-chandī): "Now and again." (1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

مسائلی که در عهد نامه های تجارت گنجانده میشود * * * قابل تغییر
و هر چند بچندی محتاج به تجدید نظر * * * است -

The questions involved in commercial treaties are susceptible of change, and now and again require revision.

هر قدر

هر قدر که ممکن است (har ḳadar ki mumkin ast): "As much as possible." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

بعد دست را هر قدر که ممکن است بلند کرده (الخ)

Then raising the hand as much as possible, (etc.).

همراهی (ham-rāhī): "Assistance." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 3, col. 3). See, under صیغه کردن (ṣigha), صیغه .

همقطار (ham-ḳiṭār): A "colleague." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).
دفعات متعدده خودم با همقطاران (یعنی استاد های دیگر) در عملیات خانه
مدرسه طبی تجربیات زیادی کرده ایم -

I and my colleagues (that is the other Professors) have repeatedly made many other experiments in the laboratory of the Medical College.

همین

همین (hamīn ki) : "As soon as." (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 1).
See, under تالیف (ta'lif).

هواپیائی (havā-paimā'i) : "Air-flying." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, sub-col. 4).

خطوط هوا پیائی بین انگلیس و آلمان -

Air-routes between England and Germany.

هوا نورد (havā-navard) : "Air-man." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 2).

لکانل هوا نورد ایتالیائی به استرازبورغ وزانی هوا نورد ارژانتینی به روم رسیده اند -

X., an Italian air-man has reached Strasburg and Y. an Argentinian has reached Rome.

هوایی (havā'i) : "Gratuitous." (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 1). Cf.
باد هوا and باد آورد .

برای يك دولتی كه عائدات مملكتش از هفت الى هشت كرور تومان زياده تر نبود * از
صد تومان شانزده تومان استفاده هوایی برسد خيل بود -

For a Government the revenue of whose country was not more than from 7 to 8 krores of tūmāns, a gratuitous profit of 16 per cent. was much.

هویی (hūchī; Rus.): A "subordinate official of Government." (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, col. 4). Possibly for هوچنی (hūchani), Rus. $\psi\psi\epsilon\eta\eta\text{IN}$ or $\psi\psi\epsilon\eta\eta\text{NK}\mathfrak{Z}$.

در هر كوچه كه يك نفر وكيل يا هوچی زیر دست اقامت داشته باشد چراغ دیده میشود -

In every street where one Member of the Assembly or a subordinate Government official lives, lamps are seen.

هویی پرور (hūchī-parvar) : "Conducive to the fostering of officials." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1). See, under محیط (muḥīt), "the atmosphere."

هیئت (hai'at) : A "constituted body ;" as, هیئت وزرا (hai'at-e vuzarā), "the constituted body of Ministers, the Cabinet." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 4). Cf. also تشکیل

پس از حضور آقایان وزرا در دربار جلسه هیئت وزرا سه ساعت بغروب روز گذشته تشکیل -

After the Ministers had come to the Court, a sitting of the Cabinet was constituted three hours before sunset yesterday.

ی

یاد آور

یاد آور شدن (yād-āvar shudan) : "To call to one's mind, to mention."
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

پاره نکات کلی را که * * مقتضی است در عهود جدید رعایت شود یاد آور شویم-

(That) we should mention some important points that must be observed in the new treaties.

مرتبه يك (yak-martaba) : See مرتبه.

يك نفری (yak-nafari) : "Adopted to one person." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 1).

يك خاتم جوان فرانسوی در ظرف چهار ساعت و سی و سه دقیقه بوسیله يك قایق كوچك
يك نفری از بحر مانش عبور کرده است-

A young French woman has crossed the English Channel in a small skiff for one person in four hours thirty-three minutes.

یگانگی (yagānagi) : A "good understanding ;" almost "sincerity."
(فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 2).

برای ثبوت یگانگی خود تمام دارائی دولت تزاری را در ایران * * * بایران تفویض
و واگذار نمود-

(Russia) in order to prove her sincerity has given over to Persia all the possessions of the Tsar's Government in Persia.

NOTE TO THE PRECEDING "CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY."

The preceding compilation though not large, will I think be found sufficient to help the student to read a Persian newspaper as well as any Persian literature of modern style ; an aim which cannot be achieved by means of any existent Persian-English Dictionary not excepting that of Steingass, the standard one.

It embodies the result of the study of a number of Persian newspapers. The sense of each term selected has been gathered from a long, careful and assiduous consideration of it in connection with the context, and the preposition proper to it, noted : a feature not found in other dictionaries, although so necessary, especially for composition.

The passages quoted will, I hope, be found sufficient justification for the sense given to the terms occurring in them : they are long enough to be of interest, and to offer the work as a reading book as well as a vocabulary.

C. E. WILSON.

(Concluded.)

GHAZI MUSTAPHA KAMAL PASHA

[DIED ON THE 10TH OF NOVEMBER 1938]

MAY HE REST IN PEACE !

THE VICTIM of his monarch's hate !
The plaything of a wayward fate !
From lowest depths he was to rise
To make his fallen nation great.

A hunted outlaw ! He could dare
To turn on fate and scorn despair,
With iron heart and iron hand
He would his country's wrongs repair.

Relentless, heartless—to be strong,
With stormy will he strode along
In triumph over friend and foe—
Heedless alike of right and wrong.

A hero ! Fired with patriot pride,
Who Europe's scheming powers defied—
When Turkey at their mercy lay,
And hope within all hearts had died.

A bearer of the Prophet's name !
His darkest deeds God's mercy claim,
Who gave him power—to save once more
A Moslem nation's honour, fame.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

[Under this heading we are arranging to receive and publish quarterly reports of notable movements and activities of a purely intellectual character and oriental interest taking place in Muslim or Foreign countries. *Ed.*]

DECCAN

THERE are very many institutes of Islamic learning in South India. Centres
learning.
The Jami'ah Nizâmiah of Hyderabad (64 years old), the Madrasah Muḥammadi of Madras (49 years old), the Madrasah Jamâliyah of Madras, Bâqiyât-uṣ-Ṣâliḥât of Vellore, Madrasahs in 'Umarabad, Vaniambadi, Bhatkal, Bombay and Malabar are regular universities and colleges, imparting knowledge of Islamic sciences and are at various stages of development and standard. The faculty of theology of the Osmania University, however, stands unique as it has taken the initiative of combining modern methods and sciences with classical and sacred learning. Here students are awarded degrees of M.A. in Tafsîr, Ḥadîth, Fiqh and Kalâm and post-M.A. diplomas for research work ; here students are taught compulsorily English and Arabic literatures, up to B.A., of the same standard as in the faculty of arts ; and here students are taught, besides Islamic sciences, history, geography, mathematics, elementary science and other subjects. The innovation has proved a success beyond a shadow of doubt, and the theology graduates are much sought after in educational and other government departments for their happy blending of Eastern and Western learning, in a truer sense than in any other faculty. About fifty students are on the roll this year. The Madrasah Jamâliyah of Madras, too, is run on similar lines, but instead of Hindustani, as in the Osmania theology faculty, has adopted Tamil as the medium of instruction in all stages.

The Islamic Research Association of Bombay, the Committee of Madras Lectures on Islam, the Majlis Makhtûtat Fârsîyah of Hyderabad, the Hyderabad Academy, the Dâ'irat'ul-Ma'ârif of Hyderabad, the Majlis Iḥyâ' al-Ma'ârif an-Nu'mâniyah of Hyderabad, and the Muslim Culture Society of Hyderabad, are some of the institutions whose activities require special mention.

The Islamic Research Association of Bombay has a good record for its six years' existence. Lately it has published the *Kitab as-Ṣidq* of a mystic Abû Sa'îd Khazzâr (d. 286 H.). The English translation of the prolegomena of Ibn Khaldûn, done by Prof. 'Umar Dâwûd Pôta, is among its projects in hand. Mr. Aṣaf Fyzee is its secretary.

The Committee for Madras Lectures on Islam has invited during the last few years eminent scholars like Iqbâl, Pickthall, Sulaimân Nadwi and others to deliver popular lectures under its auspices. Recently Dr. Ḥamîd-ullâh of Hyderabad delivered a lecture on "The Holy Prophet as the Founder of a State."

The Historical Association of Hyderabad was converted into the present Majlis Makhtûtât Fârsîyah (Persian MSS. Society) when on 24th June 1931 the government of H.E.H. sanctioned a grant of Rs. 10,000 towards the furtherance of its objects. So far it has published the *Tugh-lagnâmeh*, a rare poetical work of Amîr Khusraw, and the *Burhân-e-Ma'âthir* of Saiyid 'Alîy Ṭabâṭabâ, an important history of the Deccan. *Chachnâmeh*, the oldest extant Persian history of Sindh, edited by Prof. Dâwûd Pôta is now in the press. The work of editing and preparing for publication the collection of letters of Maḥmûd Gâwân, called *Riyâḍul-Inshâ*, is expected to be soon taken up by the Society.

The Hyderabad Academy, newly inaugurated under the distinguished patronage of their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Berar, has undertaken the project of translating the Encyclopædia of Islam into Hindustani.

The Dâ'irat-ul-Ma'ârif requires no introduction. The year before last it held a conference of Islamic studies on the occasion of the visit of the Azhar University delegation. This year the 2nd conference, opened by the President of the Executive Council, with a message of welcome from Sultân-ul-'Ulûm the sovereign of Hyderabad, attracted delegates from the universities of Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, Aligarh, and representatives of Râmpûr State, A'zamgarh Academy and others, besides the local institutions. The proceedings which contain the full text of lectures delivered and papers read, in Arabic, are being published. Here is a list of the publications of the Dâ'irah during the last five years, since the *Islamic Culture* published a note about its activities :—

معجم الامكنه - ٢ كتاب الاربعين - ٣ تذكرة السامع والمتكلم - ٤ سنن يهيمى - ١

للرازى لبد الدين بن جماعة

كتاب الجماهه - ٩ احكام الوقف - ٨ مناظرات امام رازى - ٤ رسائل بن سينا - ٦ جوامع اصلاح - ٥

للبيرونى لاهلال الرأى (٤) المنطق لزيد بن

رفاعة

كتاب المعبر - ١٣ صفة الصفوه - ١٢ معرفة علوم الحديث - ١١ كتاب العمده - ١٠

ج اول لابن الجوزى للحاكم فى صناعة الجراحة لابن القف

ج ٢

(٢) جلد

مقاله از هريه - ١٢ مقاله تاريخيه - ١٦ رسائل ابن هثيم - ١٥ كتاب الكفاية - ١٣ (٨)
للبغدادى

and many other works are ready for publication.

The Kitâb al-Muḥabbar of Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245 H.) is a unique manuscript in the British Museum. It deals with the social life of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia and contains information on many forgotten aspects of those days. The Dâ'irah has acquired photographs of the work, through the keen interest of its president.

About a decade ago the Majlis Iḥyâ' al-Ma'ârif an-Nu'mâniyah was founded for editing classical works of early Ḥanafī jurists. Scholars in Germany, Syria, Egypt and other countries are actively collaborating with the enthusiastic Majlis in procuring manuscripts from all parts of the world. So far the Majlis has published :—

شرح كتاب النفقات للخصاف، الصدر الشهيد - ٢ العالم والمتعلم لامام ابى حنيفه - ١

الجامع الكبير للامام محمد الشيبانى - ٣ كتاب الآثار لامام ابى يوسف - ٣

The Kitâb al-Sīr al-Abī Yūsuf and ʿAṣṣul-fiqh al-sarḥī are in the press and about fifty other works are ready for publication, but the work is progressing slowly for lack of sufficient funds.

The Muslim Culture Society is not a purely scientific body yet its activities have a close bearing on the actual conditions of the culture of Indian Muslims. The secretary has studied the ever-growing problem of Hindu-Muslim relations in a monograph, *The Cultural Future of India*, and has proposed a scheme of redistributing India in culturally autonomous states, either Hindu or Muslim, and consolidating them through a process of exchange of population, and uniting them in an all-India confederacy.

It is reported that the All-India Muslim League has appointed a special committee to consider and report upon the scheme.

The following libraries in Hyderabad are among those which possess more than 10,000 manuscripts on Islamic subjects :— Research Libraries.

1. The Hyderabad State Library.

2. H.E.H. the Nizam's private library for which a special hall has been constructed in the Public Gardens of Hyderabad. It is becoming only to a Prince of Learning (Sulṭān al-'ulūm) to give up his personal library for public use.

3. The Kutubkhânah Sa'idîyah of the family of Muḥammad Sa'id Khân late Mufti of Hyderabad High Court.

4. The Hyderabad Record Office, with its splendid collection of historical documents and other records.

5. The Sâlâr Jung Library, Picture Gallery and collection of antiquities.

6. The collection of Dr. Saiyid Qâsim.

Each of these Hyderabad libraries and many more within and without the Dominions require special treatment which we shall give in subsequent issues.

The staff of the Osmania University has been taking active part in various conferences and congresses, Indian as well as international. At the recent History Conference held in Zurich, Prof. Hârûn Khân Sherwâni succeeded in pushing through his resolutions that :—

1. Islam should be treated as an independent institution, and not as part of the history of different countries.

2. That in the international bibliography of social sciences, works of oriental and specially Indian scholars should be given their due place, and oriental titles should be transcribed in Latin script and translated into some European language.

The learned professor has been selected by the International History Conference as a corresponding collaborator for India.

Hyderabad may well be proud of the lead she has given to India in many respects, such as nationalising the medium of instruction, making the teaching of religion a compulsory subject, and the like.

Few people, however, know that Hyderabad has made a very important contribution to the movement of Co-operative Societies. The loans and deposits without interest is a feature to be found as yet only in some of the co-operative societies of Hyderabad and nowhere else. The Majlis Mu'aiyid-ul-Ikhwân founded by the late Saiyid 'Umar Shâh Qâdri has celebrated its 49th year recently and has lent about half a million rupees repayable in easy instalments without charging interest. The transactions of the societies in the Settlement and Revenue departments now run to almost six figures every year. In the 15th annual report of the Settlement Department's Society, the secretary has traced the history of systematic loans without interest to the dawn of Islam, and, referring to the Quran, he has pointed out that when the Quran prohibited *ribâ*, it provided simultaneously State-aid for those in need of monetary help in order to protect them from falling into the hands of usurious money-lenders. So, it is incumbent upon Muslim States, according to the Quran, to set apart a sum of income for *ghârimîn*, those who require loans among the well-to-do. History shows, at least in the time of the Orthodox caliphs, that the Government *Bait'ul-Mâl* regularly lent amounts without charging interest to those in need of money, who repaid the amounts at the time of receiving their annual pay from the *Dîwân*.

A NOTE ON HYDERABAD MUSEUM

Hyderabad Museum though established about eleven years ago, through the strenuous efforts of Mr. G. Yazdani, O.B.E., Director of Archæology for Hyderabad, possesses several magnificent collections of Oriental Art, representing Pre-historic, Buddhist, Jainite, Brahmanic and Muslim culture.

For the benefit and information of the students of Muslim culture such features of the collections are described below as throw light upon Islamic Art and History.

Numismatics.—This section contains coins, more or less, of all Muslim dynasties since the time of the Abbasides. Coins of the Barid Ṣhāhīs of Bidar and Quṭb Ṣhāhīs of Golconda, and several new mints of the Mughals have been brought to light for the first time by this institution. Articles on rare and unique coins are being published by this Department every now and then in the Annual Reports of the Archæological Department of Hyderabad, and in the Numismatic Supplements of the Bengal Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Epigraphy.—About twenty inscriptions which were not *in situ*, have been removed to the Museum and exhibited. Besides this, estampages of nearly all the important Muslim inscriptions of the Dominions have been stocked in the Museum and they have been published by Mr. Yazdani in the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*. They range from the early fourteenth century and represent nearly all the Muslim dynasties that ruled the Deccan.

Calligraphy and Manuscripts.—Besides the inscriptions and the estampages, there is a very good collection of Qit'as written in all Muslim scripts by Master Calligraphists, like Sultān 'Alī, Mīr 'Imād, 'Abdul Rashīd and several other eminent Calligraphists. Some of the manuscripts have also been written by some celebrated writers, e.g., *Lawāih Jāmī* written by Mīr 'Imād, *Nai Nāma* by 'Alāuddin Ḥirawī.

Copies of the Holy Qur'ān.—About thirty-five copies of the Holy Qur'ān have been acquired for the Museum. Their sizes vary between 3" × 2" and 30" × 22". Some of them are richly illuminated and represent Nashk, Thulth, Raihan and Maghrib scripts of a very high order, while others are remarkable for their simplicity and good calligraphy. Some are historically important. One copy is believed to have been written by Aurangzeb, a second by Dārā Ṣhikoh, a third by Muḥammad Sālīh, Court Calligraphist of Shahjahan. The seals and autographs on some arouse great interest.

Illustrated Manuscripts.—An extremely interesting collection of manuscripts has been placed on show containing paintings of Persian, Mughal and the Deccan schools. The collection has no parallel in any Indian Museum.

Miniatures.—Some very good paintings belonging to the Persian, Mughal, Gujrat and Deccan schools have been exhibited in the Art

Gallery. They were either made by Muslim artists or were executed under the commission of Muslim patrons, and represent Muslim life and culture in the past. The majority of them represent high watermarks of the art of the periods to which they belong.

Photographs of Architecture.—In the above-mentioned section have also been exhibited photographs of typical Muslim buildings of the Hyderabad Dominions which cover a period from the fourteenth century up to the present day.

Arms and Weapons.—Muslims started as a warrior race and they seem to have been quite ready to adopt the arms and weapons of other peoples. When they came to India they did not refrain from using Indian weapons also. This is evident from the fact that the steel of several of the Indian weapons like Khanda and Katar was tempered and watered by them after the Persian fashion. There is a big collection of such and other Muslim arms, the like of which cannot be seen in any other Indian Museum. Many of these are historically very important.

Damascene and Bidri Work.—Damascene work or the art of inlaying or overlaying one metal upon another metal, was first introduced at Damascus. The industry was highly developed by Muslims and was in latter times practised in almost every Muslim country. The sword and dagger hilts in the Hyderabad Museum are excellent examples of this art.

During the reign of the latter Bahmanis when their capital was transferred from Gulbargah to Bidar an innovation was made in this art at Bidar. An alloy of zinc was introduced and household utensils were made out of it and they were inlaid with gold or silver or with both of them. This industry drew its name from the place of its origin and was called Bidri-work. An unrivalled collection of specimens of this art has long been on exhibition in the Museum and many pieces are of great artistic value.

M. A.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

WE are glad to be able to begin our quarterly survey of Islamic cultural activities in North-Western India by reporting the inauguration of a new academic institution, called the Nadwat-ul-Muṣannifīn, at Qarōl Bâgh, New Delhi, which is already well known as the seat of the National Muslim University (Jamī'a Milliyya Islâmiyya) and of its associated publishing house. Bearing close similarity in name to two older Islamic institutions that already exist in the United Provinces, its aims and objects are not very different from theirs. It is, primarily, to be a research institute, the object of which is to provide guidance, through its literary activity, to the Muslim community in the present critical stage of its history, when it is exposed to the disruptive influences of Western materialism on the one hand, and on the other is engaged in a life-and-death struggle for its social and political independent existence. The programme of the

Institute, accordingly, includes the advocacy of a comprehensive reform and modification of Muslim law so as to meet the needs of a changing society ; the close study of movements and tendencies in the Muslim world of to-day, with a view to giving an enlightened and well-informed lead in political and social matters ; the formulation of a scheme of primary education in conformity with the spirit of Islam ; and, finally, the defence of Islam and its culture against the prejudiced onslaughts of hostile critics.

The Institute has been started by a handful of zealous and capable scholars with the active help of a number of friends and sympathizers. The organising secretary of the Institute is M. 'Atîq-ur-Raḥmân Uthmânî, who has several years' teaching experience to his credit as a professor at the theological seminaries at Deoband and Dabhel. His associates are : M. Sa'îd Ahmad Akbarabâdî, M.A., who is a graduate of Deoband and holds the highest degrees in Oriental languages ; M. Muḥammad Ḥifz-ur-Raḥmân, who like the secretary has served as a professor both at Deoband and Dabhel ; and Saiyid Mughni-ud-Dîn Shamsi, M.A., who is well-versed in several Western languages and will keep his colleagues in touch with the work of European Orientalists in the field of Islamic studies.

In pursuit of their aims, the organisers of the Institute have started the publication of a monthly magazine, called *Burhân*. It is edited by M. Sa'îd Ahmad Akbarabâdî, and is designed to serve as the organ of the Institute, representing and propagating its characteristic views and opinions. Judging by the first four issues of the magazine that lie before us, we can safely say that the published articles, on the whole, have attained a fairly high level of scholarly excellence ; and if this standard is maintained, we have little doubt that this periodical will soon take an honoured place among the learned journals of its kind in India. Besides, several works on Islamic religion, polity and sociology are in the course of preparation, including a comprehensive commentary on the Qur'ân on modern lines.

It is satisfactory to note that the founding of the Institute has been well received throughout the country. A considerable number of educated persons have joined it as subscriber-members ; while Shaikh Feroz-ud-Din of Calcutta has donated the handsome sum of seven thousand rupees towards the initial expenses of the library of the Institute. We hope and trust that Muslims throughout India will accord to the Institute that measure of generous support which is due to its laudable aims and objects.

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The period under report has witnessed the successful conclusion of the publication of Mr. Abdullah Yûsuf Ali's English translation of the Holy Qur'ân. The first part of this translation appeared in June, 1934 ; and, as our readers will remember, parts I-III were reviewed by Mr. M. Pickthall in the Vol. IX of this Journal (*vide* issue of July, 1935). Mr. A. Yûsuf Ali's translation is not a literal rendering, merely substituting English words for those of the original ; but it is a free translation which

conveys the meaning of the sacred text in the translator's own words. The freedom which the gifted translator has allowed himself has enabled him to reproduce with considerable success the symphonic effects of the original in his charming rhythmic prose. Many prominent men in the East and West, including not a few competent critics, have expressed their admiration for Mr. A. Yûsuf Ali's remarkable achievement in glowing terms. The present translation forms the crowning glory of a distinguished literary career, and we believe that when other works of the talented author are forgotten, his translation will keep his name alive for a long time to come among many generations of grateful and appreciative readers. The tasteful get-up of the work does great credit to the printers as well as to its publisher, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf of Lahore, who has recently published several interesting and important works on Islamic history and religion. * * *

Our present survey would remain incomplete if we failed to mention the important research work that Khawaja F. M. Shujâ', M.A., M.Sc., professor at the Sâdiq-Egerton College, Bahawalpur, has carried on for several years past in the history of natural sciences among the Muslim peoples of the Middle Ages. The subject has not so far received from students of science the amount of attention that is due to its importance, chiefly because the material bearing on the subject is buried in the Arabic language, and very few scientists possess the requisite linguistic equipment to study and evaluate the contributions of Arabic scientific writers. Professor Shujâ' is well fitted for this kind of work, for he is fully qualified in the sciences of chemistry and physics, and possesses, at the same time, sound knowledge of the Arabic and Persian languages, having studied them both at home and in Irâq and Persia. He has recently edited and translated into English "Tahîrîr al-Manâzir," an Arabic work on optics, which is preserved in a unique manuscript in the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris. Although this work is generally attributed to Ibn al-Haitham, Professor Shujâ' has shown that in the light of internal and external evidence its authorship must be ascribed to Ḥasan ibn Shâkir. He has appended a glossary of scientific technical terms, and also utilized the occasion to estimate the legacy of Islam in natural sciences. For this important piece of work, which was carried on under the expert direction of Principal Muḥammad Shafî', Professor Shujâ' has been awarded the degree of Ph.D. by the University of the Punjab. While congratulating our learned friend on the fresh academic honour that has been conferred on him, we confidently express the hope that he will continue, with unabated zeal and industry, his well-directed researches, for the prosecution of which he possesses exceptional qualifications. * * *

By the time the present issue of the Journal reaches our readers, Idâra Ma'ârif Islâmiyya (Lahore) will have held its third session at Delhi during the Christmas vacation under the presidentship of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Shah Sulaiman, judge of the Federal Court. The Idâra was started

six years ago at Lahore at the suggestion of the late Sir Muḥammad Iqbâl, who presided over its first session held at Lahore in 1933 ; while the necessary funds were supplied by an annual grant by the government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The principal aim of the Idâra has been to promote original research in all branches of Islamic studies ; and with the object of bringing together workers in this field from all parts of India, it has previously held two largely attended sessions successively at Lahore in 1933 and 1936. It is confidently hoped that the Idâra will go from strength to strength under the care of its capable and indefatigable secretary, Professor Dr. Muḥammad Iqbâl of the Punjab University ; and we are looking forward to the pleasure of reporting a still more successful session in this Journal in due course of time.

I.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

IN THE U. P., the well-known centre of Islamic learning and literature is Daru'l Muṣannafîn (also known as Shibli Academy), which was established in 1914 in commemoration of the late Maulana Shibli Noamani. Since then it has published 76 books on Religion, Biography, History, Literature and Philosophy, some of which have been regarded worthy of translation into other languages such as Turkish, Persian and English. Its greatest achievement is the *Life of the Holy Prophet* of which 5 volumes have appeared so far and two more volumes are in preparation. The Institution is also conducting research in the History of Islam and the History of Muslim rule in India. A History of the first four Caliphs and of Muslim rule in Sicily (2 volumes), have already been published. A History of the Ommayyides and the Abbasides is in the press. This is a concise history of the two dynasties, but contains an exhaustive study of the Government and civilization of the Abbaside period in two separate volumes. A History of the Ottoman Turks has also been compiled in two volumes which are ready for the Press. The rise of the Muhammadan powers in Persia, Afghanistan, Chinese Turkestan, Egypt and Spain is dealt with in another two volumes.

Besides these, a comprehensive History of the Ethics of Islam has been written in 2 volumes, and will be published in very near future. A critical study of the life of Ibn Taymiah, his works and contributions to Islamic thought and theology, is also in preparation.

So far as the history of the Muslim rule in India is concerned, the Academy has worked out a plan to write it in 14 volumes. The first two volumes have just been completed. The first volume commences with the advent of the Arabs in Sind and continues till the extinction of their rule, which covers about 325 years. The second volume covers the period from the expeditionary raids of the Ghaznawides till the

subjugation of the Indian rulers by Shahabuddin Ghori and his lieutenants. Besides these 14 volumes, there will be 3 or 4 complimentary volumes on the History of Islamic civilization in India, which will deal with society, culture, art, architecture, and literature as well as with the administrative, military and economic organisations of the period.

The Indian Historical Congress has also aimed at writing the History of India elaborately. In last October its annual session was held in Allahabad under the presidentship of Dr. Bhandarkar. The Congress was attended by about 150 delegates who represented mostly the various Universities of India ; there were of course some persons in their individual capacities also. But it was ill-represented by Muslim scholars, which was partly due to the fact that the staffs of the Indian Universities are poorly manned by them, and partly also to their indifference to such organisations.

The papers contributed by Muslim scholars in this congress were on the following subjects (a) Firoz Shah Tughlak (b) Firoz Shah Bahmani (c) Muhammad Bakhar Khilji (d) Travels of Ibn Batuta (e) Shaykh Ali Hazin. Khan Bahadur Zafar Hassan, Superintendent of Archæology, read an interesting paper on the inscriptions of Mulla Iqbal Khan, dated 1405 A.D., found in the I'dagh of the village Kahrera, near Delhi. Mulla Iqbal Khan held the supreme authority in Mahmud Shah Tughlak's reign. The above inscriptions describe in detail the invasion of the Moghuls and the destruction of Delhi caused by them.

Many other papers dealing with Mussalman rulers of India were read by non-Muslim scholars, e.g., the Karnatak and Nasir Jung, Hyder Ali's relations with the British Government, the Treaty of 1765 between Shah Alam and the English, the correspondence of Aurangzeb and Prince Akbar, Rajputana and Muslim architecture, and a critical study of Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni's history.

During the past few months some useful books on the history of India have come out. The Hindustani Academy of Allahabad has published a book *Muhammad bin Tughlak* by Dr. Mahdi Hussain of Agra University. The book is a Thesis which earned for the author a Doctorate from the London University. It is a learned work, and well worthy of study. The same author has edited and published *Fatuh-us-Salatin*, which is a poetical history of India from 1000 to 1349 A.D. This was composed by Isami during the life-time of the Emperor Muhammad bin Tughlaq and dedicated to Sultan Alauddin Hassan, the first king and founder of the Bahmani dynasty. The book is a valuable addition to the scanty historical literature of the period. It is written in simple and unaffected style and may be reckoned amongst the greatest works of the period in which the author lived. The Editor was hasty in publishing this book, so he has failed to throw much light on the life of the author or to make a critical study of the book itself. He has promised to write an exhaustive preface and make an English rendering of it in the near future.

A thoughtful book on pan-Islamism in Arabic has been just published at Benares by the author Maulana Abdul Majeed Al-Hariri, who has

ushered an interesting and novel discussion on the need of reorganising the Caliphate on new principles. He emphasises the significance and necessity of the institution of the Caliphate and then works out a constitutional scheme for Islamic countries. According to him, every Muslim country must be free and self-governing, but there must be a confederation of the representatives of these Islamic countries to legislate measures for the religious, economic and social matters of these different states, so that they may work as a compact whole. The central seat of this confederation must be in Turkey.

In Delhi, Jama'a Millia is not only an educational Centre, but has distinguished itself by publishing a good number of useful books. Its peculiar merit is that it publishes interesting booklets for children written in easy and lucid language, which hitherto have been conspicuously absent from Urdu literature. Its religious series for children deserves special notice. The volumes serve to impart a true and healthy knowledge of religion to a child.

Jama'a Millia also has an Urdu Academy attached to it. It invites eminent scholars to give extension lectures on different topics. This year it arranged three lectures, one of which, entitled *Islam and the Modern Problems of Civilization*, has already been published.

It is pleasing to find that in Delhi another new Institution, Nadwat'ul Musannafin, has been founded to serve the cause of Islam, and Islamic culture and literature. Its aims and objects are "to provide literature on the Holy Qur'ân and Traditions according to modern requirements; to check the evil tendencies of irreligiosity caused by the domination of Western rule and propagation of materialistic literature by providing authentic and up-to-date literature on Islam; to write ancient and modern histories, biographies, and other useful books of a high standard, to make effective contradictions of the malpropaganda carried on by some European orientalisists against Islam, the Holy Prophet, and Islamic culture" etc. The monthly organ of this institution is *Burhan*.

Bihar, which was once a seat of learning, is now very poor in literary achievements, although the wealth treasured in Khuda Baksh Khan's library is still a pride and glory for the people of that province. Dr. Abdul Haq, Secretary of the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, made recently an extensive tour of the province, establishing here and there branches of the Anjuman, but the people of the province are too preoccupied in political tangles to make fruitful efforts in intellectual fields. The Hon'ble the Minister of Education has however, established an Urdu library in Patna, which is temporarily located in the building of Khuda Bakhsh Khan's library.

In last October Bihar enjoyed the privilege of holding the All-India Muslim Educational Conference at Patna. The conference unanimously rejected the Wardha and Vidya Mandir schemes. The Muslim educationists and Ulema both characterised these schemes as quite un-Islamic and detrimental to Muslim culture.

S. S.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES IN THE PRINCIPAL ORIENTAL JOURNALS
CONCERNING ISLAM, ISLAMIC COUNTRIES AND THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE.*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October 1938.*

E. H. Pritchard, Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on his embassy to China and his reports to the Company 1792-94 Part III. (Part I and II, appeared in earlier issues of the journal). These articles are of interest to the students of Indian history because the negotiations with China were an offshoot of the activities of the Company in India. The document No. 6 refers to the supposed assistance given to the Tibetans by the way of Nepal by the Bengal Government in 1793, further it touches upon the intention to attempt the cultivation of tea in India and the rearing of silk-worms. The details of the cost of the Embassy, which concludes the article, is enlightening from more than one point of view.

W. H. Moreland discusses the position of the Pargana headman (Chaudhri) in the Mogol Empire. The article is accompanied by plates giving the Toghra or cipher of Shahjahân on two documents dated 1027 and 1059 A.H. respectively, one containing in addition that of prince Murad Bakhsh, the other that of prince Aurangzeb. The originals are preserved in the Revenue Office at Hyderabad. The documents show that the headman was employed in the administration of his district and that he was entitled to some sort of remuneration "according to custom" which could be raised or diminished by the central authority. Against this he was expected to make a contribution to the treasury (Peshkash).

J. de Somogyi describes a work by Ibn al-Jauzî on the Manâsik al-Hajj and 'Umra and a sketch of the history of Mecca and al-Medina and the rites for the visit of the grave of the Prophet.

V. A. Hamdani in a short article describes several historical works in Arabic and Persian which he has discovered in the libraries of Istanbul.

Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft vol. 92 part I.

J. Fuck; Zur Ueberlieferung von Buhari's Traditionssammlung. (in German). The study of Hadith is again drawing attention in Europe and in a comprehensive article the author works out how the Ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhari has only gradually obtained its position of pre-eminence and shows also that the Ṣaḥīḥ at first was transmitted by an astonishingly small number of pupils, three only. Two diagrams give the descent of the text by the chief authorities. Possibly very ancient manuscripts may add to the chain of authorities, but this is hardly probable.

N. Abbott published (in English) three Arabic papyri found in Syria dating from the time of the caliph al-Mutawakkil. They add to the very

few similar documents found outside Egypt. In a very able preamble the authoress describes the historical setting of the documents which refer to taxation at the time when Mutawakkil's son Ibrahim al-Mu'ayyad was nominally governor of Syria. The documents are written in the cursary maskhi practically devoid of all points and hence the reading of the names of places are very difficult. One wonders whether a person had to accompany such documents to read them when required. In some cases I read a little differently, so on the verso of both document I and II, I read Fā'id b. Abd ar-Rahim. On document II, line 2, I read "min Jabālā" instead "bi Jabālā." I am also not convinced about آردو, the upward stroke after the first letter suggests a name like Baisān. Nor am I convinced about آردو at the end II verso.

B. Spuler reviews the authorities available for the history of the Ilkhānī dynasty in Persia, both in Persian and in other languages. Most of the Persian chronicles were written by authors living within the realm of the Ilkhanis and clearly represent a too favourable picture, and the great Arabic historian Ibn al-Athir probably gives the most faithful account, but unfortunately his history only contains the early years of the devastations wrought by the Mongol hordes in Persia. Nearly all Arabic writers are distinctly hostile to the Mongols and may exaggerate. For the social conditions we are practically entirely dependent upon the Christian travellers. The article is a critical survey of *all* sources at present known.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

THE Congress was held in Brussels under the presidency of M. Jean Capart, Director of the Royal Museums during the first week in September and the attendance was probably greater than at the last Congress held in Rome in 1935.

The Congress was opened by a reception by the University on Sunday evening in the buildings of the University.

The official opening was on Monday the 5th in the Palais des Academies and the King of the Belgians was represented by his uncle, the Duke of Flanders. The opening speech of welcome was made by the Minister of Education, followed by a speech by Prof. Capart declaring the Congress opened.

The same evening was a reception at the Town Hall given by the Municipality of Brussels. The sessions did not commence till Tuesday morning and were all held in the rooms of the Royal Museums. Considering the great variety of subjects the sessions were divided into groups, the largest being that of Islam. As at previous Congresses the languages admitted were English, French, German, and Italian, but we had in the section of Islam also addresses in Arabic and Spanish. A number of

addresses were not given for the reason that the speakers had found it unable to come. As all communications will be the subject of special publication I can only give an outline of those which I personally heard, some of them being given in other sections simultaneously with those in the Islamic section. I had the honour of presiding this section on Thursday the 8th September when I conveyed the greetings of the Arabic Congress held in Hyderabad last July and in the name of the Da'irat al-Ma'arif made presentation of some of the latest publications of the Da'irat.

Among the papers read during the Congress were the following, the publication of which will interest wider circle of the readers of Islamic Culture.

Dr. Loffgren of Upsala gave an account of the first and second volumes of the *Kitab al-Iklil*, discovered by him in the State Library at Berlin. So far only the 8th and 10th volume were known to have been preserved, the former having been published in Baghdad by Pere Anastase, who is also preparing an edition of the 10th volume. The manuscript is in the recension of the son of the well-known Yamanite scholar Nashwan al-Himyari.

Prof. Colin of Rabat gave an account of a work on plants and drugs of which he has acquired a fine old copy at Murrakish. It is by an unknown Spanish author who lived in Sevilla towards the end of the XIth century of the Christian era. He was unknown to Ibn al-Baitar, but al-Ghafiqi has made use of his descriptions of plants for which he has invented a special system of classification. M. Colin had brought the manuscript with him for inspection. It is to be hoped that it will be published.

Prof. Guidi of Rome in one of his addresses gave an account of the recently discovered manuscript of the works of Al-Kindi. Some of these are already in course of publication, unfortunately in scattered series and he was able to show the first sheets of two works, one published in conjunction with Dr. Walzer.

Mr. V. A. Hamdani gave an account of some important town-chronicles discovered by him in Istanbul. Among them is an abridgement of the history of Naisabut (Nishapur) by al-Hakim and the continuation of the same work by Abd al-Ghaffar al-Farisi with the title *as-Siyāq*. Another historical work found by him he assumes to be the History of Marw by *as-Samani*.

Prof. Kramers of Leiden pointed out the importance of the Arabic geographers not only for the civilisation of Islam but of the world in general and the necessity of continuing the *Bibliotheca Geographorum* of de Goeje. He was able to show his new edition of the work of Ibn Hawqal with facsimiles of ancient maps and proposed a new edition of the work of Idrisi after more scientific principles than the old edition of Rome.

M. Cahen of Paris gave a discourse on the penetration of the Saljuq Turks into Syria and Anatolia which he divides into four periods. The first the attacks of Turkish bands upon the Byzantine empire which

culminated in the victory of Alp Arslan at Manazgird. The second the decay of the power of the Byzantines and the Fatimides in Egypt; the third the empire of Malik Shah and the fourth the crumbling of that empire and the formation of the Saljuq State in Anatolia, the forerunner of the Othmanli empire. Manuscript sources are urged to be published. The Da'irat intends to print such volumes of the Muntazam of Ibn al-Jauzi which give precious details not found in the chronicles of Ibn al-Athir, Abul Fida' and others.

Dr. Caskel gave a sketch of pre-Islamic history showing how the Arabic nation as a whole began to form in the second century of the Christian era after the ruin of the Nabataean empire. How from earliest times there remained a division into two distinct ethnological units which have lasted to modern times.

M. Marcais of Alger gave a description of the æsthetic value of the architecture of the Lion-Court in the Alhambra in Granada illustrated by slides and he showed how the same principle is also discernible in other buildings of North Africa.

M. Dessus Lamare of Alger gave a description of the mechanical arrangement by which the reputed Othmani Mushaf was wheeled from a niche on a specially constructed stand when used for reading at public service, a method which seems to have been in use in other Muslim centres.

Prof. Gibb of Oxford stated in a lecture that the work of Mawardi is not the final expression of opinion concerning the Khilafa and that there is no definite Sunni theory concerning it. He said that there are indications of a conception of an Amir al-Mu'minin as a ruler who vindicates the cause of the Shari'a against the unbelievers.

M. Gabriel of Istanbul gave an account of the Saljuq tombs in Anatolia which resemble in many respects those of Eastern Persia.

Prof. Brockelmann discoursed on modern Arabic poetry in Egypt which in its beginnings was entirely under the influence of classic poetry, but deviated gradually from it under foreign, especially French influence.

Dr. Spitaler and Prof. Pretzl of Munich spoke on the uncanonical reading of the Kur'an for which the Munich University has made the most extensive collections. They both attach great value to these readings as a contribution towards a better knowledge of classical Arabic. I took part in the discussion which followed, expressing the view that they overrated the value and that in my opinion, rightly or wrongly, none of these readings altered anything substantial. Some of the readers were not even firm in the Arabic language like the Egyptian Warsh, while others intentionally read differently, perhaps to show their own cleverness.

M. Peres of Alger gave an account of the development of the modern novel Egypt commencing about 1882 which at first was political but developed there and in Syria and the Iraq to deal more and more with the social questions.

Prof. Denison Ross gave from Persian sources an account of the

treatment of Bayazid by Timur Lang after the battle of Ankara and dispelled the legend that Bayazid was kept in an iron cage while a prisoner.

Dr. Rizzitano urged the publication of the minor Arabic poets of the classic period as a help for the understanding of social life of the first centuries of Islam. He proposes as a specimen the publication of the poetry of the Negro Nusaib.

Prof. Masse of Paris in treating of the Jala'iri dynasty founded upon the ruins of the Mongol empire in the Iraq and Persia pointed out the advantage which might be gained towards a better knowledge by publishing the documents, like royal letters preserved in the archives at Paris and in other European countries.

M. Blachere dealt with the commentary on the poems of Mutanabbi attributed to al-Ukbari and pointed out there are in the commentary indications that the work is not that of al-Ukbari, but that of one of his contemporaries.

Prof. Kahle of Bonn advocated an edition of the dramatic works of Ibn Daniyal preserved in a manuscript of the Escorial, as being the only work of its kind in mediæval Arabic literature.

Prof. Levi-Provencal gave an account of a work discovered by him in Fas which deals with the technique of coinage apparently by an official of the mint in the Merimide empire.

Dr. O. Pinto of Rome advocated the publication of the accounts by Italian travellers in the East as a contribution towards the history and social conditions of those countries.

Dr. Walzer of Rome gave an account of the Arabic translation of Plato's work of which some are preserved only in Arabic translations of which the paraphrase of Galen of the work *Timaios* by Plato is actually in the press.

Mr. G. Goma'a of London gave an account of the Arab colony at Darband in the North of Persia on the authority of al-Azraqi.

Though dealing with the Copts of Egypt the account by Prof. Atiya of Bonn on the monasteries mentioned in the book of Shabushti is of interest also for the history of Egypt in Muslim time.

Both Prof. Taha Husain of Cairo and Veccia Vagileri insisted upon a new method in the teaching of Arabic, the former for the Egyptian schools the second for Europe.

Prof. Wittek of Brussels gave an account of a document in the Royal Library at Brussels containing a draft of a new budget for Egypt in 1672 apparently sent to Constantinople, as the previous budget had been found defective in many places.

Prof. Nemet of Budapest gave an account of Oriental studies in Hungary and a similar review of the activities of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem was given by Dr. Meyer, who announced also that a further volume of the *Kitab al-Ashraf* of al-Baladhuri will appear presently.

A number of lectures were not given as the speakers for various reasons were unable to come to Brussels.

There was a pause in the lectures on Wednesday the 7th when most of the members of the Congress were taken to Louvain where they were received by the Rector of the Catholic University and inspected the buildings as well as that of the new library, the old one having been destroyed during the late war. From there we were taken to Tervueren, where the members were entertained to tea by the Minister of the Colonies in the sumptuous Museum for the Colonies erected in one of the Royal Parks.

The final session was on Saturday in the Palais des Academies where it was also announced that the next International Congress was to be held in Paris, probably in 1941.

F. KRENKOW.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

FROM PEKING TO INDIA

"*News From Tartary*," by Peter Fleming,
Jonathan Cape, London, pp. 384. 12 s.
6d.

THE shifting nature of politics in Central Asia may well have caused Mr. Fleming's 'news' to be stale before it reaches the wide and growing circle of his readers. Whether viewed as a sterling contribution to the literature of good travel stories or an addition to our meagre knowledge of political and racial movement in remote and disturbed Chinese Turkistan, this book is memorable. "We wanted" Mr. Fleming writes in a foreword "to find out what was happening in Sinkiang or Chinese Turkistan. It was eight years since a traveller had crossed this remote and turbulent province and reached India across country from Peking. In the interim a civil war had flared up and had (at least we hoped that it had) burnt itself out. There were dark rumours that a Foreign Power was making this area, the size of France, its own. Nobody could get in. Nobody could get out. In 1935 Sinkiang..... shared with the peak of Everest the blue riband of inaccessibility."

Obviously, as a known correspondent of "The Times," his only hope to evade too much attention from the Chinese, or Soviet Government was an unobtrusive approach. So he went, often on foot, from Peking by an unfrequented route—the Koko Nor—the Tsaidam marsh—Cherchen in the Tarim Basin—and on to Yarkand, Kashgar, Gilgit. A march of 3,500 miles! Day by day the humours and perils and hardships, seven months of continuous effort and anxiety, yet one gets the impression, not of a monotonous caravanning, but of adventure and expect-

tation—a literary achievement few could emulate.

We may, perhaps, briefly relate the news Mr. Fleming brought back, and why it is of interest to Britain, India, and other countries. Sinkiang is "bounded on the West by Russia, on the North by Outer Mongolia, and on the East by Inner Mongolia and North-west China, marches on the South with Tibet and British India. For centuries Indian merchants have crossed the Himalayan passes to trade with Kashgaria; and any major infringement by another Power of China's sovereign rights within Sinkiang must of necessity be viewed with concern, both from the economic and strategic point of view, in Whitehall and Delhi." Its population consists of Turkis, Mongols Kirghiz, Tadjiks, Tungsans and a few "White" Russians. The name Sinkiang means New Dominion; "but China has curious standards of novelty and she originally conquered the province in the first century B. C. Her hold, however, was not firmly established, and successive waves of conquest—Huns, Tibetans Mongols under Chinghis Khan and Tamerlane—ebbed and flowed over territory which was for centuries important because it carried the overland route between the West and the Far East, the great Silk Road."

The Tungsans (Chinese Moslems), brave and warlike and finely trained, with the Turkis, challenged the Provincial Government under General Sheng. In Kashgar an 'Independent Moslem Republic of Eastern Turkistan' was set up, its ideals pan-Islamic, its politics anti-Nanking and anti-Soviet. But modern arms, supplied by Russia, proved too much, and Sinkiang is still a Chinese province in name. Of what avail flesh-and-blood bravery against gas-bombs?

As is very apparent from these pages, the U. S. S. R. permeates the whole province (all but the oases held by Tungans); Soviet agents are everywhere, in all military and civil departments are there Soviet advisors; the policy may not be forcibly or rapidly imposed, but is far-seeing enough to send hundreds of the children of officials annually "to be educated, free of charge, in Tashkent, thus providing their Soviet benefactors with an ideological hold on the rising generation in Sinkiang, and (scarcely less valuable) with hostages against the docile behaviour of their parents, the officials."

In this connection Mr. Fleming also says:—"There are some 500 British Indian subjects resident in the Province. For centuries caravans have struggled over the 18,000 foot passes of the Karakorum....In recent years the palmiest days of the Indian trade were the period immediately after the Russian Revolution when, with competition temporarily paralysed, the annual volume rose to over ten million rupees. In 1935 our trade had shrunk to about a twentieth of that figure. This was partly due, of course, to the exceptionally chaotic conditions of 1933-34, but chiefly to an inevitable process—the economic domination of Sinkiang by Russia." He points out that the process was accelerated by the Turksib Railway which emphasises the geographical advantages which Russia enjoys in relation to Sinkiang. "By rail and road Moscow is less than a fortnight from Kashgar. The nearest railhead in India on the other hand, is five or six weeks' away, and the Himalayan passes are open for less than half the year."

Less legitimate methods, he says, are also employed to secure economic domination. Caravans from India were forced to pay duty three times between the frontier and Kashgar and British traders, incoming and outgoing, subjected to needless delays. "A merchant collects his caravan in Kashgar and applies for passports (formerly unnecessary) for himself and his men. Days pass. The British Consul-General makes repeated representations to the authorities, but by the time the passports are issued half the merchant's potential profits on the journey

have gone in feeding men and ponies in enforced idleness. And he will be held up at least once more, arbitrarily, indefinitely, and without appeal, before he crosses the frontier into India. Meanwhile caravans entering or leaving Soviet territory meet with no bureaucratic obstacles of this kind and pay no duty..."

Mr. Fleming's travel accessories, from the point of view of modern equipment, were almost laughably deficient, but he had with him an invaluable companion, the gallant Mdlle. Maillart ("Kini") whose quality as an intrepid traveller readers of "Turkestan Solo" (reviewed in these pages) will remember. They travelled for months under elemental conditions. "We took a certain pride" he says "in the very slowness and the primitive manner of our progress. We were travelling Asia at Asia's pace.... there was a certain fascination in rediscovering a layer of experience whose very existence the contemporary world has forgotten.... We were up against the innumerable obstacles which had bothered Alexander and worried the men who rode with Chinghis Khan—lack of beasts, lack of water, lack of grazing. We were doing the same stages every day that Marco Polo would have done if he had branched south from the Silk Road into the mountains." Not the least of the troubles of this extraordinary record of endurance was the uncertainty which dogged the route for months, mostly due to the unsettled state of affairs, the known reluctance of the Russian agents to admit travellers, the ease with which local officials could frustrate the expedition, and last but not least, the uncertainty of the disposition of the Tungans. In the end they won through by good luck and bluff. Something of an anti-climax awaited these two heroic travellers in India. Travel-stained, they seek an hotel at Srinagar to partake of that dinner the menu of which had filled their minds during desert marches and on the biting trek across the heights of Tibet. Alas! They enter the hotel. It is dinner time. "Everyone was in evening dress. Anglo-India, starched and glossy, stared at us with horror and disgust. A stage clergyman with an Oxford voice started as

though he had seen the devil. A hush, through which on all sides could be heard the fell epithet 'jungly,' descended on the assembled guests. We were back in Civilization!"

The reader of this splendid travel book is held by that human, racy quality of the many descriptions which reveal the writer's *flair* for comedy, colour, humour, incongruity. We conclude with this picture of a banquet (rare occasion!) given at Kashgar by the Chinese officials:—

"Speeches were made by almost everyone, but General Liu Pin's was the one I liked the best. He spoke, with an air of pugnacity, in hoarse Chinese; and, though he paused every now and then for his remarks to be translated by the widely scattered interpreters into English, Russian, and Turki, he never paused for long. The interpreters, however, stuck to their guns like men, so that very soon four speeches were being made in four languages, simultaneously and at a feverish rate. General Liu, who was dressed in a green suit with a belted jacket and an open collar and whose resemblance to an art student in an operatic chorus was spoilt only by the enormous automatic pistol dangling at his hip, surveyed with complacency the peaceful and prosperous condition of the province, thanked both Consulates for their help in combating the plague, and ended with a peroration about Kini and me.

"Both the League of Nations (Kini was known to come from Geneva) and the Newspaper-for-the-Enlightened-Apprehension-of-Scholars were complimented with a warmth which might have seemed, even to their most fervent admirers, excessive had not the General brought his speech to an end with the disarming admission that he had not the faintest recollection of what he had been saying or why he had said it. Whereupon, with a loud cry of 'Y. M. C. A.' he started to dance, uncertainly but with great vigour, and in this *impromptu* exhibition Kini was soon persuaded to join him. Nobody was assassinated."

Lest the reader of this appreciation of a good book should fear that Mr. Fleming had propagandist intentions we should

like to add an excerpt from his 'foreword':—"You will find in this book, if you stay the course, a good many statements which—had they not reference to a part of Asia which is almost as remote from the headlines as it is from the sea—would be classed as 'revelations.' The majority of these show the Government of the Soviet Union in what will probably seem to most a discreditable light. All these statements are based on what is, at its flimsiest, good second-hand evidence—i.e., the evidence of reliable people who have themselves witnessed the events or tendencies recorded. I should perhaps add that these statements are made objectively. I know nothing, and care less, about political theory; knavery, oppression and ineptitude, as perpetrated by governments, interest me only in their concrete manifestations, in their impact on mankind; not in their nebulous doctrinal origins.

"I have travelled fairly widely in 'Communist' Russia (where they supplied me with the inverted commas): and I have seen a good deal of Japanese Imperialism on the Asiatic mainland. I like the Russians and the Japanese enormously, and I have been equally rude to both....."

The many photographs (taken by the author) are as outstanding in their interest as in the excellence of their reproduction there are sketch-maps and index.

R. C.

LE LIVRE DES QUESTIONS sur l'oeul de Hunain ibn Ishaq par le R. P. P. Sbath et M. Meyerhof; Memoires présentés a l'Institut d'Egypte, Cairo 1938, 4 to 147 pp.

HUNAIN B. ISHAQ was the greatest of all translators of Greek works into Arabic and a number of his translations are preserved in manuscript and others have served as basis for scientific studies by later Arabic scientists. Bergsträsser published in 1913 the best biography of Hunain, his work and pupils in which he states that the translations of Hunain are very correct and in easily understood Arabic. It was Hunain who

created most of the technical terms employed by later writers and for this reason the publications of his works, as far as they are accessible, is most desirable. Besides translations Hunain composed also many works of his own and the book in question is one of these. It is perhaps the oldest Arabic work on the diseases of the eye preserved and was composed for the benefit of his two sons Da'ud and Ishaq, of whom the second became a celebrated physician like his father while hardly anything is known of Da'ud. The book is in the form of questions and answers and begins with an anatomical description of the eye and then proceeds to the diseases and the means of curing them. The text is based on six manuscripts and is followed by a French translation with critical remarks by Meyerhof who himself is a well-known eye-specialist. At the end is an alphabetical index of all technical terms with a French translation which will be of great service to all who in future will have to deal with works of a similar nature. Both text and translation are very correct and the execution of the edition is in beautiful large type.

important of which are Ziyad, his son 'Ubaid Allāh and 'Amr b. Sa'id al-Ashdaq. Again we find that Balādhuri gives historical details which are not found in the history of Tabarī and drawing his material from varied sources we can make a fair estimate of the good and bad qualities of the persons which are the actors in those troublesome times, and one wonders how Islam progressed at all in spite of all the family and tribal troubles. Balādhuri draws for documentation far more upon the sayings of poets than is the case with Tabarī and the work has in addition to its historical value the merit of preserving a large quantity of ancient poetry in its historical setting. The edition is accompanied, like the previous volume, by a volume of critical notes in which parallel sources are indicated and the emendations of the not always correct original are justified which has not been an easy task because accounts on the same persons and events were in many cases entirely lacking. The work when completed will remain a standing monument to the scholars who have combined in producing a model for the editing of works on Muslim history.

ANSĀB AL-ASHRĀF of Balādhuri ; vol. IV B edited by Max Schloessinger ; University Press, Jerusalem 1938.

ANNALES DE L'INSTITUT D'Etudes ORIENTALES ; University of Alger ; Vol. III, Paris 1937.

AFTER an interval of two years the Hebrew University at Jerusalem has published a further portion of this monumental historical work in the same beautiful execution. As I stated in my review of the previous volume the author has, as indicated by the title, arranged his work according to the families of nobles with whom he deals. This volume treats of the family of Abu Sufyān (vol. IV A which is in preparation containing the biography of Mu'āwiya) while this portion begins with the life of Yazid, omitting however the death of Husain which will be found in the volume dealing with the descendants of Abū Tālib. It is followed by accounts of other members of the same family, the most

THE University of Alger, commencing in 1935, has published each year a volume containing articles by its professors dealing principally, if not exclusively, with the history, civilisation, art and language of North-Africa and Spain and these articles are as a rule of a high order. I can in this review touch on the subjects contained in this volume in a general manner only.

H. Pérès has two contributions. The first is a letter by the founder of scientific Arabic studies in Europe, Silvestre de Sacy, addressed to de Bussy who published the first Arabic-French dictionary on the spoken Arabic of Algeria. De Sacy in it insists upon the necessity of a correct scientific transcription of Arabic letters,

when expressed in Latin letters. . . . The second article deals with the modern Arabic novel. He traces it from the beginning when Faris ash-Shidyaq and Rifa'a Beg by translations of principally French novels opened a new phase of Arabic literature different from the ancient Maqâmât. At first it was through the Syrian immigrants that this class of literature was fostered which during little over fifty years has grown in volume. The article ends with a classified enumeration of the translations and original works (719 numbers) including European works and articles dealing with this literature. I do not think that information as comprehensive can be found elsewhere.

G. Marcais and Levi Provencal describe a glass-weight dated 127 A. H. found at Bû Kadra near Constantine in Algeria. The purpose of these glass-weights, of which a number from Egypt are known and have been described, was to give the Muhtasib a standard by which he could check those in use in the markets. This weight was issued by 'Abd ar-Rahmân b. Habib, grandson of 'Uqba b. Nâfi' founder of Qairawân, who in Jumâda II 127 A. H. deposed the governor Hanzala. It was sent to Masal b. Hammâd who at that time was governor of Mîla, once an important trade centre, long since disappeared, but situated near the place where the weight was found. It will be noticed that it was sent the same year in which 'Abd ar-Rahmân assumed power.

G. Wiet describes, with illustrations, six glass-lamps in the Gulbenkian collection. They all date from the eighth century of the Hijra between the years 729-762 during the most prosperous time of the Mamlûk dominion.

M. Canard translates a letter by the Mamlûk Sultan an-Nâsir Hasan written in 750 A. H. (1349) to the Byzantine emperor John VI, Cantacuzenos preserved in Greek in the latter's history. The Arabic original is most certainly lost. The letter throws considerable light upon the quarrels of the church in Jerusalem and the importance of the Mamlûk sultans as rulers of the Christian communities and reveals facts which are

entirely ignored by the Arabic historians of Egypt in those days.

R. Ricard has a study on the trade of the Genoese in Morocco during the period of the Portuguese ascendancy in North-Africa (1415-1550 A. C.). The Muslim power in Spain by that time had declined so much that the Ahl adh-Dhimma were the Muslims and not the Christians. It seems that the sultans rather favoured the Genoese from whom no aspirations for conquests could be feared and some influential Genoese merchants are found to have lived in the principal cities of the Maghrib with their families and to have possessed financial means which at times were indispensable to the sultans.

R. Brunschvig gives an account of a manuscript on the measures in use in Tunis at the commencement of the 17th century after the Turkish occupation. As usual weights and measures had deteriorated to the disadvantage of state and public and the aim of the work was to re-establish the legal standard of the Prophet.

Dr. Renaud, well known for his writings on Arabic medicine and botany, gives an account of medicine and physicians in the Maghrib during the reign of Sultan Ismâ'il (1082-1139 A. H.) drawn to some extent from the history of Maknis (Meknes) by 'Abd ar-Rahmân b. Zaidân, the present Naqîb ash-Shurafâ' in Maknis. He gives details of the life of Ibn Shaqrûn, who had studied in Cairo and whose Urjûza, called after him ash-Shaqrûniya, is a work existing in many manuscripts in the Maghrib. In one of his works he for the first time in Arabic pharmacopoeia mentions the American Sarsaparilla which was held to be a kind of cure-all. Another physician is a certain Ahmad b. Muhammad Adarrâq a native of the Sus. The knowledge of these physicians, according to Renaud, was not very profound and in their works are found the usual remarkable diagnoses and cures.

H. Basset publishes a short account of Berber dialectics accompanied by a sketch-map.

J. Cantineau continues his study of the dialects of the Arab tribes in Syria

and Northern Arabia of which the first half had appeared in the second volume of the publication (1936). He comes to the conclusion that the agreements and differences in these dialects cannot be reconciled with their supposed ancient descent, but must be sought in the history of these tribes during the last three centuries, when many readjustments and confederations took place.

H. Massé deals with the Naurûz Nâmah attributed to the poet Omar Khayyâm. The work is not mentioned by any of his biographers and for this reason its authenticity has been doubted. The edition by Minovi is based upon an ancient copy in the Berlin library. The aim of the work is to fix scientifically the exact date of the Persian New Year, not only as a festival but also for revenue purposes. For this reason the legendary and actual history is given and the repeated attempts to correct the date under Mamun, al-Mutawakkil and last under Malikshâh. Then comes an enumeration of the presents which the High Priest used to offer on the occasion of the Naurûz to the sovereign: gold ring, green barley, sword, bow and arrows, pen, horse, falcon, wine and a handsome face.

As the data furnished by the Naurûz Nâmah are not very satisfactory M. Faggelon has added a scientific astronomic discourse on the difficulties for fixing the date with unassailable accuracy.

DURRAT AL-HIJÂL, Répertoire biographique d'Ahmad ibn al-Qaḍi texte arabe publié.... par I. S. Allouche; two volumes Rabat 1934 and 1936.

AL-HULAL AL-MAWCHIYYA, chronique anonyme des dynasties Almoravide et Almohade, texte arabe publié d'après de nouveaux manuscrits par I. S. Allouche, Rabat 1936.

Ibn HAIYAN; AL-Muqtabis, vol. III., Chronique du règne du calife Umayyade 'Abd Allah à Cordoue, texte arabe publié.... d'après le manuscrit de la

Bodleienne.... par le P. P. Melchor M. Antuna O. S. A.; Paris 1397.

THE study of Islam in Spain and the Far West is at present, and naturally, confined to French and Spanish scholars. What is written in Egypt in Arabic is only second-hand and incomplete. The three books under notice deal with quite distinct periods, the third, sixth and eighth century of the Hijra.

Ibn Haiyan was born in Cordoba in 377 A. H. and died there the 28 Rabi' I, 469. He is without doubt the best historian of Spain and wrote two large works one called al-Matin and the other al-Muqtabis (or al-Muqtabas). Both were supposed to have been preserved in the Zaithûna mosque at Tunis, but do not exist there now. The former work appears to be entirely lost, but of the Muqtabis two manuscripts are found, one in Oxford, the basis of the edition, and one in Constantine in Algeria containing the reign of the Umayyade caliph al-Hakam. The present volume deals with the reign of the seventh Umayyade ruler 'Abd Allah who reigned from 275 to 300. Unfortunately this unique copy, though beautifully written, is very faulty and the editor has done his utmost to present a correct text. The greatest difficulty was to establish the correct names of the numerous castles and persons who are not mentioned in any other sources, hence we have a rather long list of corrections at the end of the work. The author begins his account with the character of the ruler, his officials and the crowd of his adversaries and the poets and learned men of his reign and sums up with the annals from 275 to 299 A. H. 'Abd Allah died in Rabi' I, 300 and was succeeded by his grandson 'Abdar-Rahman an-Nasir.

The Hulal al-Mawshiya are by an unknown author who however cites frequently historians whose works are lost and he tells us himself that he finished his work in 738 when both the Almoravide and Almohade dynasties had long ceased to rule in Spain and the Maghrib. A previous edition has been printed in Tunis in 1329 in which the work is attributed to Ibn al-Khatib, the author of the Ihāṭa, the history of Granada, who

died in 776. This edition is based upon three new manuscripts and the work has been utilised long ago through manuscripts by Dozy and Gayangos. Though as a rule quite concise the author cites frequently letters which have passed between Muslim rulers and even Spanish ones. Towards the end of the Almohade dynasty he practically confines himself to the dates of the ephemeral reigns of the latter rulers and the only long account is that of the first Marīnī Sultan Abū Yūsuf Ya'qub b. 'Abd al-Haqq and winds his work up with the various Berber tribes of the Marīnī empire.

The *Durrat al-Hijāl* is a biographical dictionary and was intended to be a continuation of the work of Ibn Khallikān. The author Shihab ad-Din Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Alī known as Ibn al-Qāḍī was born in 960 A. H. He received a very careful education and made the pilgrimage staying several years in the East. In 994 he sailed by ship for home but the vessel was captured by Christians and he was carried into captivity, but he does not tell us where. After eleven months of captivity he was ransomed by the Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr for the sum of twenty thousand ounces. He was admitted to the court at Murra-kish and shortly afterwards appointed Qāḍī of Salā. Having been recalled for some unknown reason he retired to Fas where he died in 1025 A. H. Besides this work he wrote among others the *Muntaq al-Maqṣūr*, a history of the Sultan al-Manṣūr who had ransomed him and the *Jadhwat al-Iqtibas*, a biographical dictionary of persons buried in Fas, lithographed in Fas in 1309 A. H. As said above the *Durrat* is intended to be a continuation of the *Wafayāt* of Ibn Khallikān. The material is very unequal for the eighth century. He mentions a number of persons also contained in the *Durar al-Kāmina*, but not seldom he has for this period accounts of men whom Ibn Hajar has omitted. Some most likely intentionally, such as Hanafi lawyers. Ibn Hajar's aversion against the adherents of the Hanāfi school is too well known. There seems to be a lack of biographies of the ninth century, but the tide flows again for the tenth and many of the

men whom he mentions are such with whom he had come into personal contact. The biographies deal with men both of the East and West. In comparing a number of biographies, especially of scholars of the East, I find that names are often faulty, which the editor could have corrected if he had consulted works dealing with them; sometimes the dates are not the same. For biographies of learned men of the West these errors do not seem to be so frequent.

THE ABRIDGED VERSION OF THE BOOK OF SIMPLE DRUGS of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī by Gregorius Abu'l-Faraj al-Ghāfiqī; edited, etc., by M. Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy, Cairo, Egyptian University; Faculty of Medicine. Part I Cairo 1932, Letter Alif, Part II Cairo 1937, Letters Ba' and Gim.

ONE of the greatest difficulties confronting translators and editors of Arabic texts on medicine, and also ancient Arabic poetry, has always been to identify exactly the plants mentioned in such works. As long ago as 1291 A. H. (1874) the Jāmi'al-Mufradāt of Ibn al-Baitār had been published, with an abundant crop of misprints and errors, and before in 1870 Sontheimer on the basis of manuscripts had made the first attempt to identify the plants mentioned in it. A better translation was made in 1883 by Leclerc which was not completed however.

Pharmacology, as the editors and translators of the work of al-Ghāfiqī say, has been one of the glories of Arabic science. It was originally based upon Greek authors translated into Arabic and flourished both in the Eastern and Western sphere of the Muslim empire, but specially in the West. Though not the oldest work on the subject written in Spain (Prof. Colin at Brussels showed us a still older work of which he had bought an ancient manuscript in the Maghrib) it is the one which had the greatest influence on later literature and is continually cited by Ibn al-Baitār in his work.

The text published, translated and commented is not the original work of al-Ghāfiqī, but an abridgment made by the Christian author Abul Faraj known as Barhebraeus among Christian writers. A copy of the first volume of the original work has recently been found in an American library, but could not be made use of by the editors.

It is a fortunate combination that two Arabic scholars, who at the same time are medical men of reputation, should have collaborated in the work of translation and the even more important task of commenting the statements of the author, for in this part of the work lies the greatest value of the publication. It required in addition to the knowledge of Arabic and medicine, also that of the Greek texts which in many cases formed the basis for the identification of the plants in question. Ignorance of scribes did add not a little to the task and it is not surprising that it has been impossible in some cases to make sure that the identification is correct; at times it has been impossible.

The translators have at the end of each article given, as far as possible, the synonyms in various languages, adding in this way considerably to the usefulness of the work. No words can adequately express the service they have rendered to the better understanding of Arabic medicine and its remedies.

The most difficult printing of the translation and commentary has been done fairly well, but the time it has taken! If five years have been required to print the second and third letter for the second fascicle, how long will it take for the whole work to see the light of the world? It is to be hoped that it will be found possible to accelerate the printing or we may, as so often, have to be content with a torso.

The introduction gives a short account of the authors Greek and Arabic who are cited by al-Ghāfiqī and a list of European authors who have written on the subject.

I have only few remarks to make. In the article on Arāk Ibn Baiṭār reads البرير instead of برى and the translation should read: another kind is called al-Barīr....

Barīr is mentioned in ancient Arabic poems as a food of ostriches and explained (L. A. V. 120 and elsewhere) as the unripe fruit of the Arāk or according to Abu Hanifa ad-Dinawari as larger than the Kabāth and in smaller clusters. Ibn at Baiṭār mentions it in vol. I. 89 but misprinted برى. In the translation of the article on Idhkhīr p. 62 Makāsīh= brooms refers to the flowers, bunches of reed-grasses which are by Arabic poets compared with horse-tails.

It is to be hoped that the work will make more speedy progress as it is an essential aid to all studies in Arabic medicine and we must be grateful to the two editors and translators for the valuable time they sacrifice in their professional duties.

F. Krenkow.

AL-HADIS, Book I, by Fazlul Karim of Bengal Civil Service, pp. 741, Rs. 7.

THE book under review is the first of probably four parts of "an English translation and commentary with vowel-pointed Arabic text of *Mishkāt-ul-Maṣābiḥ*" the famous compilation of *Hadith*.

It is really very commendable of a busy judge to find time to devote to such useful literary work.

Mishkāt was compiled by Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Khaṭīb at-Tibrīzī in 737. The work, which is a commentary of al-Bagawī's *Maṣābiḥ as-Sunnah*, has already been translated into several languages, including Hindustani and English. The English translation was published by A. N. Matthews, Calcutta, 1809-10 (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, in loco and also Ellis, II, 124/25). Another Calcutta writer, A. A. K. Muḥammad published in 1918, in the *Precious Gems Series*, *The Sayings of Hazrat Muḥammad chosen from Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ with a short life of the Prophet*.

It is surprising that our author, who belongs to the Bengal Civil Service, does not refer to his predecessors in Calcutta in his preface to the new translation, nor does he seem to have utilised these earlier translations. The distinguishing

feature of the present work is, however, the inclusion of vocalised Arabic text, which will be useful to students and those who know some Arabic.

Writings and sayings of great men require great translators. It will be a singular disservice to a great man if he is interpreted in any way incompetently.

The present translation seems to have been rushed through the press, and the patience required for a careful revision seems to have been lacking, owing apparently to the official duties of the author. Hence a long and yet incomplete list of corrigenda.

The transliteration of proper names is generally deplorable; for instance the constant "Mazhare-Hoq"---"Zurji Zaidan"---"Abu Darda'a"---"Yahya-ul-Ulumuddin" and scores of others. The reason is not far to seek. The author has asserted, without diffidence, that "No fixed standard of short and long vowels have (sic) been observed in this work as it is very difficult to follow them according to a fixed standard (!). Words as pronounced (in Bengal?) have been rendered in the English language (script?)." Yes, opinions might differ, and certainly this lack of uniformity has not enhanced the value of his laborious task.

The translator has expressly acknowledged his free utilisation of the Hindustani translation of Qutbuddin. As we have mentioned, the work is very useful for those who would prefer to read the translation along with the original.

MAXIMS OF 'ALI translated by J. A. Chapman, Oxford University Press, pp. 71, Rs. 1-8-0.

Some of the SAYINGS OF ALI, by Qassim Ali Juirazbhoy, The Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, pp. 33.

soldier-saint of Islam did not prove successful politically yet his worst enemies would not deny his learning, honesty, piety, and in fact almost all the Sunni mystic brotherhoods, Chishtiyah, Qádríyah, Suhrawardiyah and others recognise in 'Alí the immediate and uninterrupted successor of the Prophet. Succession to the political heritage of the Prophet may or may not have been his *right*, yet from religious and realistic points of view the transitory mundane authority is nothing compared to the lasting spiritual leadership which he undisputedly holds amongst the Sufis.

It is difficult to ascertain how many of the sayings attributed in history to 'Alí are genuine, and our authors do not even give their sources. Again, though the English rendering is not at all bad, the omission of the Arabic texts leaves the reader at a loss to judge how far the translation is literal and faithful.

The *Maxims of 'Ali* contains selections of *obiter dicta* on some 70 miscellaneous topics such as God, education, truth, advice, politeness and so on. The publishers should correct in a future edition mistakes crept into the Introduction which tend to betray the ignorance of the writer of the Introduction with Arabic. I refer to "Mait-i-Kalima" (read Mi'at-u-Kalimah), "Nasrul Loali" (read Nathr-ul-la'álí), etc.

The *Sayings of 'Ali* is a fine specimen of English printing yet the deplorable carelessness of printing apparent on every page tends to strengthen the oft-complained assertion that the Woking Mission meets with religious prejudice at the hands of printers and others in the country where they are carrying on the selfless task of the diffusion of the eternal Quranic teaching of truth and comfort to soul.

حجة الملك الاشرف قايتباي

or

THE BUILDINGS OF QAYTBAY as described in his Endowment deed, edited by Dr. L. A. Mayer of the Hebrew

IT is always interesting to read random expressions of great men which even when isolated and without context give interesting reading. The great

University of Jerusalem, publishers A. Probsthain, 1938, pp. x-96

THE importance of the publication under review lies in the fact that although it consists of only extracts of a voluminous deed nevertheless it "abounds in topographical data... of medieval Cairo" and that it gives "the detailed description of the functions and functionaries connected with the Madrasa and Mausoleum. For the first time we have here an opportunity of seeing not only the bare walls of an old monument, but [also] the working of the institution and very life of those for whose sake these walls were erected and decorated."

The inclusion of a facsimile reproduction of at least part of the deed would have added to the value of the edition of the text.

CUSTOM AND LAW IN ANGLO-MUSLIM JURISPRUDENCE, by Hamid Ali, B.A., B.L. (Madras), LL.D. (London), published by Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, pp. 127.

THERE are very few doctors of law of the University of London among Indian Muslims. Our youthful author has revised and amplified here the thesis which he successfully presented to the University of London for his doctorate.

One may not like yet none can deny the fact that time and clime leave their ineffaceable trace upon all social institutions of man including law and religion. Muslim law is not solely based on the Quran, the Sunnah and the opinion of later jurists but to a very great extent on the customs prevalent in the countries of its origin and expansion. Islam was admittedly a reform and like all reforms, it changed the outlook and a few of the details of everyday customs of society. A thousand minor details of everyday life are left, even by the most radical reformer, untouched and unchanged. Some time ago a paper was read in the "Circle of Islamic Studies" of the

Theology Faculty, Osmania University, on Foreign Elements in the Development of Muslim Law. It was shown in considerable detail that it would be absurd to assert that only Roman Law had influenced Fiqh in its development. Islam began in Mecca, full of pagan Arab traders who constantly travelled abroad. Its centre of gravitation then moved to Medina where Jews also lived in thousands. Not a decade had passed over the Hijrah when the boundaries of the Muslim State crossed with those of Persia and the Byzantine empire. A decade and a half later, in the year 27 H. we see the armies of Islam penetrating even into Spain to remain there until Tāriq came many generations later to complete the conquest, when the Islamic State, like a colossal crescent, spread from the Pyrenes to the mountains of China, crossing Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt and all the coastal countries of North Africa. It came into contact, besides the Meccans and other Arabs, with Jews, Christians, Greeks, Persians, and Buddhists of Turkistan to mention a few of the more civilized people of those times. Histories mention that not much difference is to be found between the pre-Islamic pagan hajj and the Muslim Pilgrimage; that the Caliph 'Umar adopted *in toto* the Persian revenue laws when that empire was absorbed into the Muslim State; that the technology of Muslim Jurisprudence is very much affected by its Roman counterpart; that the greatest number of jurists Islam has produced came from Turkistan, Bukhara and the adjoining countries full of Buddhist and Chinese influence, that the pupils of the disciples of the Companions of the Prophet and their pupils, the teachers of Abu Hanifah, Mālik, as-Shāfi'iy, Aḥmad ibn Hanbal and others, were generally *Mawali* of non-Arab origin who could not obviously forget all that they knew of the existing conditions of pre-Islamic days in their own countries; and that there are express traditions in which the Prophet ordered scholars to follow the *Ahl al-kitab*, which he himself did, in questions where no revelation has come down to him, and not to abide only by Meccan customs.

From all these it is apparent that Muslim Law has utilised foreign material, if not in its formation, at least in its development.

Unfortunately our doctor has not been able to utilise the first-hand Arabic original sources, otherwise he would not have failed to notice that even the Orthodox Muslim Jurists recognise 'urf, 'adah, and 'umum al-balawa as sources of prime importance, and the last named even abrogating the express provisions on the basis that Muslims cannot have been unanimous on a wrong custom

(لا يجمع امتي على الضلالة).

The author has referred to the customary laws of the Muslims of various countries, the Malay Peninsula, Punjab, etc., yet he ignores the very numerous community of Berbers of North Africa who have retained their customs of pre-Islamic origin differing widely from the commands of the Quran and the Sunnah.

I doubt whether the author is right when he says (on p. 14 n.) that the Hanafis regard custom as a source of law under the principle of Istihṣān or juristic preference. Istihṣān resembles more closely

the Equity of English law rather than Custom.

The main purpose of the work under view was to describe in detail the customary law as prevalent among the Muslims of Malabar and the author has treated the subjects of succession, adoption, guardianship, maintenance, debts and wakfs only. The treatment is authoritative and well documented. It may not interest a general reader, yet the matriarchal system of succession and many other peculiarities of their own may interest any student of social sciences.

H.

NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XLVI.

MR. R. G. GYANI has contributed to the Numismatic Supplement No. XLVI of the Bengal Branch of Royal Asiatic Society an interesting article upon the Coinage of the Nizams of Hyderabad. The article gives an interesting outline of the Asafjahi Coinage. It contains two plates illustrating only fifteen varieties.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. GREETINGS TO YOUNG INDIA, Messages of Cultural and Social Reconstruction. Part I by Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Second Edition, 1938. Published by N. M. Ray Chowdhury & Co., 72, Harrison Road, Calcutta, Price Re. 1-0-0.

2. POLITICS IN PRE-MUGHAL TIMES by Dr. Ishwara Topa. Published by Kitabistan, 17-A, City Road, Allahabad (to be reviewed).

3. PROCEEDINGS OF IDARA-I-MAARIF-I-ISLAMIA held at Lahore in 1936 (to be reviewed).

4. IQBAL'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY, by K. G. Saiyidain. Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore (to be reviewed).

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THE LOTUS AND THE ROSE

SOME INFLUENCES OF INDIAN ART ON EUROPE

CAMÖENS' famous poem describing the discovery of India by Europe, "The Lusiad," has been thus eulogised by an enthusiastic British commentator : "The grandest subject it is which the world has ever beheld. A voyage esteemed too great for man to dare : the adventures of this voyage through unknown oceans deemed unnavigable ; the Eastern world happily discovered There cannot possibly be so important a voyage as that which gave the Eastern world to the Western."¹ In a less eloquent but more practical passage, the writer has described the climax of Vasco da Gama's great enterprise : "The Pilot now stood out to the East, through the Indian ocean ; and after sailing about three weeks, he had the happiness to congratulate Gama on the view of the mountains of Calicut, who, transported with ecstasy, returned thanks to Heaven, and ordered all his prisoners to be set at liberty."² This is the prose of the matter ; but the great occasion well deserved the glowing verse of the Portuguese poet :

"Now morn, serene, in dappled grey arose
O'er the fair lawns where murmuring Ganges flows ;
Pale shone the wave beneath the golden beam,
Blue, o'er the silver flood, Malabria's mountains gleam ;
The sailors on the main-top's airy round,
"Land, Land !" aloud with waving hands resound ;
Aloud the pilot of Melinda cries,
"Behold, O chief, the shores of India rise !"
..... The hero wakes, in raptures to behold
The Indian shores before his prow unfold :
Bounding he rises and with eyes on fire,
Surveys the limits of his proud desire."³

Such was "the Discovery of India," extolled in Europe as signifying "the foundation of the grand Portuguese Empire in the East, and universal commerce as the consequence." As for the unfortunate poet-mariner who both lived and sang the Epic, his fate has been summarised by a fellow-poet of the nineteenth century :—"Yonder sits an African, snub-nosed,

1. Mickle's Translation.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

blubber-lipped, and woolly-haired, on the marble steps of the palace in Portugal's capital, and begs ; that is the faithful slave of Camöens. If it were not for him, and the coppers that are thrown him, his master, the singer of the "Lusiad," might have starved to death. Now there stands a costly monument on the grave of Camöens."¹

In spite of this tardy recognition, the divine afflatus of the Poet has hardly penetrated the "triple steel" of scepticism which enwraps the Western world to-day. Disillusioned critics of our own times are far less liable to be enthralled by the romance of the expedition. For in spite of the early foreign enthusiasts, a great change has come over the spirit of the commentators, who, if they concede that the Argonauts of the sixteenth century did indeed discover a new Garden of the Hesperides in India, and abstract therefrom another Golden Fleece, point out that they also imported into that earthly paradise the dragon known as "Western Influence"! And although, like its amiable prototype in the Hellenic Myth, this monster has figured as the guardian of the precincts, it has played, in reality, a very equivocal part, and devoured, voraciously, the art and culture of the country! The past and present influence of Europe on India is a subject that has been much ventilated, especially since the beginning of the present century ; while the reverse of the medal has too often been unnoticed. It is needless here to discuss the delinquencies of "Western Influence." It is rather the purpose of this essay to examine something of the other side of the picture, some of the cultural, romantic, and artistic reactions of Europe to its Indian discoveries, from those Mediæval times when India was, for Western adventurers, as attractive as the magnetic island which drew all vessels to its rocks, and nearly proved the destruction of that voracious navigator, Es-Sindabad of the Sea! And assuredly, the tales of the Western adventurers who returned from the Indies in the sixteenth centuries, were little inferior in wonder to those of Scherezade, celebrated in the "Arabian Nights." This is the more understandable because a faint afterglow of the Mogul splendour which dazzled the old travellers, yet lingers here and there in India—in a thousand graphic touches, in types, monuments, and colours. The atmosphere of Mogul India is not yet irrecoverable ; because the pageantry which has largely disappeared, still tinges the minds and lives of the people. Thus it is still easier to listen to tales of high romance in India than in Europe, in spite of the interval of time which divides the annals of Babur, the Conqueror of Hindustan, from our own less picturesque (if hardly less martial) times. There was an appropriateness, which is now hardly appreciable by us, between the homely villages of Queen Elizabeth's England, and the gorgeous if distant vistas opened to adventurous Youth by the India of the Moguls. Something of this lost spell may be recovered to-day by the Western student who has upon his table the *Memoirs of Babur*, *The History of Humayun*,² and *The Memoirs of Jehangir*. These

1. *The Thorny Path of Honor*: Hans Andersen.

2. Written by Babur's daughter, Gul-Badan Begum.

books form an incomparable Indian *pot-pourri*. We can hardly open their pages without feeling their sweet and powerful attraction ; it is as though a thousand perfumes are distilled to mingle with the open-air scents of the Mogul gardens. One hears the echoes of sword-strokes on mailed heads ; the snorting of chargers, and the trumpeting of the war-elephants ; while every now and then the faint far tumult of " battles long ago " is broken by calm interludes of courtly pageantry, kingly gifts, sparkling jewels, rich pavilions ; and above all, by the lovely ladies who were the heirs of these luxuries. We see them bending over their silk brocades, or albums of gold studded with gems enclosing the poet's exquisite Persian script embellished by the artist's brush ; or perhaps listening to the instruments of the musicians and the voices of the singing girls, while fountains of rose-water play their fragrant accompaniment in the Moonlight Garden. With these books beside him, even the most immobile arm-chair reader of the West may rival the energetic traveller ; they are as sure and rapid a means of transport as the Flying Trunk in Andersen's story !

This is the India which Shakespeare saw ; not indeed in the flesh, but with the prescient eye of genius. There is no doubt of that, in spite of a few disputed passages in which the Bard is supposed by some to have animadverted upon India by way of contrast. Shakespeare, in common with many other soaring spirits in the Age of the Tudors, looked on India as an Eldorado.

" From the East to Western Ind
No jewel is like Rosalind,"

sings the enamoured swain in " As You Like It." Troilus, the most effusive lover in Shakespeare, raving over the charms of the frail Cressida, enshrines her in the most lustrous figure of speech that his mind can compass when he cries :—

" Her bed is India ; there she lies a pearl."

Shakespeare summed up the lavish pageantry which distinguished the meeting of Henry of England and Francis of France,—“ The Field of the Cloth of Gold,”—in the vivid statement that the splendour of Henry's entourage “ made Britain India ” ; while limitless flattery of Henry's inamorata, Anne Boleyn, could only be conveyed in lines gilded by a light more brilliant than that of Europe :

" The King has all the Indies in his arms,
And more and richer."

India forms the strange beautiful background which looms darkling behind the ethereal pageantry of " A Midsummer Night's Dream " ; and it is remarkable that the far-reaching significance of the question which the Fairy Queen, Titania, puts to her Consort, Oberon,

" Why art thou here
Come from the farthest steep of India ?"

has escaped the notice of most, if not all, commentators. Indeed the main theme of this play is the quarrel of the King and Queen of Fairyland over

"A lovely boy, stolen from an Indian King."

Titania describes this child's mother as "a votaress of my order"; tells how they two often sat together

"In the spiced Indian air, by night,
Watching the embarked traders in the flood."

In this lovely comedy Shakespeare unerringly traced the Fairy Tribe back to India; back to its "furthest Steep" (the Himalayas), which is the mythology of the Hindus. Compared to this striking instance of what Coleridge would have called Shakespeare's "wisdom and intuition," Dryden's Indian Drama, "Aurangzabe," is no phenomenon, although it well illustrates the strong influence that Mogul India maintained on the literature of Europe of the seventeenth century. His play, which delighted Charles II, and his Court, was closely based on François Bernier's account of his travels, indicating that the book of the shrewd French physician was not so practical or critical in tone as to be devoid of the power of inspiring Western poets, as indeed every one who reads Bernier's enthusiasm for the Taj Mahal, or his impressions of Kashmir, will acknowledge. The art-inspiring glow of India, percolated, indeed, through all the hide-bound prejudices and doubts of the earlier Western travellers, and tinged their souls with wonder. Even so practical an observer as the British envoy, Sir Thomas Roe, who visited India about the time of Shakespeare's death, felt that he had learnt something new in artistic values when, having presented the Grand Mogul, Jehangir, with a picture, he witnessed the enthusiasm of that imperial patron of an art that was still but little valued in England.¹ If Sir Thomas, as we cannot doubt from his own account, learnt about art from Jehangir, his experience symbolised the influence of the India of the period upon Europe. Even the proud Tudor Rose had something to acquire from the Indian Lotus; and East and West have met and mingled their fragrance ever since in the fields of art and poetry.

Keats—that master of word-painting, yielding, with exquisite perception, to the secret breath wafted from the palm-bordered Ganges, has interwoven India with the classical Greek Myth which he poetised in "Endymion." His Moon Goddess appears in her dual role in that lovely poem; in both her Hellenic, and her Indian guise, blonde, and dark. It is as though the poet intended her thus to symbolise the light, and the averted aspects of the moon; both views are of overwhelming loveliness; in both, she conquers. Keats, who thus sang the achievement, through the union of East and West, of perfect beauty, has been called the most Shakespearean of British poets. He too had inherited, by virtue of the relationship of all poets, which transcends national frontiers, the Indian secret; neither he nor his great precursor could lay aside that unique adornment to the rich treasury of their verse. Their attitude to India is

1. He tells in his memoirs how Jehangir had the picture copied by his own artists so well that he could hardly distinguish the original picture from the duplicates.

reflected in the breathless wonder, with which the eponymous hero in "Endymion" asks the dark-eyed nymph who haunted his steps, in the depths of Greek forests,

"Didst thou not after other climates call,
And murmur about Indian streams?"

If truth is indeed stranger than fiction, it is equally true that poetry can come nearer truth than prose; and this is a consoling thought now-a-days, when we, in Europe, are as familiar with books "debunking" India, as with those demolishing other household gods of our youth. This age of speed has brought India well within the danger zone of modern criticism in Europe, which is all for relegating old standards and established reputations to the scrap-heap.

This cult of mysticism which surrounds Indian Art in Europe and attracts readers to commentaries whose marvellous obscurity is their sole recommendation to notoriety, is a pitiful decline from that definite concrete appeal which Mogul India exercised on the imagination and admiration of the West. Mogul art, the true interpreter for us to-day of Mogul manners, is as free from obscurity as Dutch or Flemish art. There is of course an insoluble mystery inherent in the ideas of Beauty and of Genius, but that mystery is common to all lands, and to all peoples. If many people in modern Europe (misled by modern books) can only form a vague notion of Indian art as a bizarre hierarchy of polycephalous deities surrounded by profoundly obscure Western 'Interpreters,' that is not due to the fault of the Past, but to a European phase of the Present. The older European travellers in India, if they were naturally slow to understand the deeper intricacies of Hindu Philosophical thought, responded sympathetically to the objective triumphs of Oriental Art which astonished them in Mogul India. They sought to explain to their avid friends in the West, these triumphs in Building or in Painting; but they did not attempt, as we do now-a-days, to *explain them away*. In fact mediæval Europe was impressed far more by the reports of practical achievements than of subconscious emanations. Thus François Bernier wrote: "I have often admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their (Indian) paintings, and was particularly struck with the exploits of Akbar, painted on a shield by a celebrated artist. . . . I thought it a wonderful performance." But he did not proceed to tell us that the artist had achieved his results by subconscious emanations, or by Yoga; to attribute the Oriental's skill to inspiration alone, in opposition to the "materialistic" art of Europe which depends upon principles! Bernier was not disposed to make his tale of wonder yet more wonderful by exaggerations which could only mar the effect, (which have marred India's case in our own times); on the contrary he tells us frankly: "The arts in the Indies would long ago have lost their beauty and delicacy, if the Monarch and principal Omrahs did not keep in their pay a number of artists who work in their houses, teach the children, and are stimulated to exertion by the hope of reward and the fear of the *korrah*. . . . Large halls are seen in many

places called *Kar-Kanays* or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroideresses are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths ; in a third, painters ; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer-work ; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors, and shoemakers ; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. This article of dress, which lasts only a few hours, may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered with needlework. The artisans repair every morning to their respective *Kar-Kanays*, where they remain employed the whole day ; and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet and regular manner their time glides away ; no one aspiring after any improvement in the condition of life wherein he happens to be born." The foregoing blunt description of practical conditions in the arts of Mogul India, does not in the least detract from the skill of the craftsmen. On the contrary it makes their achievements all the more impressive to us, as it obviously did to the contemporary French observer whom I have quoted. Rembrandt was greatly impressed by the Mogul miniatures, on account of their craftsmanship ; and Sir Joshua Reynolds is also credited with having expressed admiration for Mogul painting. It was for these artists, as for the poets, the objective beauty of India which intrigued them ; just as interest in externals, at a much later period, induced Major Robert Gill to spend some thirty years "in feverish jungles," copying the paintings in the Ajanta Caves.

It is India, the Objective Spectacle, not India the Subjective Theme, which made and has maintained its hold upon the interest of the Western World. Tavernier, contemplating with stupefaction the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan, and assessing its almost fabulous value,¹ may not be a very inspiring object lesson, but his attitude is symbolical of Europe's dazzled reactions to Indian influences. For these natural reactions have been practical, and commercial, as well as æsthetic ; the Western Hemisphere can express its admiration more universally, because more truly, through these inherent attributes, than through an acquired veneer of Eastern occultism and mysticism. Mogul Painting was an art as practical as it was exquisite. It owed a debt to Persia from which it drew much of its romance, and to Europe from which it acquired proportion, verisimilitude, and chiaroscuro of a kind. But this international alloy, fused in the alembic of the painters' national genius, emerged as the pure Indian product, of an originality that delighted Western observers.

Western taste has been immeasurably indebted to India since Tudor times ; whether in the Indian painted silks which Louis XV encouraged so lavishly at the Court of France, or in the satirical pages of Voltaire, or the glowing periods of Macaulay, or the gorgeous canvases of Besnard. After all is said, one's personal experience is the only touchstone of truth. My meeting in early youth, with India (through Moore's poetical story

1. Tavernier estimated the value of "this grand and magnificent throne" at twelve million pounds.

of Aurange-Zebe's daughter, and the Happy Valley of Kashmir, in "Lallah Rookh,") fell far short of the reality which I was only to encounter very much later in life. Sir Walter Scott's "Surgeon's Daughter," which extols the glory and justice of Hyder Ali, and seemed at the period to breathe life into the dry bones of the East India Company, conjured before my boyish mind a romantic vision of India which twenty years of personal experience of that wonderful land has enhanced rather than tarnished. Indeed the real India, which I saw at last, turned out to be more splendid in truth than was its simulacrum in fiction. For India's essence may reach to distant lands, as sweetly potent as attar of roses, even though thrice-distilled through the pages of foreigners who have admired an India which they never saw ! So it was that on my first journey to Delhi, at the time of the year when the opulent earth seems to chant its pæan of fecundity after the rains, when even the peacocks which strut through the vernal paradise appear to be dancing to mysterious music, the brilliant landscape and its rhythmic suggestions formed an appropriate threshold, to my view, to the sanctuary of the Moguls, which my train was fast approaching. Not that Agra fares much better than the other towns—from the railway. The distant views of shrines and tombs, including that stateliest of domes, the Taj Mahal itself, are mere provocative glimpses that tantalise but cannot satisfy. Beautiful mediæval things peep shyly and partially at us from behind the changeful screen of flitting trees or obstructing buildings, like the ravishing glances of some haughty lady of old Castile, from behind her fan. We get hints of incomparable architectural loveliness—the sweet lilt of that new song in stone and alabaster which India heard from Persia ; then we are whirled away from it all ! Even Sikandra, the tomb of Akbar, although comparatively close to the railway, only gives momentarily to our eyes its noble gateway with soaring minarets, and a further flash of domes and finials peeping over the top of the sylvan barrier between us, all rose-coloured in the mellowing light.

However, it is useless to regret the multiform wonders which we reach and abandon in the same instant ; there is no time to notice the half of them. As the evening draws on many a less celebrated shrine, and once-sacred enclosure nods shyly to us and is gone ; and many a graceful ruin beckons us in passing, to its broken arcades and cupolas, as though testifying with its last breath to the long reality of the Mogul's lavish bequest of art and beauty, not only to India, but to the World !

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

THE BATTLE OF QĀDISIA

فرستاده تیز چون برق ورعد فرستادارین سو به نزدیک سعد

And a messenger swift then he bade repair
Unto Sa'ad, with the speed of the lightning and bear,

یکے نامہ بر حریر سفید نوشتند پریم و چندے امید

A message they wrote upon white satin clear
With but little of hope, and with something of fear.

بعنوان برازپور ہر مزدشاہ جہان پهلوان رستم کینہ خواہ

On its face : " This from Rustom the world-famed knight,
And the son of Shah Hormuz, the eager in fight—

سوے سعد و قاص جویندہ جنگ پراز راے و پردانش و پردرنگ

To the seeker of war, Sa'ad Wakkas, the brave,
Full of wisdom and counsel, and cautious and grave."

مرنامہ گفت از جہاندار پاک نباید کہ با شیم بے ترس و باک

" In the presence " it ran " of the Lord we revere
It were well not to live without awe, without fear.

کز ویست بر پائے گردون سپہر ہمہ پادشاہش دادا است و مہر

By Him is the rolling sky held in its place,
And His sovereign power is justice and grace.

وزو باد بر شهریار آفرین که زیبای تاج است و تخت و نگین

May His blessings alight on our master, the king
Who adorneth the crown and the throne and the ring.

که دارد به فراهرمن را به بند خداوند تیغ و کلاه و کند

Triumphant as Ahriman's warder and lord,
He is lord of the lasso, the helm and the sword.

به پیش آمد این ناپسندیده کار به بیسوده این رنج و این کارزار

Now this task lies before us—unseemly and rife
With hardships so grievous, and labour and strife.

بس بازگوے آن که شاه تو کیست چه مردی و آئین و راه تو چیست

Tell me who is thy king, and what man art thou ?
And what laws dost thou own and what customs avow ?

به نزد که جویی همی دستگاه برهنه سپهبد برهنه سپاه

Seek'st thou riches and power ? then say, from whose hand—
Thou, the naked chief of a naked band !

به نانے تو سیری و هم گرسنه نه پیل و نه تخت و نه بار و نه

With one loaf thou'rt sated, yet dost hungry remain !
Hast no throne and no elephant, no baggage-train.

بایران ترا زندگانی بس است که مهر و کله بهر دیگر کس است

To be let live in Persia is enough for thy share ;
Of her crown and her signet another has care,

که با پیل و فراست و باتاج و گاه پدر بر پدر نامبردار شاه

Who doth elephants own, has a crown and a throne ;
And from father to son as a king he is known ;

بہ بالائے او تخت را شاہ نیست بیدار او در فلک ماہ نیست

And above him there's none on the throne in sway ;
In the heaven no moon with a brighter ray !

ہرانگہ کہ برگاہ خندان شود کشادہ لب و سیم دندان شود

From his royal seat when he deigns to smile,
When his lips open gracious, a largesse the while—

بہ بخشد بجائے سہ تازیان کہ گنجش نگیرد ز بخشش زریان

As might ransom the Arabs—his favour bestows ;
Yet no loss from such bounty his treasury knows !

سگ و یوز و باز شدہ و دو ہزار کہ بازنگ و زارند و باگو شوار

Twelve thousand of leopard, of hawk and of hound,
All with hoods, bells and ear-rings, with leashes all bound—

بسائے ہمہ دشت نیزہ و ران نیازند خورد از کران تا کران

Thus the live-long year need his spearmen ne'er
Lack for food when from bourn unto bourn they fare.

کہ او را بیاید بہ یوز و بہ سگ کہ بردشت پنجہیر گیرد بہ تگ

It is theirs with the hound and the leopard to gain
If they hunt the wild game on the woodland plain.

ز شیر شتر خوردن و سو سمار عرب را بجائے رسیدہ است کار

Upon camel's milk and on lizards fed,
Is the Arab so far by his arrogance led,

که تاج کیان را کنه آرزو تفور تو ای سرخ گردان تفو

That he covets the throne of high monarchs ? O fie !
Be the shame of it on thee, O changeful sky !

شمارا بدیده درون شرم نیست ز راه خرد مهر و آزر م نیست

And you—there's no vestige of shame in your eyes ;
And no pity, nor grace that becometh the wise.

بدین چهره و این مهر و این راه و خو همی تخت و تاج آیدت آرزو

With such looks and such nature thou'rt longing to own—
And with manners like these too—a crown and a throne !

جهان گر باندازه جوئی همی سخن بر گزانه نگوئی همی

If thou seek'st from the world a just measure to gain,
Then thou need'st not speak in a vaunting strain.

سخن گوے مردی بر ما فرست جهان بدیده و گرد و دانا فرست

But to us for a parley some spokesman send :
World-knowing and valiant, to prudence a friend—

مدان تا بگوید که رای تو چیست به تخت کیان رهنمای تو کیست

Who will tell us thine errand, who guides thee and brings
Thee (in warlike guise) to this throne of kings.

سوارے فرستم به نزدیک شاه بخواهم از هر چه خواهی بخواه

Then a horseman I'll send to my king with speed,
And I'll beg him to grant if thou tell me thy need.

تو جنگ چنین پادشاه مجوس کہ فرجام این خواری آرد بروے

O war not against such a monarch of fame
Lest the end of it all be thy ruin and shame.

نبیره جهاندار نوشیروان کہ باداد او پیر گشته جوان

A grandson of kings, from Nowshirwan sprung,
Whose justice was such that the old grew young !

پدر بر پدر شاه و خود شهریار زمانه ندارد دینویادگار

He's a king of the line of the kings of old—
Another such relic this age does not hold.

جهان را مکن پر ز نفرین خویش مشو بدگمان اندر آئین خویش

O then fill not the world with a hatred of thee ;
Let no evil thought in thy purpose be.

نگه کن بدین نامه ناپند مند مکن چشم و گوش خرد را بلند

Give heed to this warning which counsels aright,
Nor be vain of thy wisdom, their purport to slight."

چونامه به مهراندر آید بداد به پیروز شاپور فرخ نژاد

And the letter when sealed to the hand he gave
Of Piroze Shapoor, the high-born and brave ;

بر سعه و قاص شد سلوان از ایران بزرگان روشن روان

And to find Sa'ad Wakkas away went the knight
With some magnates from Iran, of wisdom and light.

همه غرق در آهن و سیم و زر سهره زرین و زرین کمر

They were all clad in iron and silver and gold :
Belts of gold round the waist, golden shields did they hold.

چو شنید سعد آن گران مایه مرد پزیره شدش با سپاهی چو گرد

Sa'ad heard, with his men like the dust-wind he flew
And he met them all as they came in view.

سپیده فرود آمد اندر زمان ز لشکر پیر سید وز پهلوان

When the leader did from his horse alight,
Some queries Sa'ad made of the troops and their knight ;

هم از شاه و دستور و لشکرش ز سالار بیدار و ز کشورش

Of the Shah and his laws, of the hosts of his land,
Of the might of his State, of his Chief in command.

ردا زیر پیر و زانگنه و گفت که مانیزه و تیغ داریم بخت

Then he flung down his mantle for Feroze and cried
" We've the sword and the javelin—this pair side by side.

ز دیبسانگویند مردان مرد ز زرو زسیم و ز خواب و ز خورد

" It is not your brocade that proclaimeth the man ;
" Neither food, neither sleep ; gold nor silver that can.

شمارا به مردانگی نیست کار همان چون زنان رنگ و بوی و نگار

" Not for you to claim manhood or play manhood's part :
" You are perfume and paint—you are all woman's art !

هنر تان بدیباست پیراستن دگر نقش بام و در آراستن

" 'Tis in wearing silk robes that your talent is tried,
" And adornment of roofs and of doors is your pride."

هم آنگاه فیروز نامه بداد سخنهاے رستم همه کرد یاد

At that moment Feroze gave the letter and told
What Rustom had counselled—his wish to unfold.

سخنهاش بشنید و نامه بخواند و زان نامه پهلوی خیره ماند

And those words he heard, and the letter he read ;
O'er that letter he paused unto wonderment led ;

تساری یکے نامه پاسخ نوشت پدید آورد اندر خوب و زشت

Then in Arab tongue did his answer indite,
And unfolded the sequel of wrong and of right.

سر نامه بنوشت نام خدای محمد رسولش بحق ره نمای

On the brow of the page writ the name of the Lord,—
Mohammad, His Prophet and guide to His word.

ز بنی سخن گفت و ز آدمی ز گفتار پیغمبر با نسی

And of Jinns did he tell, and of Adam's seed,
Of the Hashimite Prophet, his words and his creed ;

ز توحید و قرآن و وعده و وعید ز تجدید و ز رسماے جدید

Of the one God, of Qur'an, of Bliss and of Pain,
Of the Creed as reformed with its ritual again ;

ز قطران و از آتش و ز مهریر ز فردوس و جوی مے و جوی شیر

And of flaming tar and of freezing cold,
And of Firdaus where rivers of milk and wine rolled ;

ز کافور و از مشک و ماء معین درخت بهشت و منی انگبین

And of camphor and musk, of pure waters that shine ;
Of the Paradise-Tree and of honeyed wine.

که گر شاه بپذیرد این دین راست دو عالم به شادی و شاهی و راست

If the Shah were to welcome this true faith alone,
Then with kingship and bliss both the worlds were his own !

همان تاج یا بد همان گوشوار همه ساله بابوی و رنگ و نگار

With his crown and his ear-rings, his life would be spent
All the years amid finery and colour and scent.

شفیع اگر گنا هوش محمد بود تنش خون گلاب مصعد بود

If Mohammad redeemed him from sin he'd be filled
With the scent of the dew from the rose distilled !

بکارے که پاداش بابی بهشت نهساید بباغ بلا خار کشت

When by deeds (of grace) thou hast Heaven to win,
It were ill to sow thorns in the garden of Sin !

تن یزدگرد و جهان فراخ چنین باغ و ایوان و میدان و کاخ

Neither Yazdegird's form, nor the world so wide,
Nor his gardens, demesne, hall and tower of pride,

همه تخت و تاج و همه جشن و سحر نیز ز دیدار یک موی حور

Nor his throne, nor his crown, nor his festal fair
Could equal one glimpse of the Hoori's hair !

دو چشم تو اندر سرائے سنج چنین خیره گشت از پئے تاج و گنج

In this few days' world are so dazed thine eyes,
'Tis but crown and wealth thou hast learnt to prize

جهانے کجا شربت آب سرد نیر ز در او دل چه داری بدرود

Oh! not worthy this world that thy heart be in pain.
Why, a draught of cold water were worthier gain!

هر آنکس که پیش من آید بجنگ نه بیند بجز دوزخ و گورتنگ

He who'd face me in fight shall see nothing save
The vision of Hell and the narrow grave!

بشت است اگر بگردد بجای او نگر تا چه آمد کنون راے او

He who comes to our ranks—he shall win Paradise!
Now mark thou his choice; and see which way it lies.

همیشه بود آن و این بگزرد چنین داد آنکس که دارد و نبرد

It is *that* which shall last, while *this* fadeth away:
Such the creed of the man who would find wisdom's way.

به فرط اس مهر عرب بر نهاد درود محمد بھی کر دیا د

Then the Arab seal he affixed to the scroll,
And God's blessings invoked upon Mohammad's soul.

فرستاده سعد و قاص رفت به نزدیک رستم خرامید تفت

Despatched by Sa'ad Wakkas, the courier went
And tow'rd Rustom his hurrying course he bent.

چو شعبه مغیره رفت از کوان که آید بر رستم پهلوان

As Sha'ba Moghira his chiefs left behind
And went forward the warrior Rustom to find,

ز ایرانیان نامدارے ز راه پیامد بر پهلوان سپاه

From the ranks of Iranians a leader of name

Took his way, to the side of his Chieftain came :

که آمد فرستاده پیرست نه اسب و سلج و نه جامه درست

"Lo! their herald is coming—decrepit and old ;

"Has no horse and no arms, nor fine raiment—behold!"

یکی تیغ باریک برگردنش پدید آمده چاک پیرانش

"But a thin blade he carries, on his shoulder borne ;

"And all open to view is his garment torn!"

چو رستم بگفتار او بنگرید زد و یاسر اپردۀ درکشید

While Rustom was hearing the tidings he told

They were drawing aside the silk drapery's fold :

ز زربفت چینی کشیدند نخ سپاه اندر آمد چو مور و ملخ

Of China's gold-broidery the strings when they drew,

Then like locusts and ants came his cohorts in view.

نمادند زرین یکی زیرگاه نشست از برش پهلوان سپاه

And they placed for his seating a golden chair,

And in it the Leader of hosts sat there.

نشستند پیش صد و شصت مرد سواران و شیران روزنبرد

One hundred and sixty were seated before,

Who were horsemen of daring and lions in war.

ابا اسرو جامه های سفش پهای اندرون کرده زرینه کفش

All with crests, robes of purple (so brave to behold),

On their feet they wore shoes that were garnished with gold.

ہمان طوق داران ابا گوشوار سراپردہ آراستہ شاہوار

All with torques and with ear-rings, in splendour arrayed,
While the curtains the pomp of a king displayed !

چو شعبہ بیالایے پردہ سراے بیامد بران جامہ تنہا دپاے

When Sha'ba, approaching the enclosure, drew nigh,
On the floor-cloth he stepped not—he passed it by.

ہمی رفت بر خاک بر خوار خوار ز شمشیر کردہ یلی دستوار

All humble, his foot on the dust he laid,
And a staff he made of his trusty blade,

نشست از بر خاک و کس را ندید سوے پہلوان و سران نہ گرید

And he sat him down on the dusty ground ;
Never looked at the Chief nor his men around.

بدو گفت رستم کہ جان شاددار بدانش روان و تن آباددار

Then said Rustom to him, “ Be life's joy unto thee !
A soul full of wisdom, and limbs sound and free !”

بدو گفت شعبہ کہ اے نیک نام اگر دین پریری علیک السلام

To him Sha'ba “ O Worthy ! The Faith divine
If thou wouldst but choose—may then peace be thine !”

بہ پیچید رستم ز گفتار او بروہش پرچین شد از کار او

Rustom writhed at his saying—of anger a trace
Could be seen in the lines of his brow and his face.

از و نامه بستد بخواننده داد سخنما برو کرد خواننده یاد

Took the paper from him, to his reader conveyed ;
And the reader to him all its purport said.

چنین داد پاسخ که اورا بگویی نه تو شهر یاری نه دیم جوی

Thus answered : " Go tell him : No Sovereign art thou ;
Nor a Prince who's awaiting a crown for his brow.

ندیدی سرنیزه بخت مرا دلت آرزو کرد تخت مرا

My Star o'er the spearhead didst thou not see
That thy heart did covet my throne for thee ?

سخن نزد خوانندگان خواریست ترا اندرین کار دیدار نیست

No counsel of heed is e'er scorned by the wise ;
No foresight hast thou in this wild emprise!

اگر سعد باتاج شامان بدے مرا رزم و بزم وے آسان بدے

Nay, if Sa'ad were a king with a crown, then we might
More freely have met both in feast and in fight.

ولیکن چو بد ز اختر بے وفاست چه گویم که امروز روز بلاست

But the faithless stars and the evil day,
And the day so nigh—I have nought to say.

مرا گر محمد بود پیش رو ز دین کس گیرم این دین نو

And oh, yet I might—were Mohammad my guide—
This new faith accept, from the old turn aside !

ہی کر بود کار این کوز پست بخواد ہی بود با مادرشت

But aye crooked the way of this hunchback sky,
Which is brooding in malice against us on high.

تو اکنون بدین غمی باز گرد کہ جای سخن نیست روز بہر د

Now hasten thou back, and rejoice in thy life.
Not for idle words is this day of strife.

بگویش کہ در جنگ مردن بنام مرا بہتر آمد ز گفتار خام

Say my choice in this fight is the death of fame,
But no useless words as an idle game."

چو شعبہ ز نزدیک او گشت باز سپہ را بفرمود تا کرد ساز

When Sha'ba went back from him, Rustom then bade
That his warriors all be in arms arrayed.

بفرمود تا بر کشیدند نامے سپہ اندر آمد ز ہر سو بجای

As he gave the command and the trumpet did sound,
From every quarter his troops gathered round.

بر آمد یکے گرد و بر شد غروش ہی کر شدے مردم تیز گوش

There was dust, there was noise as they all hurried in,
Till the ears of a listener grew deaf with the din.

سنانماے الماس در تیرہ گرد ستارہ است گفتی شب لاجورد

Where their diamond-darts through the dust shone bright,
They were stars, thou hadst said, of the azure night !

ہی نیزہ بر مغفر آبدار نیامد بر زخم اندرون یا دار

So well-tempered their helms that upon them the spears
Were of little avail the hard metal to pierce.

سه روز اندران جایگه بود جنگ بایرانیان بر بسود آب تنگ

And the fighting went on for three days on that ground,
But no water could there for the Persians be found.

ند از تشنگی دست گردان ز کار هم اسب گران مایه از کارزار

All unnerved by the thirst fell each warrior's hand ;
Nor could steeds of high mettle in the warfare stand.

چنان تنگ شد روز گار نبرد گل تر بخوردن گرفت اسب و مرد

Ay, so hard went the day in that direful fray,
Man and horse took to eating of soddened clay !

ب رستم از تشنگی شد چو خاک زبان گشت اندر دهن چاک چاک

Rustom's lips were like dust, with the thirst outworn ;
And the tongue in his mouth was all parched up and torn.

خروش برآمد به کردار رعد ازین روئے رستم وزان روئے سعد

Then a sound uprose like the thunder's roar,
And lo ! here stood Rustom,—there was Sa'ad before !

برقند هر دو ز قلب سپاه به یکسو کشیدند از آوردگاه

Both had moved from the centre, and both of them sought
In a part of the field for some lonely spot.

چو از لشکران هر دو تنماشدند بر زیر یکے تند بالا شدند

They had both left their armies and now they had found
A spot 'neath the brow of a lofty mound ;

ہی تاختند اندران رزم گاہ دوسا لاریکد گر کینہ خواہ

Where they combated fierce—'twas a deadly strife—
'Twixt leaders of hosts seeking each other's life.

غروٹے برآمد ز رستم چو رعد یکے تیغ زد بر سر اسب سعد

And Rustom—aloud like the thunder he roared,
On the head of Sa'ad's charger he struck with his sword ;

نگاور ز درد اندر آمد بسر جدا گشت ازو سعد پر خاشعر

On his head fell the steed and in agony rolled,
And unhorsed on the ground was now Sa'ad the bold.

بر آہخت رستم یکے تیغ تیز بدان تا نماید بدو رستخیز

Rustom raised his sword high, at a single blow
To send to his judgment a vanquished foe ;

ہی خواست از تن سرش را برید ز گرد سپاہ این مرآن رانید

And he sought from his body his head to divide—
But the dust of the fray came his vision to hide,

فرو آمد از اسب وزین پلنگ بزد بر کمر بر سر پالنگ

So down from his leopard-hide saddle he sprang,
Stuck the bridle-rein, from his girdle to hang—

پوشید دیدار رستم ز گرد شد سعد پویان ز بجائے نبرد

But oh, nought could he see for the dust in his face—
And Sa'ad in that while moved a step from his place,

یکے تیغ زد بر سر ترک اوی کہ خون اندر آمد ز ترکش بروی
 And on Rustom's helm with his keen blade bore,
 So that helm and face were all smeared with gore.

چو دیدار رستم ز خون تیرہ گشت بہمانجوے تازی برو چیرہ گشت
 Then as Rustom's eyes with the blood grew dim
 So the warlike Arab grew bold o'er him :

دگر تیغ زد بر سر و گردنش بنحاک اندر افتاد جنگی تنش
 Another sword-stroke on his neck, on his head,
 Until felled to the ground, lay the warrior dead.

سپاہ از دو رویہ کس آگاہ نہ کہے راسوے پہلوان راہ نہ
 But of either army none knew of the fray,
 Not a man to his chieftain could find his way.

ہمی جست مر پہلوان را سپاہ بر قند تاپیش آورد گاہ
 For him far and near all his soldiers sought,
 Till at last they came to the place where he'd fought ;

بدیدندش از دور پر خون و خاک سراپاے گشت بہ شمشیر چاک
 Saw him far in the dust where still bleeding he lay—
 Sword-gashed head to foot in that fatal fray.

ہزیمت گرفتند ایرانیان بے نامور کشتہ شد در میان
 The Iranians were routed and left on the plain
 Of their men of renown many a warrior slain.

IQBAL'S DOCTRINE OF DESTINY

I

1915 is a very important date in the poetical career of Sir Mohammad Iqbal. This year saw the publication of his Persian *mathnavi*, the *Asrâr-i Khudî*, the first expression of Iqbal's command over the Persian language. The publication of this book established Iqbal's reputation as a philosopher-poet of the Muslim world, who, it was generally believed, was destined to play an important part in the reconstruction of Islamic thought and the rejuvenation of the Islamic world. *Asrâr-i Khudî* was, shortly afterwards, followed by a companion volume, again in Persian, which he named *Rumûz-i Bekhudî*. This book brings to an end the theme begun in the *Asrâr-i Khudî*. In 1923 he delivered a series of lectures on the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam at various centres in India. These lectures appeared in book form in 1930 under the same title.

In all these philosophical works Iqbal has tried to solve certain problems as they affect the Muslim world. Scholasticism was always baffled by the problem of destiny. The Muslim thinkers were not slow to grapple with it. On the attitude towards Freedom and Necessity depends largely the future course of national life. As such it should have loomed large in the writings and the meditations of Iqbal. But curiously enough it has not received the attention of the philosopher that it deserved. In his poetical works, especially of the post-*Asrâr* period, ideas about destiny are found scattered. But the book—the *Six Lectures*—which should have dealt with it in a thorough manner, is almost silent about this question. An examination—more or less critical—of Iqbal's doctrine of destiny forms the theme of the following pages.

II

Before outlining the doctrine of Destiny itself it will be advisable to have a clear idea of Iqbal's conception of time, for which he was indebted to Bergson. We shall let the philosopher-poet speak for himself :—

“ Pure time, then, as revealed by a deeper analysis of pure conscious experience, is not a string of separate, reversible, instants ; it is an organic whole in which the past is not left behind, but is moving along with, and operating in, the present. And the future is given to it not as lying before yet to be traversed ; it is given

only in the sense that it is present in its nature as an open possibility." (*Six Lect.* p. 67).

And again :

" the future exists as an open possibility and not as a reality." (*Ibid.*, p. 78).

Still further :

" But real time is not serial time to which the distinction of past, present and future is essential ; it is pure duration ; i.e., change without succession." (*Ibid.*, p. 79).

In his poetical works, especially of the *Asrâr* and the post-*Asrâr* period, Iqbal has given expression to this conception of time almost *ad nauseam*. In his *Asrâr-i Khudî* he has quite a good number of verses under the title "Time is a Sword." All these verses emphasize these ideas. I shall quote only a few of them :—

در کل خود تخمِ ظلمت کاشتی وقت را مثل خطی پنداشتی
باز با پیانۀ لیل و نهار فکر تو یمود طول روزگار

(*اسرار خودی* صفحه ۸۱)

(You have sown the seeds of ignorance in your soil, and have conceived time like a line.

And then with the measure of day and night your thought has measured the length of time).

این و آن پیدا است از رفتار و وقت زندگی سر بست از اسرار و وقت
(ایضا)

("Now" and "then" are the result of the passage of time. Life is one of the secrets of time).

اصل وقت از گردش خورشید نیست وقت جاوید است، خور جاوید نیست
(ایضا)

(Time is not the result of the revolutions of the sun ; time is eternal while the sun is not).

وقت را مثل مکان گسترده امتیاز دوش و فردا کرده
وقت ما کو اول و آخر نه دید از خیابان ضمیر ماد مید

(*ایضا* صفحه ۸۲)

(You have expanded time like space, and have made distinction between to-day and to-morrow.

There is no beginning and end to our time ; it has grown in the garden of our mind).

زمان را در ضمیر خود نه دیدم مه و سال و شب و روز آفریدم
(*زبورِ نجم* صفحه ۲۱۶)

(I have not seen time in my own mind ; I have created months, years and days and nights).

In his *Payâm-i Mashriq* (pp. 90-91) Iqbâl has written an ode on Time. Here again the philosopher has emphasized the subjective and the durational character of time. Time is represented as pregnant with unrealized possibilities. It is again characterised as the "inner mystery" of man's life, and man is spoken of as the "inner secret" of time. Like soul it is absolutely free from quality and quantity. In short, Iqbâl is quite clear and emphatic as to the Bergsonian doctrine of time. In his *Six Lect.* he has gone into this problem in more detail (pp. 101ff.). This idea of time stands the philosopher in good stead all through his meditations.

III

On the doctrine of destiny again we shall let Iqbâl speak for himself :—

"It is time regarded as an organic whole that the Qurân describes as *taqdîr* or destiny,—a word which has been so much misunderstood both in and outside the world of Islam. Destiny is time regarded as prior to the disclosure of its possibilities. It is time freed from the net of causal sequence—the diagrammatic character of which the logical understanding imposes upon it. In one word, it is time as felt and not as thought or calculated. If you ask me why the Emperor Humâyûn and Shâh Tahmâsp of Persia were contemporaries, I can give you no causal explanation. The only answer that can possibly be given is that the nature of Reality is such that among its infinite possibilities of becoming, the two possibilities known as the lives of Humâyûn and Shâh Tahmâsp should realize themselves together. Time regarded as destiny forms the very essence of things. As the Qurân says : "God created all things and assigned to each its destiny." The destiny of a thing then is not an unrelenting fate working from without like a taskmaster ; it is *the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature, and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of external compulsion.*" (*Six Lect.*, pp. 67-68. Italics mine).

For Iqbâl destiny is not the same thing as predestination, with which it has generally been confused. The latter regards the future "as something already given, as indubitably fixed as the past. . . . Events do not happen ; we simply meet with them" (*Ibid.*, p. 55) and "what we call future events are not fresh happenings but things located in an unknown space." (*Ibid.*, p. 55). The same idea is repeated in *Jâwîd Nâme* (p. 142) :—

اے کہ گوئی بودنی این بود، شد کا رہا پابند آئین بود، شد
معنی تقدیر کم فہمیدہ نے خودی را نے خدا دادیدہ

(O you who say "This was to be and has been" matters were bound to occur as ordained by law, and so they have come to pass.

Little have you grasped the meaning of *taqdîr*. You have seen neither the Self nor God).

Iqbâl is absolutely right when he says : " The theological controversy relating to predestination is due to pure speculation with no eye on the spontaneity of life, which is a fact of actual experience." (*Ibid.*, p. 110). Such a doctrine obviously and naturally lands us in a rigid form of mechanism, which Iqbâl's philosophy cannot tolerate, and which therefore, he has taken special pains to reject. It is " in fact a kind of veiled materialism, leaving no scope for human or even divine freedom." (*Ibid.*, p. 73) Life, according to Iqbâl, is the outcome of the " breath " of the Creator of life. So the question of determinism does not arise in this connection. Life without a free nature is not life. Transcending this " world of quality and quantity," it moves from determinism towards freedom (*Zubûr-i 'Ajam*, p. 228). Iqbâl could not but conceive the future " only as an open possibility not as reality." (*Six Lect.*, p. 78. Reality is here used as synonymous with actuality). This, of course, does not mean that the future does not pre-exist. " The future certainly pre-exists in the organic whole of God's creative life, but it pre-exists as an open possibility, not as a fixed order of events with definite outlines." (*Ibid.*, p. 109).

The realizable, but not yet realized, possibilities that make up the destiny of man, are infinite (*Jâwîd Nâme*, p. 123). Man can choose any out of these possibilities. So he is the master of his own destiny. If he is not satisfied with one group of possibilities he can easily give it up and choose some other in its stead. This is quite possible, for " the destinies of the Lord are infinite." Says the philosopher (*Jâwîd Nâme*, p. 123) : -

گزینك تقدیر خون گردد جگر خواه از حق حکم تقدیر دگر
تو اگر تقدیر نو خواهی رواست زان که تقدیرات حق لا انتهاست

(If by one *taqdîr* your liver dissolves into blood, demand from God the ordinance of another *taqdîr*.)

If you desire a new *taqdîr*, it is only proper, for God's *taqdîrs* are infinite).

But for this change the necessary condition is that a man must change himself. " It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him and to *shape his own destiny* as well that of the universe, now by adjusting himself to its forces, now by putting forth the whole of his energy to mould its forces to his own end and purpose. And in this process of progressive change God becomes a co-worker with him, provided man takes the initiative :

" Verily we will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves." (*Six Lect.*, p. 16. *Italics mine.*)

The inhabitants of the earth have so far lost sight of this point, thereby misconceiving the nature of destiny. Change yourself and your destiny will change forthwith. " Change yourself into dust, and you are at the mercy of the winds ; make a stone of yourself, and you fall on the glass."

ارضیان تقد خودی در باختند نکته تقدیر را نشناختند
 رمز بار یکش به حرف مضمر است تو اگر دیگر شوی اود دیگر است
 خاک شو نذر هوا سازد ترا سنگ شو بر شیشه اندازد ترا
 (جاوید نامہ - صفحہ ۱۲۳)

(The earthly men have lost the cash of self ; they have not discerned the subtle point of *taqdîr*.)

Its fine secret is concealed in one word : If you change it changes too.

Be dust, and it makes you over to the winds ; be a stone, and it will hurl you upon glass).

This obviously means that it is a sin against humanity even to think that destiny is fixed for ever, and that it is immutable. The real fact is that even a man who thinks himself a "captive in the hands of destiny" is not such. Says Iqbâl, (*Bâl-i Jibraîl*, p. 32.) :—

تقدیر شکن قوت باقی ہے ابھی اس میں نادان جسے سمجھے ہیں تقدیر کا زندانی

(There still is a destiny-smashing strength in him whom the fools regard as a captive of *taqdîr*.)

If you have tried every means to set yourself at liberty and have failed ; if your cries have had no effect, there is no cause for despair. Learn to cry in a different way, and the fetters of destiny will fall off. (*Zubur-i 'Ajam*, p. 115) :—

نالیدی و تقدیر همان است کہ بود ست آن حلقہ زنجیر همان است کہ بود ست
 نو مید مشو ناله کشیدن دگر آموز

(You have groaned, but the *taqdîr* is still the same as it has been. The link of the chain is the same as it has been.

Be not despondent. Learn to groan in a new style).

But it may be asked : What exactly is meant by this change in one's self ? Iqbâl is ready with the answer. (*Bâl-i Jibraîl*, p. 81) :—

خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ هر تقدیر سے پہلے خدا بندے سے خود ہو چھے بتائیری رضا کیا ہے ؟

(Exalt the Self so high that before every *taqdîr* God should Himself ask the creature : "What is your wish ?")

Thus your will governs the destinies of the world. (*Bâl-i Jibraîl*, p. 179) :—

ہے را کب تقدیر جہاں تیری رضا دیکھ

(Look ! your own pleasure is the rider of the *taqdîr* of the world).

Your destiny is what you are. It depends upon the use that you make of the powers with which you have been endowed. You have to create possibilities for yourself, and then to realize them with the help of these powers. In his *Bâl-i Jibraîl* (p. 186) Iqbâl has recorded the imaginary conversation between his spiritual guide Rûmî and the disciple—himself. The disciple asks the guide about determinism and indeterminism. The guide replies : Wings bring the hawk towards the royal court, and the same wings lead the raven towards the cemetery :—

مرید - اے شریکِ مستی خا صانِ بدر میں نہیں سمجھا حدیثِ جبر و قدر
پیر - بالِ بازانِ راسوے سلطانِ برد بالِ زاغانِ را بہ گورستانِ برد

(Disciple.—O you that have been a party to the intoxication of the favoured ones of Badr ! I have not grasped the philosophy of *jabr* and *qadr*.

Guide.—The wings guide the hawk to the king, and the wings lead the ravens to the graveyard).

Such an exalted self is the real creator of destiny, and the real co-worker with God. He is the conqueror in all the struggles of life. This self being the centre of Truth and Faith, holds all the world, in its grip. (*Jâwîd Nâme*, p. 142, 152) :—

عزمِ او خلاقِ آئینِ حق است روزِ هیجا تیرا و تیرِ حق است
نقشِ حق داری؟ جہانِ نخبیرِ تست ہمِ عنانِ تقدیرِ با تدبیرِ تست

(His determination is the creator of the law of God. In the day of battle his arrow is the arrow of God.

Possess you the mark of God (Truth) ? The world is your prey ; and *taqdîr* a co-rider with *tadbîr*).

We may now summarise the above, rather long, exposition of Iqbâl's doctrine of destiny :—

(1) The destiny of a thing is its inward reach, the realizable, but not yet realized, possibilities, which lie within the depths of its nature.

(2) These possibilities are infinite.

(3) Man can change his own destiny by changing himself. So that he is the master of his own destiny.

(4) This means that it lies in his power to give up one set of possibilities, and to adopt another in its stead.

IV.

The doctrine of destiny sketched above, Iqbâl calls the " Qurânic doctrine of destiny." (*Six Lect.*, p. 152.). Let it be understood once for all

that there is no such thing as the "Qurânic doctrine of destiny." The very idea of destiny is non-Semitic. All the so-called Qurânic doctrines of destiny, freedom and predestination, metaphysical nature of time, etc., belong to the post-Qurânic period, and are the confabulations of philosophers' and thinkers' brains. These were obviously the result of meditation on the ethical and the theological nature of man, and arose out of the attempts to answer ethical and theological questions. Every school of philosophy had its theory to offer, and called the Qurân to witness. Sometimes they were able to lay their hands on verses clearly and definitely supporting their theories. If they could not find such verses, they tried to interpret some of them in their own favour. The result naturally was that the Qurân became a mine of contradictory pronouncements on philosophical problems. Now after all these centuries of interpretations and misinterpretations it has become well-nigh impossible to reach the real meanings of most of the Qurânic verses. To the present writer it appears that the attempt to find solutions of all the metaphysical, ethical, and political questions in such scriptures is entirely misplaced. It is surely out of the scope of prophethood to answer these questions unequivocally and categorically. In this sense every prophet is an "opportunistic preacher." Then as far as Islam is concerned MacDonald and other European students of Islam and the Qurân forget that the word theology, as applied to Islam, is a misnomer. The only theology of Islam is that God is, and that He is One. Even Dr. Zwemer—that inveterate enemy of Islam—admits that "the whole system of Mohammadan theology and philosophy and religious life is summed up in the seven words : *La ilaha illa Allah, Mohammad rasul Allah*. 'There is no God but Allah, and Mohammad is Allah's apostle.' (*The Moslem Doctrine of God*, p. 15.) A Muslim should, therefore, never be ashamed to acknowledge that Mohammad was not a theologian, not to speak of his being a "systematic theologian."

Iqbâl also, and quite easily, falls a prey to this temptation. The "Qurânic doctrine of destiny" is a very good example of the misinterpretation spoken of in the last paragraph. The Qurân uses a word *taqdîr*, which Iqbâl everywhere translates as *destiny*. This translation, the present writer ventures to suggest, is wrong. *Qdr* is the root word, which, as any Arabic dictionary will tell us, means "to measure" or "to estimate." No doubt *taqdîr* can be, and generally is, translated as *destiny*, but in the Qurânic verses it is not used in the sense of destiny, but in that of measure. Verse 50 of chapter LIV, which Iqbâl quotes in his *Six Lect.* (p. 66), has been translated by him thus :—

"All things we have created with a fixed destiny."

A better translation would have been :—

"All things we have created *according to a measure*."

Similarly he quotes another verse (XXV : 2) which he translates :—

"God created all things and assigned to each its *destiny*."

Here again the infinitive *taqdîr* has been taken to mean *destiny*. The correct translation is :—

“ God created all things and then ordained for it a measure. ”
In his *Jāwîd Nāme* (p. 148) there is a line :

خلق و تقدیر و هدایت ابتداست

which refers to verse 3 of chapter LXXXVII. Here again Iqbāl commits the same mistake of translating *taqdîr* as *destiny*. The right translation would be :

“ Who creates, then makes complete, and Who makes things *according to a measure*, then guides (them to their goal.) ”

In addition to these there are other verses which use this infinitive, or its derivative, e.g., VI : 92, XXXVI : 38, XLI : 12, LXXI : 16. In all these *taqdîr*, or its derivative, means “ to a measure,” or “ according to a measure,” but Iqbāl would insist on translating them as *destiny*.

In all the verses referred to, or quoted above, Iqbāl departs from the traditional translation of the word *taqdîr*, and insists on his own translation, obviously because the old version does not suit his purpose. But wherever the traditional version supports his own philosophical convictions, or satisfies his rational inclinations, he does not hesitate to accept it, even where the old version is much less suitable in that context than the new version. I shall give two examples :—

On page 15 of his *Six Lectures* he quotes verse 72 of chapter XXXIII, which he translates in the usual traditional way :—

“ We proposed to the Heavens and to the Earth and to the mountains, to receive the trust (of personality), but they refused the burden and they feared to receive it. Man alone undertook to bear it, but hath proved unjust, senseless.”

But a better translation would have been :—

“ We offered the trust to the Heavens and the Earth and the mountains, and they refused to be unfaithful to it and shrank from it, and man turned unfaithful to it ”

Another example. While discussing the nature of the ego in his *Six Lect.* (p. 142) he quotes a verse, which he translates :

“ And they ask thee of the Soul. Say the soul proceedeth from my Lord's *Amr* (command) : but of knowledge only a little to you is given.” (XVII : 87).

A better translation is :

“ And they ask thee of revelation. Say the revelation ”

In both of these quotations Iqbāl accepts the older version but does not even try to think of a new and the better translation, because the older does, but the newer does not, fit into his conception of personality.

To revert after this digression. Iqbāl seems to have been very badly misled by the current meanings of the word *taqdîr*, which are so to say Persian meanings rather than the Arabic ones. Nowadays this word

does mean destiny, or predestination. Iqbâl is quite right in saying that this word "has been so much misunderstood both in and outside the world of Islâm." (*Six Lect.*, p. 67). There are many causes which led to the word *taqdîr* being interpreted as destiny or predestination—and Iqbâl is not ignorant of them. "It is sufficient here to indicate that the kind of fatalism that the European critics of Islâm sum up in the word *Qismat* was due partly to philosophical thought, partly to political expediency, and partly to the gradually diminishing force of the life-impulse which Islâm originally imparted to its followers." (*Six Lect.*, p. 135ff.)

Fortunately for Iqbâl the current meanings of the word *taqdîr* fitted very nicely with his own notion of destiny. So to dub it as Qurânic was neither a difficult, nor a very long, step to take. Such being the state of things it will be safer and more proper to label the doctrine of destiny sketched above as Iqbâl's rather than as Qurânic.

True, the Prophet nowhere tried to answer this vexatious question. But must a prophet do so? Obviously no. As a matter of fact he is reported to have prohibited his followers from giving any serious thought to this question (*Mishkwât*, Bâb Îmân bi'l Qadr). All that has come down to us of his sayings on this point has very nicely been summed up by Iqbâl himself. (*Zubûr-i 'Ajam*, p. 228):

چنین فرموده سلطان بدر است که ایمان در میان جبر و قدر است

"So said the Victor of Badr: Correct Belief lies between *jabr* and *qadr*."

But any search for a detailed and logical discussion of this problem in the Qurân—and for the matter of that, in any "revealed scripture"—must necessarily be fruitless. All the ingenuities in the discussion of the so-called philosophical doctrines of the Qurân must be referred to the interpreters—or should we say the misinterpreters?—of the scripture, and not to the scripture itself. The upshot of the whole matter is that all the attempts to force the scriptures into line with the latest philosophical and scientific thought are foolish, and, hence, should be positively discouraged. Besides, these attempts of overzealous followers do not paint a very praiseworthy picture of the Intelligence which is the source of these revelations. Writes Prof. Das Gupta: "Different interpreters of the Upanisads have always treated the Vedic texts like noses of wax and twisted them differently to suit the convenience of each specific type of reasoning. If reason is the interpreter, the infallibility of the Vedic wisdom becomes only nominal." (*Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 178). This can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to every religious, and especially, revealed text.

We shall, however, take Iqbâl's own version, and look into his doctrine of destiny.

V

It will be remembered (Sec. III above) that Iqbāl conceives the destiny of a thing as "its inward reach, the realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature," these possibilities being infinite, and man being the master of his own destiny, for if one set of possibilities does not suit him, he can easily choose another in its stead, provided he can change himself. This definition admits of the following deductions :—

- (1) The destiny of a man is not fixed, it can be changed.
- (2) The realizable, but not yet realized, possibilities are infinite.
- (3) Man can change his destiny by changing himself, which change is obviously possible through *tadbīr*.
- (4) Destiny is, therefore, not congenital, but acquired.
- (5) Man is the creator of his own destiny.

We shall now consider these deductions one by one.

VI

The destiny of a thing is not fixed. It can be changed. It is not pre-determined. If it were, it would degenerate into predestination, which in its turn, lands us in fatalism. Life thus loses its spontaneity, and becomes, in the opinion of Iqbāl, thoroughly determined. All this is incompatible with the philosophy of Iqbāl. He abhors mechanism in metaphysics as much as he hates determinism in ethics. So naturally Iqbāl could not but conceive the destiny of a thing as changeable at the sweet will of a person or a thing, as the case may be. It cannot be determined by an extraneous force.

But writings in prose and verse tell quite a different tale. In his *Six Lectures* (p. 66), e.g., he quotes a Qurānic verse :—

"All things we have created with a *fixed* destiny" (LIV : 50. Italics mine.)

And again on page 67 of the same book he quotes :—

"God created all things and *assigned* to each its destiny." (XXV : 2. Italics mine).

By quoting these verses and translating them as he has done, Iqbāl betrays himself. The words "fixed" in the first verse, and "assigned" in the second, are unequivocal in their implications, and leave no doubt as to the real intentions of Iqbāl. The opening lines of his *Elegy* on his mother (*Bāng-i Darā*, p. 252) are interesting in this connection :—

ذره ذره دھر کا زنادانی تقدیر ہے پر دہ مجبوری و بے چارگی تدبیر ہے

آسمان مجبور ہیں، شمس و قمر مجبور ہیں انجم سیلاب پا رفتار پر مجبور ہیں

ہے شکست انجام غنچے کا سبوغزار میں سبزہ و گل بھی ہیں مجبور نوگلزار میں
نغمہ بلبل ہو یا آواز خاموش ضمیر ہے اسی زنجیر عالم گیر میں ہر شے اسیر

(Every particle of the world is a prisoner of *taqdîr* ; *Tadbîr* is the screen of constraint and helplessness.

Constrained are the spheres, constrained the sun and the moon ;
constrained are the agile stars to move.

In the garden the cup of the bud ends in breaking ; the verdure
and the rose are constrained to grow.

Be it the song of the nightingale, or the silent voice of the conscience, everything is a captive of the selfsame universal chain).

In these lines the words زندانی تقدیر (the captive of destiny) are important, and the last line worth careful study. If the destiny is not fixed, these words are meaningless. Again in his *Bâl-i Jibraîl* (p. 88) Iqbâl says :—

کوئی تقدیر کی منطق سمجھ سکتا نہیں ورنہ نہ تھے ترکان عثمانی سے کم ترکان تیموری

(None can understand the logic of *taqdîr*, for after all the Timurid Turks were by no means inferior to the Ottoman Turks).

Both the lines of Turks had a fixed destiny, and no one could change it for some other—and better—destiny. Such quotations could be multiplied.

It appears to the present writer that Iqbâl finds it difficult to reconcile himself to the idea of a fixed, and more or less predetermined, destiny, simply because he is afraid of the ethical determinism which he seems to regard as equivalent to, or inevitably leading to, fatalism, and fatalism, to be sure, negates all possibilities of free action. Free action based on strong faith presupposes life, which manifests itself in spontaneous actions and change, and is incompatible with mechanism—the source of determinism.

Iqbâl is a strong believer in the freedom of the will. Throughout his poetical works, and again in his *Six Lectures*, he is at pains to repudiate and throw overboard the very idea of mechanism and determinism. There are, however, lines in his various poems which contradict this repudiation. We had occasion a couple of pages back to refer to the opening lines of the Elegy on his mother. In these lines he forcefully advocates mechanism and determinism. In *Bâl-i Jibraîl* (p. 14) the poet says :—

تری دنیا میں میں محکوم و مجبور میری دنیا میں تیری پادشاہی

(In Your world I am the ruled one, the constrained one, and in my world it is all Thy rule.)

Here again he is unequivocal about the determined nature of the self and the free nature of the highest Self. In one of the odes of the pre-

Asrār period he says :—

نہ ہو طبیعت ہی جن کی قابل وہ تریست سے نہیں سنورتے
ہو انہ سرسبزہ کے پانی میں عکس سروکنار جوکا

(Such as possess not an impressionable nature, improve not with culture : the reflection of the cypress standing on the bank of the rivulet never does become green).

This line clearly admits the possibility of the influence of environment and training on a self. This admission marks the poet as a supporter of the ethical determinism which he so much abhors on account of its dire consequences. These contradictory quotations may be waived aside, for after all contradiction may be a great sin in a philosopher, but not in a poet who philosophises. But even pure philosophers are not quite free from contradictions. MacNeile Dixon takes comfort in remembering that "no thinker of my acquaintance, however eminent, is free from them. Not the mathematically-minded Plato, nor Spinoza ; not Descartes, nor Kant nor Leibnitz. Their works, one and all, sparkle with contradictions of the most flagrant, delightful and encouraging variety." (*The Human Situation*, The Gifford Lectures, 1935-37. p. 16). But they surely indicate the poet's subconscious inclination towards determinism. It can, therefore be said that Iqbāl has been unable to give us a positive solution of the problem which has been under litigation among the philosophers since the dawn of philosophy.

All the same we shall try to ascertain how far he was justified in his fears about the consequences of determinism. When arguing like this, Iqbāl evidently has in view what James called "hard determinism . . . which did not shrink from such words as fatality, bondage of the will, necessitation, and the like." (*Will to Believe*, p. 149). Modern ethical thought has long freed itself from this brand of determinism. Now-a-days we have, in the words of James, "a soft determinism, which abhors harsh words, and repudiating fatality, necessity, and even predetermination, says that its real name is freedom, for freedom is only necessity understood, and bondage to the highest is identical with freedom." (*Ibid.*, p. 149).

The current form of determinism is, what Hodgson has long ago designated as, "free-will determinism," or what the modern thinkers have called "auto-determinism." Unfortunately this is not the occasion to go deeply into this controversy. But it seems to the present writer that the evidence in favour of determinism—by which we, of course, mean "soft determinism"—is of such an overwhelming nature, that the rival hypothesis becomes, what Broad happily calls a "silly theory."¹ Indeterminism, or, what is perhaps the same thing, absolute freedom, has, as shown

1. "By a "silly theory" I mean one which may be held at the time when one is talking or writing professionally, but which only an inmate of a lunatic asylum would think of carrying into practice." *Mind and Its Place in Nature*, p. 5

by Sorley, only one use. "If ethical theism is to stand, the evil in the world cannot be referred to God in the same way as the good is referred to Him; and the only way to avoid this reference is by the postulate of human freedom." (*Moral Values and the Idea of God*, p. 461). But if this "human freedom" is supposed to be absolute and unlimited, then other difficulties arise. In the first instance such a form of freedom does not exist—and Iqbâl should be the last man to overlook this fact. Says he :—

وہ چیز نام ہے جس کا جہاں میں آزادی سنی ضرور ہے، دیکھی کہیں نہیں میں نے

(What goes by the name of freedom in the world, surely have I heard of it, but have espied it nowhere).

Or again :—

دھر میں عیش و دام آئین کی پابندی سے ہے موج کو آزادیاں سامان شیون ہو گئیں

(In the world perpetual happiness is obtained by close observance of law. Efforts for freedom on the part of the wave became for it the instrument of lamentation).

And again :—

ترے آزاد بندوں کی نہ یہ دنیا نہ وہ دنیا
یہاں مرنے کی مجبوری وہاں جینے کی مجبوری

(Thy free creatures relish neither this world nor that, here they are compelled to die, there to live).

And if by some stretch of imagination and logic we prove its existence, we have "to face the inference that there is a limitation of divine activity." (*Ibid.*, p. 461). It means that this "freedom" "is not and cannot be unlimited, otherwise each free being would require a world of its own, and there would be no universe. And clearly man's freedom is restricted by the conditions both of heredity and environment." (*Ibid.*, p. 462.). This is exactly the position of "soft determinism." This form of determinism is obviously not incompatible with freedom (Everett, *Moral Values*, pp. 356ff). And from this it also follows that determinism does not necessarily beget fatalism. One of the factors that differentiate between determinism and fatalism is that the latter entirely "ignores the part played by the self, and is inclined to represent human life as the helpless sport of external forces. The cosmic process is represented as the determining element in personal destiny to the disregard of the inner world of consciousness. Fatalism regards human destiny as fixed independently of human action; determinism regards it as fixed only in and through individual choice. Our destiny is not determined apart from what one is and does." (*Ibid.*, p. 364, also Rashdall, *Theory of Good and Evil*, Vol. I, p. 330). If and so long as Iqbâl adheres to determinism in the sense of auto-determinism, he need not be afraid of landing in the mire of fatalism, and

thereby losing the freedom which he values above every thing else, and of which he is such a forceful advocate.

VII

So far we have been occupied with negative considerations. We have been able to point out that the idea of a fixed, and hence unchangeable, destiny by no means jeopardises our interest in the freedom of the active self, though it does lead to determinism. Positively, however, the question is: Is the destiny of a thing really fixed? Or is it changeable, as Iqbâl believes it to be? It will be readily seen that the changeability of the possibilities, which, according to Iqbâl, constitute the destiny of a thing, follows logically and directly from the hypothesis of the infinity of such possibilities. So that the answer to our question depends upon the answer of its being constituted by an infinity of possibilities or otherwise. This brings us to the second point of consideration in Iqbâl's doctrine of destiny—the realizable, but not yet realized, possibilities are infinite.

According to Iqbâl's own contention, the question of destiny is partly biological and partly ethical. (*Six Lect.*, p. 161). So that the possibilities that go to make up the destiny of a thing are partly biological and partly ethical. Thus the question splits up into two distinguishable sub-questions: (a) Are the biological possibilities infinite? and (b) Are the ethical possibilities infinite? We shall now consider these separately.

(a) The question is: Are the biological possibilities infinite? This question readily resolves itself into the age-long controversy of heredity and environment. Unfortunately the present writer is not a student of biology, but fortunately the facts here are so well known and patent that one does not require a very deep study of biological principles. Twentieth century biology has very conclusively solved this problem.

Julian Huxley's pronouncement puts the whole thing in a nutshell: "At the time of conception we are dealt with the hand of cards with which we have, *willy-nilly*, to play the game of life; what hand we shall get at this inevitable moment is as much a matter of chance as it is each of the trivial times when we pick up the thirteen bits of paste-board from the green baize of the card table." (*What Dare I Believe?* p. 74. *Italics mine*). This, he says further on, "is the twentieth century biology; if you prefer, it is amplification of what was in some measure known before." The first four chapters of the book quoted above constitute a forceful answer to the above question.

And obviously biology does not stop at that. It has a future. In his *Daedalus*, Haldane has very successfully described his vision of the biological "things to come" 150 years hence (pp. 57-68). In his vision he has envisaged the possibility of what he terms Ectogenesis, or the bringing up of human babies in incubators rather than in their mothers' bodies. Human mothers will then cease to be viviparous—or should we say

mothers ? For Haldane it was only a dream—perhaps phantastic. But in the short space of time since he wrote the experiments of Prof. Warren Lewis of Baltimore on rabbits' eggs (see J. Huxley, *What Dare I Believe ?* pp. 53-54), and those of the American biologists, Drs. Francis T. Seymore and Alfred Koerner on "test-tube babies," reported in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*¹ have conclusively shown that Haldane's vision was prophetic. Ectogenesis is no longer a dream. It is an accomplished fact. The rapid development of biology does not leave one in doubt as to the possibility of still more steps to be taken. All this is, in the words of Haldane, "the application of Biology to Politics in the eugenic movement." (*Daedalus*, p. 57).

The Ectogenesis of Haldane and the more practical steps of Prof. Warren Lewis and Drs. Seymore and Koerner should not create the impression that heredity is the only factor affecting individual development. Environment—pre-natal, natal and post-natal—is as important. As Woodworth puts it : "The development of the plant is clearly a response of the heredity present in the seed to the environmental stimuli of soil-moisture and sunlight. It is equally true of the animal that the development depends on both heredity and environment, and that one individual differs from another sometimes because of different heredity, sometime because of different environment, and usually, no doubt, from both the causes combined." (*Psychology*, p. 135. *Italics author's*). The wonderful body of knowledge achieved by cross-breeding experiments by the students of genetics from the days of Gregor Mendel (1886) down, and especially during the present century would certainly be examined with definite advantage by any one seeking light on this question. (See, e.g., W. E. Castle's *Genetics and Eugenics*, and T. H. Morgan's *The Mechanism of Mendelian Heredity*).

These biological facts and considerations should make it plain to anybody that a belief in the infinity of the biological possibilities of the individual is another "silly theory." These possibilities are determined at the time of conception, and the whole life of the individual centres round, and is in accordance with, such finite possibilities.

Then add to this the researches on the glandular system of the human body, and the effects of the glandular secretions on the character and the temperament of the individual.

All this clearly means that every individual passes through, what Aldous Huxley calls, the Social Predestination Room (*Brave New World*), and become "a slave to his conditioning," to borrow another phrase of Huxley's.

(b) The other part of the question is : Are the ethical possibilities infinite ? "Ethical possibilities," of course, means the possibilities of moral conduct. So this question takes us to the very foundation of morality. Everyone knows that the ethics of a characterless man is as fictitious as

1. See *Bombay Chronicle*, Sunday Ed. Jan. 24th., 1937. For a detailed account of the "test-tube babies" see Hermann Rohleder's *Test-Tube Babies*, being a history of the artificial impregnation of human beings.

the man-in-the-moon. Says Sorley : " The pure Ego of the theory of knowledge and theory of activity alike is a logical abstraction. It has no being separate or separable from the being of the self with its character. The reference of action to a characterless self would be worthless for all the purposes of Ethics ; it is, besides, unsupported by introspection and would be equivalent to a reference of actual changes to a logical abstraction, or to an unfulfilled moment of time. Any adequate theory of the mode of mental activity must recognise that the self is never without character, that it is a diversity in unity, that subject without qualities is empty just as qualities without subject are blind." (*Moral Values and the Idea of God*, p. 434.). Thus the conduct to which the moral judgments of good and bad are applicable is dependent upon character. What then is character ? The simplest definition of character is that of Rashdall : " Character means the whole sum of psychical forces which produce a tendency to voluntary action of a certain kind." (*Theory of Good and Evil*, Vol. II, p. 329). In this definition the words " psychical forces " are important, and require further definition, and Rashdall is not slow to supply it : " It is the real nature of self (as modified by its environment) which determines of what sort its successive acts shall be." (*Ibid.*, p. 328). Thus moral conduct depends upon " the real nature of the self," or, what Psychology calls personality. What, then, is personality ? Modern Psychology has thrown a flood of light on this problem. There are two factors in the personality of the individual : the physique and, what Woodworth has happily termed, the chemique (*Psychology*, p. 108), the latter correspond to what the ancients called the temperament. At present we are interested in the latter factor only. Modern researches have disclosed the fact that the chemical substances introduced in the blood through food and drink, or through infections, and internally through glandular secretions, play a very important part in the formation and the development of an individual's temperament, and hence determine his future lines of conduct. In a less technical and a more direct way we can say : " The volition or action is in every case due to the present mental state. And as this state of mind is due in part to the previous actions of his, and in part to his original inheritance of dispositions, all actions may be said to result from the co-operation of the two factors, heredity and environment." (Sorley, *Moral Values and the Idea of God*, p. 432). Or simpler still : " Certain lines are laid down for each man, in his inner nature and outward circumstances along which to develop a character. A man has not the universal field of possibilities to himself ; each has his own moral sphere. This is determined for him ; it is the given element in his life. Two factors, an internal and an external, contribute to such determination. The internal factor is the nature, disposition, or temperament, psychological and physiological, which constitutes his equipment for the moral life. The external factor consists in the force of circumstances the place, the opportunities, of his, what is called environment, physical and social." (James Seth, *A Study of Ethical Principles*, 15th.

Ed., pp. 378-379.). Thus we are brought back to the biological considerations of heredity and environment. Only a few pages back we reached the conclusion that these two factors leave no scope for an infinity of possibilities. It is this same finitude of possibilities of conduct that the Prophet of Arabia is reported to have hinted at. We have it on the authority of Muslim and Bukhârî—the two most reliable traditionists—that ‘Abd Allâh ibn Mas‘ûd quotes a saying of the Prophet :

Translated into English it means :—

“ Ibn Mas‘ûd reports : Every one of you stays in the womb of his mother for forty days. Then he becomes a clot of blood, then a piece of flesh like that. Then God sends to him His angel, who breathes into him His spirit, and orders four things : he writes his food supplies, his age, his conduct, and whether he will be good or bad. It is He other than Whom there is no God. Any one of you does what the residents of the Heavens do, until between him and the Heavens there remains a distance of only a few yards. Then his Writ is presented to him, and he begins to do as the residents of Hell do, and he enters Hell. Then any one of you does as the residents of Hell do, until between him and Hell there remains the distance of only a few yards. Then his Writ is presented to him, and he begins to do as the residents of the Heavens do, and he enters the Heavens.”¹

We need not be reminded that such a deterministic finitude does not preclude ethical freedom. Seth supports us : “ So far there is determination, so far the field is defined for each man. But unless out of these two factors, external and internal, you can construct the moral man, room is still left for freedom. Its sphere may be determined, the specific form and the complexion of the moral task may be different for each, and determined for each. But the moral alternative lies within this sphere, All that is necessary to constitute it is the possibility for man of good and evil, not of any and every form of good and evil. They may take any form, and what form it shall take is determined for the individual, and not by him. But the choice between the alternatives is essentially the same in all the cases ; it is a choice between good and evil, that choice must be shown to belong to the individual. Inner nature and outward circumstances are, as it were, a raw material out of which he has to create a character—a plastic material, which, like the sculptor, he has to subdue to his own formative idea.” (*Ibid.*, p. 379). Dr. Stapledon is more brief : “ In fact though his conduct is strictly determined in relation to the demands of the objective situation, it must be actually affected (if it is to be moral conduct) by nothing other than the free moral agent, who accepts the moral principle in general, and, *therefore, freely chooses a deterministic course through diverse circumstances.*” (*A Modern Theory of Ethics*, p. 185. *Italics mine*).

1. This incidentally is the “ natal morality ” of the modern moralists.

In this section we have tried to consider the teaching of Iqbāl as contained in the latter hemistich of the following line :

تو اگر تقدیر نخواهی رواست زان که تقدیرات حق لا انتهاست

There yet remains another aspect of the same question :—

گر زبک تقدیر خون گردد جگر خواه از حق حکم تقدیر دگر

Destiny, that is to say, is changeable. To this question we now turn our attention in the next section.

VIII

Iqbāl's belief in the mutability of human nature is only a corollary of his faith in the infinity of the possibilities. He seems to take his stand on the immediate consciousness of freedom. He has not only translated this consciousness into a definite proposition, and has thus asserted not alone that "I can *do* (within these wide margins of possibility) what I will" but also that "I can *become* what I will." (Hocking, *Human Nature and Its Remaking*, p. 15. Italics author's). But unfortunately the question is highly controversial, and hence cannot be dismissed so very easily. The space at our disposal precludes our entering into the details of this problem. We shall, therefore, have to be very brief.

There are four chief remaking agencies—education, ethics, religion and legislation. Looking back on the records of their achievements in their respective spheres, one is not very favourably impressed by the efficiency and the efficacy of these agencies. In our times Prof. Hocking is a great champion of the cause of the remaking of human nature ; but even he has his misgivings about their efficacy. He writes : "For after all how would you judge from experience what the possibilities of human nature are ? All the remaking agencies, religion added, have failed to make a world of saints, or any semblance thereof." Then to save his position he adds : "True, but they have made *some* saints." (*Human Nature and Its Remaking*, pp. 20-21. Italics author's). It is a very old and patent argument that the upholders of, and the believers in, the possibility of the remaking of the human nature advance in support of their position. But unfortunately this very argument betrays them, and exposes their weakness. Nobody in his senses can deny the fact that these agencies "have made *some* saints." This assertion, however, raises another question : What sort of people are they who have thus been transformed into saints ? An answer to this question really settles the point at issue. Cases are not uncommon where two individuals come under the influence of the same teacher—or the same remaking agency. One of them becomes a saint, while the other turns out to be the opposite. Why this difference ? The answer is quite simple. One had the potentiality of becoming a saint, the other had not. Iqbāl recognises it too :

نہ ہو طبیعت ہی جن کی قابل وہ تربیت سے نہیں سنورنے
 ہوا نہ سرسبز رہ کے پانی میں عکس سرو کنار جو کا

(Such as possess not the impressionable nature, improve not with culture ; the reflection of the cypress standing on the bank of the rivulet never does become green).

Only those are reformed and remade who have an impressionable nature (طبیعت قابل). What is this impressionable nature ? It is a nature that can accept the teaching—or has the potentiality of remaking itself. This means that the remaking agency by itself is quite impotent to produce a change. The real thing that is efficacious is the potentiality of the individual. And a potential saint, to all intents and purposes, is a saint already.

All these remaking agencies emphasise the *ought* in contradistinction to the *is*. But a man of average intelligence knows that *ought* without *can* is nonsense. This *can* refers to potentiality. The logical conclusion is that the *ought* is only the potential *is*. So that when we demand of a person that he ought to become a saint, and he does become one by his efforts, we may be sure that he was a potential saint already. If, however, the remaking agencies fail to make a saint of him, it is because he did not have that potentiality, and therefore, our precept was foolish. In fact only a man who *can* change does so.

Let us for a moment grant that such a change is possible. " But it is still possible to be sceptical as to the depth and the permanence of any changes which are brought about by constraint and effort," warns Hocking, the stout advocate of remaking. (*Ibid.*, p. 17). Then he adds : " External pressure long enough continued, a long imprisonment, for example, will be followed by some change of character. You may be able to recognise a convict as easily as you recognise a member of more liberal professions. But if so it is because a degree of *consent* has domesticated in him, as in them, the presumably the freer people, certain of the repeated details and attitudes of his daily program. But the point is that however little that program itself may be of his choice, the habits are *his habits*—his ways of adapting his will to a persistent situation. And such habits may, of course, mean little change in the deeper strata of character." (*Ibid.*, p. 172n. Last italics mine). Such a pronouncement of such a great supporter of the remaking agencies needs no comment. It speaks for itself.

It is, however, an age-long belief that education and legislation are very potent factors in reforming an individual's character. But here one should heed Leighton's warning : " . . . belief in the omnipotency of education is equally an error. There are impassable limits set by the individual's innate capacities and lack of them." (*Individuality and Education*, p. 82). And can we turn a deaf ear to Mæterlinck's caution about legislation : " Make laws as though all men were good : the wicked triumph, the good are crushed. Make laws as though all men were evil : the wicked slip through them or circumvent them. Only the good

observe them and suffer." (Quoted by Dixon, *The Human Situation*, p. 280).

Incidents connected with communal struggles in India and international political conflicts abroad, forcefully support Leighton's conclusion. Moral philosophy and religion have been trying their hands at this game of remaking of human nature for millennia. But the world is no better than it was at the beginning of their efforts. Iqbâl admits the failure of religion as a remaking agency :

ہم نے یہ مانا کہ مذہب جان ہے انسان کی کچھ اسی کے دم سے قائم شان ہے انسان کی
روح کا جوہر نکھرتا ہے اسی تدبیر سے آدمی سونے کا بن جاتا ہے اس اکسیر سے
رنگ قومیت مگر اس سے بدل سکتا نہیں خون آبائی رک تن سے نکل سکتا نہیں

(We admit that religion is the very life of man ; and on it rests all his grandeur and glamour.

The essence of soul shines on account of this, and this elixir turns man into gold.

But it cannot change the colour of nationality, and it cannot empty the veins of the ancestral blood).

We are all eye-witnesses to the fact that all the conferences, congresses, leagues, etc., have totally failed to bring about a change of hearts. In spite of all the peace-conferences and disarmament committees, preparation for war is still the shortest cut to peace. Mussolini does not believe in the "fable of permanent world-peace," in spite of all the efforts —perhaps sincere in themselves—to bring about such a condition of universal and eternal bliss. He still adheres to his mathematical formula : "War is to man as maternity is to woman"—and incidentally he is not far wrong.¹ Pollock has certainly reached the root of this problem when he writes to William James : "No logic would ever reason a Carlyle into optimism nor an Emerson into pessimism." (*The Thought and Character of William James*, by Perry, Vol. II, p. 466).

Let us now try to approach the problem from the side of personality. We shall take Iqbâl's definition of personality as our starting-point :—"My real personality is not a thing, it is an act ; my experience is only a series of acts mutually referring to one another, and held together by the unity of a directive purpose." (*Six Lect.*, p. 144). Iqbâl thus conceives personality in terms of conduct. But, as Dewey has shown, conduct without character is like a locomotive engine without steam. (*Human Nature and Conduct*). So the changing of personality means the changing

1. "Homer was wrong in saying that strife must perish from among gods and men ! He did not see that he was praying for the destruction of the universe ; for if his prayer were heard everything would come to an end." (Heraclitus).

of character. What is character with reference to conduct ? Everett has struck the nail on the head : " Character is a habit of will, the consciously organised system of one's desires and activities." (*Moral Values*, p. 5.). And again : " It may be added that character is to be distinguished from native disposition or temperament, which represents the active tendencies, aptitudes or tastes of the individual apart from the modifications affected by the play of the external forces and the growth of an inner, organizing intelligence. *Such original endowment is in many ways profoundly significant for the acquired character* (*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6. *Italics mine.*). Thus our character depends, to a very large extent, on our original endowment or temperament, which, as modern researches have amply shown, depends on our physical structure. So the springs of our conduct are already determined at the time of our birth. The environment only accelerates or retards their effect. " And when we look within, we clearly discern the limits of possible activity set by our own nature, a nature not of our choosing, but having its root far back in the life of the family and the race. Even the desire to become this or that type of personality is seen to have its source in inherited tendencies." (*Ibid.*, p. 344.). This same idea has been nicely expressed by Matthew Arnold :—

In vain our pent wills fret,
 And would the world subdue.
 Limits we did not set
 Condition all we do ;
 Born into life we are, and life must be our mould.
 Born into life ! man grows
 Forth from his parent's stem,
 And blends their blood, as those .
 Of theirs are blent in them ;
 So each new man strikes root into a far fore-time.
 Born into life ! we bring
 A bias with us here,
 And, when here, each new thing
 Affects us we come near ;
 To tunes we did not call, our being must keep chime.

Hocking is of opinion, however, that " To change nature is to change *what it wants*, or wills, and nothing can naturalize within the will such a change but the will itself." (*Human Nature and Its Remaking*, p. 172. *Italics author's*). Thus will-to-change becomes the panacea for all ailments. But in thus apotheosizing the will, Hocking has lost sight of one important thing about will. Every student of Psychology knows that will, if it is any thing, is only a motive power, or as James would call it, a *fiat*. It executes an idea through the physical mechanism. " If this is defective or perverted, the best intentions in the world will yield bad results. In the case of no other engine does one suppose that a defective will turn out good simply because it is invited to. Everywhere else we recognise that the design and the

structure of the agency employed tell directly upon the work done." So our physical mechanism is only a machine which turns out our conduct. Is this machine the work of our own hands? Does it lie in our power to pull down this machine and construct it anew according to our liking any time we desire? Are we potent enough to add new desirable parts and take out the old undesirable ones? The answer to all these and similar questions must necessarily be in the negative, taking into consideration recent biological and psychological discoveries. We now know that we get this psycho-physiological machine ready-made at our birth, and we require no "watch-maker" to wind and adjust it now and then. Researches into the nature of intelligence have disclosed the fact that every individual has special aptitudes and abilities. Everybody, for instance, cannot become a leader of men, or an artist. This fact is alluded to in a famous Persian line :

ہر کسے راہر کارے ساختند

(Every man was made for a special purpose).

Our conduct, in one word, depends ultimately on the psycho-physical potentialities that we inherit from our ancestors as well as on the potentialities that are special to us.

But let us for a moment grant that such a change is possible. This admission, however, lands us into other difficulties. Now rises the inevitable question : How can an individual change himself? The answer seems to be quite easy and clear through the chief remaking agencies mentioned above, i.e., education, ethics, religion and legislation. All these, and any other such agencies fall within the category of what is known in Arabic as *tadbîr*, or design. So that we can say that if at all an individual can change himself, he can only do so through *tadbîr*. This answer, apparently so innocent-looking, becomes the source of another trouble. The trouble is that Iqbâl does not believe in its possibility. He is quite explicit on this point :—

جز خدا کس خالق تقدیر نیست چارہ تقدیر از تدبیر نیست

(None but God is the Creator of *taqdîr*, and *taqdîr* cannot be remedied by *tadbîr*).

In another connection he says (*Khizr-i Râh*) :—

آزموده فتنہ ہے ایک اور بھی گردوں کے پاس
سامنے تقدیر کے رسوائی تدبیر دیکھ

(Heaven has another well-tried means of temptation, look at the disgrace of *tadbîr* in the presence of *taqdîr*).

And again (*Bâl-i Jibraîl*, p. 147):—

آثار تو کچھ کچھ نظر آتے ہیں کہ آخر تدبیر کو تقدیر کے شاطر نے کیا مات

(Some signs are certainly discernible that show that ultimately the chess-expert of *taqdîr* has defeated *tadbîr*).

This is the complete collapse of the grand-looking edifice so attractively raised by Iqbâl—and the irony of the whole matter is that Iqbâl himself is the cause of this collapse !

IX

This brings us to another and the last, point, which shall not detain us long. In the last section we have been engaged with Iqbâl's contention that a man can change his destiny by changing himself. Thus the destiny of the individual becomes acquired, and man becomes the master of his destiny. Here again we meet with the same difficulty. There are lines in various poems of Iqbâl which give a different impression. For example (*Jâwîd Nâme*, p. 122):—

سائل و محروم تقدیر حق است حاکم و محکوم تقدیر حق است
برخدا کس خالق تقدیر نیست چارہ تقدیر از تدبیر نیست

(The beggar and the destitute are the *taqdîr* of God ; the ruler and the ruled are the *taqdîr* of God.

No one is the creator of *taqdîr* except God, *taqdîr* cannot be remedied by *tadbîr*).

And again (*Ibid.*, p. 124):—

می شناسی طبع ادراک از کجاست ؟ حور می اندر بنگہ خاک از کجاست ؟
طاقت فکر حکیمان از کجاست ؟ قوت ذکر کلیمان از کجاست ؟
این دل و این واردات از کیست ؟ این فنون و معجزات از کیست ؟
گرمی گفتار داری ؟ از تو نیست ؟ شعله کردار داری ؟ از تو نیست ؟
این همه فیض از بهار فطرت است فطرت از پروردگار فطرت است

(Do you know whence comes the comprehending Nature ?

Whence is the black-eyed damsel in the earthly depository ?

Whence is the strength of the thought of the philosophers ?

Whence the power of the recitations of the talkers ?

From whom is the heart and its states ?

Its arts and its miracles ?

Possess you the heat of speech ? It is not your own.

Possess you the flame of conduct ? It is not yours.

All the plenteous bounty proceeds from the spring-tide of Nature,
And Nature comes from the sustainer of Nature).

Still another (*Zubûr-i 'Ajam*, p. 228):—

که تقدیر از نهاد او بر و ن نیست
(خودی)

[For *taqdîr* is not out of the nature (of self)].

And lastly :—

در جهان این فقر و مسکینی چراست ؟ آنچه از مولاست می گوئی ز ماست ؟

(Why are poverty and misery under Heaven ? Whatever comes from the Lord, you say it is from us).

All these quotations leave no doubt as to the fact that according to Iqbâl all the realizable, but not yet realized, possibilities, which go to make up the destiny of an individual, are born with us. This is quite in line with what we have urged in the preceding pages. Combine this with the impotence of *tadbîr* against *taqdîr*, and we have a complete picture of the nature of destiny, and the individual's powers of meddling with it. To be plain, all this goes to show that the destiny of an individual is fixed at the time of his birth, or perhaps before it. Everett has put the whole thing very graphically :—"Nor have we any evidence that the self sits down, as it were, at the beginning of its conscious life, or the shadowy regions of its pre-existent state, to consider what sort of a self it shall be. When it first comes to consciousness it is a bundle of activities already moving swiftly along a definite track. It has, as far as we can judge, its beginning at a fixed point of time ; it is endowed with a definite physical and psychical nature ; it enters a particular environment ; it receives the stamp of particular training and education, and even the sources of these ideas and ideals, by which it afterwards modifies or transcends early conditions, are found in the social-historical life into which it enters." (*Moral Values*, p. 349).

X

In the foregoing pages we have been told what destiny is *not*. But then what is destiny ? This question has been indirectly answered in the previous sections. We started with Iqbâl's definition of destiny as "the realizable, but not yet realized, possibilities of a thing, that lie within the depths of its nature." These possibilities, Iqbâl believes, are infinite ; man is the master of his own destiny, in so far as he can change it by changing his self, and that if one set of possibilities does not suit him, he can easily choose another in its stead. We have accepted this definition, but beyond that it has not been possible for us to agree with him. We have tried to reject his view that (1) destiny is not fixed, it can be changed, (2) this change is possible by a change in one's self, (3) the realizable, but not yet realized, possibilities are infinite, (4) destiny is not congenital but acquired,

(5) man is the creator of his destiny. This rejection means the acceptance of its contradictory. Our position, therefore, is that the destiny of a thing is "its inner reach, the realizable, but not yet realized, possibilities, that lie within the depths of its nature." These possibilities are finite and fixed. The destiny of a thing, therefore, is congenital and not acquired. So naturally man cannot change his destiny anyhow. He is not the master and the creator of his destiny. *Tadbîr* is certainly impotent against *taqdîr*. This position strongly smacks of rigid determinism, and seems to be fatal to the human urge to action. Such, in reality, is not the case. In the first place we should remember that determinism has long ceased to be the dreadful thing that it used to be with the ancients. As C. J. Herrick has pointed out, now-a-days "it certainly does not involve pre-determination in the sense of fore-ordination as the theologians used this word, nor in the sense of pre-formation as the biologists use this word." (*Fatalism and Freedom*, Psyche Miniature Series, p. 25). We have already dwelt at some length on this point, and have shown that we should no longer abhor, nor be afraid of, determinism, as long as we use this term in its modern implications.

A more serious charge against this position is that it negates all possibility of free action. It kills activity, thereby killing life itself, thus making man a passive spectator of the play of fate. This incidentally became the foundation of the doctrine of *twakkul* among Muslim thinkers. But, like the word *destiny*, the word *twakkul* has been much misused and misunderstood "both in and outside the world of Islam." This again is a false impression. It does kill activity, nor does it make man a passive spectator of the play of fate. Kind and the Wise Providence has hermetically sealed the book of destiny. In the words of Voltaire: "Man is a stranger to his own research; he knows not whence he comes nor whither he goes." It has been man's great desire to break open this seal, and thus to know "whither he goes." For this purpose he has devised several means—astrology, palmistry, numerology, being some of them. But almost all of them have proved misleading. Iqbâl also falls a prey to this temptation. His great desire is the "unveiling of his destiny." (*Payâm-i Mashriq*, p. 146):—

گفتند هر چه در دلت آید ز ما به خواه گفتم که بے حجابی تقدیرم آرزوست

(Said Providence: Ask of me whatever your heart longs for. Said I: I long to see *taqdîr* unveiled).

This ignorance, however, is a blessing in disguise. It has saved man from being a passive spectator. Man uses astrology, palmistry, etc., as short cuts to the knowledge of his destiny. The real method, however, is through striving. It is man's part to strive. The result is determined by destiny—the unactualized potentialities and the unrealized possibilities. We employ the best of means, we use our talent to its utmost, we take every possible precaution, and yet we fail, and *vice versa*. We say we were

destined to fail. But have we been sitting idle with our hands in our pockets all the time? No. We have been striving. We have come to know our destiny by striving. After the first failure we strive again, and so on. It should be clear, then, that a belief in the immutability of destiny does not negate the possibility of free action. It, on the other hand, stimulates it. The belief in a fixed and an immutable destiny admits of free action as much as, if not more than, the belief in an ever-changing destiny. True, it does lead to determinism, but it is by no means the cause of the petrification of the human urges to activity. On the other hand it puts new life into them.

So far as can be gathered from his writings and the general trend of his teachings, Iqbâl's rejection of the idea of a fixed destiny is based on his fears about its effect on the life of the individual and the nation. He regards it as fatal to his vitalistic philosophy. But he should have entertained no such fears. It is quite in line with his vitalism.

Iqbâl's doctrine of destiny is a good example of Vaihinger's fictionalism. (See his book the *Philosophy of As If*). The whole trouble with him is that he cannot extricate himself out of the "holy jungle of transcendental metaphysics," as Swinburne irreverently called it. His theory is, in Bishop Creighton's pleasant phrase, "as good as gold, and fit for heaven, but of no earthly use." It shows that Iqbâl is more of a poet than of a philosopher. As such Joad pleads his case: "His (the poet's) function is the creation of beauty and not the pursuit of a thesis." (*Matter, Life, and Value*, p. 242). Iqbâl does undoubtedly create beauty! He performs the poet's function wonderfully well! But woe betide a poet who attempts to import logic and metaphysics into verse—an attempt, by its very nature, predestined to failure.¹

MUTAZID WALI-UR-REHMAN.

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THE PRE-ARYAN CULTURES OF INDIA AND THE ETHNOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF ISLAM

I

THE Aryan immigration to India has generally been believed to have brought the first culture of a higher level into this country. Hence the Muslim conquest later following, religiously, culturally and racially different from the sources of Aryan civilisation, was held to represent a cultural entity absolutely foreign to the *genius loci* of the Indian soil.

It will be the chief object of this article to discuss whether such a statement can be taken as correct, in the light of modern ethnological research, or whether we shall have to explore new ways to find the truth, which, after the revolutionary discoveries of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and the resulting conclusions of ethnological observation, promises to present new aspects.

The importance of the old Dravidian civilisation in the South, and of the Munda-speaking peoples in the eastern parts of Central India, has likewise been overlooked by scientific deliberation before these discoveries, and especially before objective methods were introduced, about the beginning of the twentieth century into the sciences of ethnology, archaeology, culture-history and related departments of research. Egocentric methods of one-sided evolutionarism dominated especially these sciences in the nineteenth century. Phenomena similar to those of one's own culture were, at that time, generally supposed to represent higher forms of civilisation, and those which seemed to be different from the observer's own cultural ideal, were generally looked down upon as primitive or as petrified remnants of some old stage in the evolution of mankind. Thus the Aryan civilisation of India, akin to the religio-sociological system of the old Romans and Greeks in Europe, was erroneously believed to be the first representative of a higher cultural development, especially by European linguists and other scientists. The cultural-historical importance of the pre-Aryan cultures of India, on the other hand, was absolutely neglected till the second decade of the twentieth century, when the importance of Dravidian, pre-Aryan civilisations was gradually acknowledged. Srinivas Iyengar of Masulipatam has summed up in his excellent and thought-provoking article: *Did the Dravidians of India obtain their*

Culture from the Aryan Immigrants? the then prevailing arguments pointing to the probability of a high pre-Aryan civilisation in India.¹

The exactness and positiveness in the historic method of ethnology, which was worked out by Grabner,² Schmidt and Koppers³ at approximately the same time, have taken up Iyengar's suggestion and discovered that many elements, if not the very nucleus of Indian civilisation, were of pre-Aryan (partly Dravidian !) origin. Heine-Geldern laid stress on the relations connecting the mother-goddess Kali and the matriarchal religious elements among the head-hunting peoples in South-East Asia,⁴ thus showing that a basic element in the great Indian religious systems was of pre-Aryan, probably Austro-Asiatic origin. Koppers showed that Buddhism was in a deep-rooted affinity related to the pre-Aryan mother-right of Ancient India⁵ and that Buddhism represented a religio-cultural reaction against the caste-system, the purely patriarchal social system, with its suppression of Indian womanhood and the rule of the Brahmins over the Rajputs, as introduced by the Aryan immigrants.

The origin and centre of the supposed higher pre-Aryan matriarchal cultures were at that time, i. e., before the discovery of the Indus-civilisation, located in Bengal or even still farther to the East.

The renowned excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa soon after revolutionized the whole conception of the ancient history of India. The supposed pre-Aryan and matriarchal civilisation of India was first found to have been of a much higher level than could ever be imagined before, and secondly it was discovered that this old culture flourished doubtlessly on Indian soil, in the then fertile valley of the Indus, in Sind and in the Punjab.

This so-called Indus-civilisation has been proved to be an entirely specialized town-civilisation, which was not only of pre-Aryan origin, but also undoubtedly related to the Sumerian and Babylonian culture-centres of Western Asia and to the culture of old Egypt. Sir John Marshall, the unquestioned authority on this subject says in this connection :

"Never for a moment was it imagined that five thousand years ago, before ever the Aryans were heard of, the Punjab and Sind, if not other parts of India as well, were enjoying an advanced and singularly uniform civilisation of their own, closely akin, but in some respects even superior to that of contemporary Mesopotamia and Egypt. Yet this is what the discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro have placed beyond question."⁶

1. *Anthropos*, near Mödling Vienna, 1914. pp. 1-151, IX.

2. *Methode der Völkerkunde*, Leipzig 1911 and *Ethnologie in Anthropologie*, Leipzig 1923.

3. *Voelker und Kulturen* Regensburg 1924.

4. *Kopffjagd und Menschenopfer in Assam und Birma und ihre Ausstrahlungen nach Vorderindien*, Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Wien 1917, p. 1. seq. and *Mutterrecht und Kopffjagd in westlichen Hinterindien*, op. cit. wien 1921, p. 105 seq.

5. *Kulturkreislehre und Buddhismus in Anthropos*, Mödling near Vienna 1921/22, p. 442/XVI.

6. *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, 3 Vols. London 1931, Preface, p. v.

A thorough study of this Indus-civilisation led Marshall to the conviction that the majority of essential and characteristic qualities also in the present-day civilisation of India, Indian art, Indian sociology and conception of life, originated in ancient times and among the pre-Aryan inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa ! He further says :

“ Many of the basic features of Hinduism are *not* traceable to an Indo-Aryan source at all. . . come into view *not* in the earliest Vedic literature, which represents the more or less pure Indo-Aryan tradition, but either in the later Vedas or in the still later Brahmanas, Upanishads and Epics, when the Vedic Aryan had long since amalgamated with other races and absorbed some measure of their culture and teachings.”

In a footnote he further points to A. K. Coomeraswamy's excellent brochure: *Yaksas*: Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. XXIX, No. 6. and R. Chanda: *Indo-Aryan Races*, where it is shown “ Saivism Vaisnavism, Sankhya and Yoga are the four corner-stones of modern Hinduism and that there was a time when the orthodox exponents of Vedism recognized that these systems were non-Vedic.”¹

Marshall also argues that even such minute details as the present-day-ekka,² the Indian scale of weight,³ the typically Indian use of cotton, “ which was unknown to the western world until two or three thousand years later,”⁴ the great stress laid on baths and bathing,⁵ and the principle of Saktism, or an important mother-goddess accompanying the male god,⁶ so typically Indian, in pattern as well as in conception, were all clearly formed and modelled in the Indus-civilisation, five thousand years ago ! Not only the most important complex of the mother-goddess in India, but also the whole religio-cultural conception of Sivaism, in all their picturesque manifestations, can be reconstructed from the excavations of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.⁷

Thus Marshall is of opinion that the form-giving and characteristic Indian elements in the present civilisation of this country, are of Indus (i.e., pre-Aryan) origin, and he even goes so far as to state that the Aryan, or Vedic, and the Indus-civilisation are contrasted. He adduces eleven arguments in support of this thesis,⁸ among which the facts which deserve to be specially mentioned are that the Aryans were primitive herdsmen and peasants, whereas the Indus people had large towns of their own. The Aryans, on the other hand imported the tamed horse and the use of iron, unknown to the highly advanced Indus-civilisation in particular and

1. Marshall, op. cit. p. 77/1.

2. op. cit. p. 39/1.

3. p. 33 and 37/1.

4. op. cit. Preface, p. vi.

5. op. cit. p. 75/1 and 16/1.

6. p. 57/1.

7. op. cit. p. 48/1, seq.

8. op. cit. p. 110, 111/1.

to the other, probably less developed, pre-Aryan cultures of India, in general.

The cultural complex of what we call Hinduism consequently seems to be composed of two fundamentally different elements :—

1. The very old pre-Aryan Indus-civilisation, which must have passed through a long and complicated development, already before the time at about 2,500 B. C. when Mohenjo-daro and Harappa flourished.

2. The Aryan civilisation, which imported the Central Asian patriarchal sociological system of the nomadic herdsman, the tamed horse, the use of iron, the old Aryan four-caste-system, and with it the dominance of the priests over the laymen, of the Aryan immigrants over the Indian native population, and of man over woman, who was dominant in the pre-Aryan Indus-civilisation. The subjugation of Indian womanhood was a long process and led to the extremely low position of women after the expulsion of Buddhism from India, and after Sri Shankaryacharya and Manu. Brahmanism, with its admirable cultural creations, with its divine Vedas, but also with its caste-system and compulsory widowhood, if not *sati*, child-marriage and hypergamy, thus seems to have been evolved in the course of the last three or four thousand years.¹

1. Compare : Ehrenfels—*Mutterrecht in Vorderindien*, Doctorate dissertation, University Library, Vienna, where the author has dwelt at length upon these subjects, having made special use of the respective references and opinions on the subject, as found in the following sources : Adami, Dr. Leonhard, *Man*, No. 23/1934 and No. 30/1936. Ansari, Shaikh Sadik Ali Shar Ali. *Muslim Races*. . . Calcutta University Jour. Dep. Lett. Vol. I.—Allen, B. C. *Cens. I.* 1901, Vol. IV, Part I.—*Arthashastra* of Kautilya—Bhattachariya, Rajendra Kumar : in *JAnSBo*, p. 821/XII.—Fawcett, Fred : *On Basavis*. . . *JAnSBo*, p. 322/II.—Gait, E.A. *Cens. I.* 1901, Vol. VI and 1911, specially 239/I.—Gandhi, Mahatma : *Mein Leben*, German edition, Leipzig 1930, *Experiments with Truth*.—Hartmann, Gerda : *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Göttin Laksmi* Leipzig 1933.—Heine-Geldern : *Kopffjagd und Menschenopfer*. . . *MAG* 1917, p. 1. seq. and *Mutterrecht und Kopffjagd*. . . *MAG* 1921, p. 105. seq. Held, G. J. Ph.D. *The Mahabharata, an Ethnological Study*, London-Amsterdam 1935. Hoccart, A.M. *Maternal Relations in India* *MAN*, 103/XXIV.—Hughes-Buller, R. *Cens. I.* Vol. V.—Ibbetson, Sir Denzil, K.C.S.I. : *Cens. I.* 1881.—Iyer, Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna : *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*. Madras, 1909 and *The Mannans of Travancore* *JAnSBo*, p. 132, 381/XIII. See also sub Nanjundayya.—Kerr : *Voyages and Travels* 1811.—Koppers : *Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen*. *Kulturkreislehre und Buddhismus* op. cit.—Mehta, S.S. *Women from the Standpoint of Marriage* *JAnSBo* p. 378/X.—Mitra, Sarat Chandra : various articles in *JAnSBo*, see Bibliography. Pillai, N. Kunjan : *Cens. I.* 1931, Vol. XXVIII.—Peterson, Dr. Vatsyana. *On the Duties of a Hindu wife*. *JAnSBo*, p. 460/II.—Risley, H.H. *Cens. I.* 1901, Vol. I/B. and Risley and Sinclair : *The Origin of the Gipsy Tribes* *MAN*, 180/II.—Rivers, W.H.R. *Kinship and Marriage in India*, *MANIND*, 6/I. and *Motherright in Eyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Edinburgh 1925.—Rolland, Romain : *Das Leben des Ramakrishna, Ramakrishnas und Vivekanandas universales Evangelium und Vivekananda Rotapfel-verlag*, Zürich.—Rowlands, J. Helene : *La Femme Bengalie dans la litterature du Moyen-Age*, Paris 1930.—Roy, Sarat Chandra : *Caste, Race and Religion in India* *MANIND*, Vol. XIV. p. 39.—Russell, R. V. and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal : *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* London 1916.—Sanyal, Amulya Ratan and S. C. Mitra : *The Culture of the goddess Garsi*, *JAnSBo*, 827/XII.—Senart, Emile : *Les Castes dans les Indes*.—Schmidt-Koppers, op. cit. p. 208. seq. Thurston, Edgar and Rangachari, K. : *Castes and Tribes in Southern India*, Madras 1909.

Intimate relation seems to have existed, connecting the pre-Aryan mother-rights-civilisation and the matriarchal culture which was a living force of Kerala, till just before the Great War of 1914-1918. I have tried to show this historic-ethnological relation in my above-mentioned thesis¹ where I have also tried to prove that we have to differentiate between three different stages of matriarchal culture-circles in India. The oldest of these probably corresponds to the miolithic agricultural civilisation of the elder stone-age, which, according to Menghin² can be held to have been the original source of matriarchal culture-circles, issuing from their Indian centre all over the world.

Certain characteristics in the sociology and religion and, to a certain extent, in the affinities even of implements and races, led me to the hypothesis³ that we find survivals of this probably oldest matriarchal culture still traceable among the Baiga, Cheruman, Kadu Golla, Irula, Kudan, Kudiya, Malapulayan, Malayali, Malayarayan, Mannan, Muduvar, Pulayan, Pulavan, Thanda Pulayan, Ulladan, Urali, Vellala, Vettuvan, and Yanadi.⁴

The second and probably much younger stage of matriarchal, pre-Aryan cultural development, seems to be still traceable among the Bavuri, Bedar, Beshta, Billava, Handi Yogi, Holey, Kaikolan, Kollan, Killakyata, Kurava, Madiga, Mala, Maravan, Meda, Moger, Mukkuvan, Nayadi, Panan, Parayan, Reddi, Valayan, and Vedan.⁵

Traces of still older cultural strata, far inferior in specialisation and civilisation, the matriarchal character of which seems not yet sufficiently established, are perhaps embodied in the Hasalar, Kadir, Kurumba, Malapantaram, Malasar, Paliyan, Sholaga and similar jungle-tribes. They are perhaps not rightly to be adduced here, as their relation to the originally matriarchal stages of pre-Aryan cultures, is, as mentioned above, not proved.⁶

But on the other hand the third and in time the latest of the three matriarchal civilisations, is represented by the Nayars, these previously purely matriarchal pattern-example of a highly developed mother-rights-civilisation. The following castes were probably of old related to this latest matriarchal stage, which, as I have shown in my aforesaid thesis, seems to have been in close relation with the splendid town-civilisation of the Indus Valley, 5,000 years ago : Banjara, Bant, Bhatrazu,

1. The publication of which in the ethnological monthly *Anthropos* (Mödling near Vienna) is being prepared.

2. *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*, Vienna, 1931, p. 221, 258. seq.

3. *Mutterrecht in Vorderindien* op. cit.

4. Described by Gait, Ananthakrishna Iyer, N. Kunjan Pillai, R. V. Russell, Edgar Thurston, and V. R. Thyagaraja Aiyar, in their respective works. For details see Ehrenfels : *Mutterrecht in Vorderindien* : list of castes and tribes.

5. As above sub 4.

6. As above sub 4.

Deva Dasi, Kshatriya, Ladar, Mapilla, Nayar themselves, Rachevar, Samantam, Syrian Christian, Tirumalpad, Tiyan (Izhavan).¹

The aforesaid hypothesis of Koppers,² to the effect that Buddhism represents a reaction of the old matriarchal culture of India, suppressed by the Aryan immigrants, is thus considerably strengthened by my discovery of an old historic relation between the Nayar-group and the Indus-civilisation.³

Furthermore I have shown there that survivals in ergology, sociology and even in some religious conceptions (especially of the goddess Kali) are still existing among the Rajputs,⁴ points to the forgotten relation of the forefathers of the Rajputs to the noble warriors and kings, (the matriarchal Nayars, Samantan and Tirumalpat of Kerala). The method and detailed data of my argumentation would need too long an explanation of the purely ethnological nature of the premises to be reproduced here.

Suffice it to say that the interesting problem of the Bhats, the Indian bards, on the one hand, and on the other, the problem of the original source from which the Indian gipsies and other wandering tribes sprang, both find explanation in the fate of the matriarchal civilisation, which was subdued by the Aryan immigrants. This fate showed considerably variation in individual cases of the different groups among the matriarchal, pre-Aryan peoples. Some, like the Rajputs, were soon Aryanized and have consequently learnt to consider themselves as patriarchal Aryans. Considerable blood-mixture, if not even absorption of the pre-Aryan blood by the Aryans, took place, especially in the North, where the immigrants were in a majority. The absorption of the Nayars, for instance, was less absolute. They preserved their own social system till after the War, and their own Dravidian language till to-day even, though the present Hindi movement seems to be propagating the adoption of the Aryan language just as the Aryan religion (Brahmanism) was adopted and as blood-mixture with the Nambutiri-Brahmins took place abundantly from the beginning of the Aryan immigration into India.

Other social groups probably tried to resist the Aryan creed, language, social system and predominance. But Brahmanism was successful and in consequence these groups have been deprived not only of their possessions, wealth and influence, but also of their social position. They might have adopted different professions, in accordance with their social standard at the time of this transition. The artistic, scientific and moral qualities of the Bhats for example, prove, that their probably pre-Aryan ancestors must have had a high cultural standard.

The modern observer will perhaps be inclined to deny the same distinction to the ancestors of the present gipsy, wandering, acrobat-

1. As above sub 4, p. 5.

2. *Kulturkreislehre und Buddhismus*.

3. Ehrenfels: *Mutterrecht in Vorderindien* chapters 9/3 and 8/1, d.

4. See specially R. V. Russell, p. 330/IV. sub Panwar Rajputs.

and-musician tribes, as also to the different caste-like groups of dancers and prostitutes. But thorough investigations show that also in these cases the decay did not take place before the Aryan immigration exercised its influence. The cultural level of the ancestors of these groups must have been higher than that of the rude Aryan herdsmen and peasants, at the time of their immigration to India and before they had assimilated Indian culture and refinement.

The slow but progressive downfall of the gipsies before their emigration from India, was unfortunately continued after they immigrated into Europe, where they often still arrived on horseback and proudly organized as princes and warriors.¹ We must also not forget that their crafts, such as music, dancing, astrology, and fortune-telling, were *not* looked down upon in the pre-Aryan period of India, as is now the case. Dancing and music were even highly esteemed, as similar classical arts are now in modern Europe or were in ancient Greece. Prostitution moreover, has in the case of Indian gipsy-castes its origin *not* in immorality, but in the different conception of matrimonial laws, as exercised in many matriarchal societies. The two Vaertings have shown that the functions and tasks of the sexes very often are exchanged, according to their respective position in the social structure.² Similarly polyandry was often permitted in matriarchal culture-circles, as polygamy in patriarchal ones, with the only difference, that the latter is usually also permitted in most of the matriarchal civilisations.

The relatively high cultural level, on which traditions and caste-organisations of most of the so-called prostitute-castes of India are built, makes it very probable that their social position was still a noble one at the time when polyandry was not yet stigmatized by the ruling society.³ Moreover, polyandry was practised by the noble warriors, knights and kings of Kerala till the middle of the last century. It would be an absolutely erroneous, unscientific and misleading interpretation to call this *immorality*, as polyandry was there and then a lawfully acknowledged, time-honoured and legal form of matrimonial relation. But since ruling races unfortunately seldom care for scientific objectiveness, the immigrating Aryans and their growing Brahmanism did not investigate the matter, but simply declared the members of all groups, the rules and regulations of which differed from the Aryan code, as outcastes, thus creating many new castes which were looked down upon as "depressed classes" or "untouchables," merely on account of their having refused to accept the Aryan style of life, the Aryan language and the Aryan religion.

This process was probably accompanied by a severe resistance, especially from the side of women. Traces of similar social struggles, between subduing, patriarchal cultures of nomadic herdsmen and resisting

1. Compare with this the reports on their advent in mediæval Paris.

2. *The Dominant Sex, A Study in the Sociology of Sex Differentiation*, London 1923.

3. Ehrenfels: *Mutterrecht in Vorderindien*, chapter 7/3. Compare also the survivals of polyandry in Vedic literature, as indicated in the history of Draupadi and the five Pandava Brothers.

matriarchal cultures of settled agriculturists, are often to be found in the ethnological history of nearly all great world-civilisations, since all of them owe their origination to the co-operation, or rather mixture, of masculine and feminine cultural principles, races and economic methods.¹ Cattle-breeding thus was, for instance, a typically *male* innovation,² just as agriculture was invented by women in primitive society.³ Thus the residue of this world-wide and often-repeated struggle between primitive masculine and feminine civilisations mark the birth-hour of all the great world-cultures from Japan and China to Egypt and from Rome and Greece to Central Asia.

But this fight was nowhere fought with such severe intensity as was in all probability the case in ancient India, at the time of the Aryan immigration. The reason probably was that mother-right in no other country was so deeply rooted and of so old a tradition and so high a cultural level as in India. Here, as we have seen above, agriculture is likely to have been invented by matriarchal peoples in the palæolithic period. And here, after thousands of years of matriarchal development had passed, a highly civilized and again matriarchal town-civilisation reached the splendid height of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa at about 2,500 B.C.

In the light of these facts, it is but natural that the means to subdue the resisting power of Indian womanhood were more severe and cruel than in any other culture-area of the world where a similar process has taken place. These facts again explain what we have said above on the significance of *sati*, child-marriage, hypergamy, and perhaps also on the strict rule of vegetarianism, which are characteristic features of the Aryan culture in *India*, but which are not to be found to the same extent outside this country. This does not of course mean that the Aryans learned these methods of subduing women from the Indian mother-right-circles, or from Indian native peoples. On the contrary, these methods were probably evolved, as soon as the merely patriarchal Aryan herdsmen-civilisation came in contact with the matriarchal Indian town-civilisation and consequently started the struggle for dominance. A struggle then, which has not even yet been finished, although it is under different names that the two parties continue their cultural rivalry.

This aspect of our problem must be kept in view, whilst we consider the other side of the question, i. e., the relation of the pre-Aryan cultures of India to the ethnological background of the Islamic culture-area.

II

BACHOFEN already pointed to the mother-right-civilisation of so highly a civilized group as the Lydians and other pre-Hellenic peoples of

1. Schmidt-Koppers: *Völker und Kulturen*.

2. See Ratzel, Grosse and Pater W. Schmidt in *Anthropos* 1915.

3. See all authors concerned from Bachofen, Schutz and Weule to Malinovsky and Koppers in our days.

Asia Minor, and also to the matriarchal survivals even in patriarchal Athens, which were abolished only so late as at the time of king Kekrops, who deprived women of their rights to vote and forbade the tracing of family-names in the female line.¹ Frazer followed Bachofen's conception, ascribing a matriarchal character to the great town-civilisations of ancient Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Syria. This view, as also the matriarchal character of the earlier phases in ancient Egypt² has been meanwhile generally accepted by practically all ethnologists and archæologists.³

Robertson-Smith successfully proved in 1885 that a similar matriarchal system of a highly advanced stage left its traces in the pre-Islamic civilisation of the Arabs.⁴ Schmidt-Koppers completed the picture of the spreading of this highly advanced matriarchal civilisation in 1924,⁵ according to the then known facts. They connected the matriarchal cultures of the ancient Near East and of ancient Egypt with the survivals and residue of what is supposed to have been a similar culture in pre-Islamic Arabia. Here especially the Himyarites, or in modern East Africa, the Hamitic peoples and the Tuareg (Tamasheg) and Berbers of North-west Africa, show mother-right-remnants. These cultures are supposed to go back to the same source as the matriarchal *Dorfkulturen* in the neolithic period, which, together with the megalithic cultures of North Africa, influenced the development of Western Europe in the later stone-age.⁶

Schmidt and Koppers thus came to the conclusion that a certain higher form of an advanced mother-rights-civilisation must have spread over the then civilized world in the Mediterranean basin.⁷ It is interesting that already in 1924, at a time when the excavations of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were not yet known to them, they held that this important culture-circle must have sprung from Indian soil!

The excavations of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and their systematisation enabled Marshall, as we have already seen, to go into the details of the question. His conclusions are principally the same as those of Schmidt-Koppers, though they naturally are of far greater importance as they are supported by the valid facts and concrete results of the new excavations. Marshall's summary of the subject may be repeated here in his own words:—

“ The Indus culture corresponds in its general features with the

1. Bachofen, Johann Jacob: *Das Mutterrecht*, Basle 1897, where he cited the report of Varro, *De Civitate Dei*, LXVIII. c. 9. as preserved by Augustine.

2. See among many others M. & M. Vaerting: *The Dominant Sex*.

3. Schmidt-Koppers: *Völker und Kulturen*, specially pp. 262-264.

4. Robertson-Smith: *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, London 1885.

5. *Völker und Kulturen*.

6. Menghin: *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* chapter *Dorfkulturen*. Compare also the mother-right-remnants of the Iberians and Kantabrians of ancient Spain and their modern representatives, the Basques!

7. op. cit., specially p. 262, seq.

Chalkolithic cultures of Western Asia and Egypt. In other respects however it was peculiar to Sind and the Punjab. . . ."¹

Apart from the close affinity between Indus- and West-Asiatic-cultures in architecture and material civilisation, which, according to Marshall, is beyond doubt, he also discusses the probable similarities between the religions of the old Semitic-, Egyptian- and West-Asiatic-cultures with the typically Indian Saktism, which can be proved to have been practised in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. In this connection he mentions Tanit and her son in Punic Africa, Isis with Horus in Egypt, Ashtarot with Tammuz (Adonis) in Phœnicia, Kybele with Attis in Asia Minor, Rhea with young Zeus in Greece, and finally comes to the conclusion that :

" . . . similar conditions of society which are thought to have prevailed in the pre-Aryan age in India as well as in the Near East . . . " are proved to have existed also in the religious sphere.² Marshall here again summarizes : " What has only been revealed by the discoveries of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa is that in the Chalkolithic age India and Western Asia were closely united by common bonds of *civilisation*. "³

Moreover Marshall finds even similarities between the *racial* types of the Semitic and other peoples of the Near East and the probably Dravidian inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, when he mentions :

" . . . Three markedly dolichocranial skulls which show a close affinity on the one hand with certain skulls from Kish, Al 'Ubaid and Ur in Mesopotamia and on the other hand with skulls of the ancient cemetery at Adittanalur in the Madras Presidency as well as with characteristic skulls of the Veddahs of Ceylon. The second or Mediterranean type of skulls . . . is also dolichocranial . . . Of the third or Mongolian branch of the Alpine stock there is only one example. "⁴

Marshall cites in support of his theory Sir Leonard Woolley who also states that, judging by their physical type, the Sumerians " were . . . in appearance *not unlike the modern Arab*." Finally Marshall considers it possible, if not probable, that the Sumerians were the forefathers likewise of the modern Arabs and of the Dravida-speaking Indians.⁵

Similarly A.S. Thyagaraja seems to agree with R. S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar and Clemens Schoener-Partenkirchen, who believe the Dravidians to have been akin to the Sumerians, predecessors of the Aryans in Mesopotamia.⁶

The complicated question of the racial affinities between the forefathers of the Arabs and of the Dravidians can of course not be regarded

1. Marshall op. cit. p. vi., Preface.

2. Marshall op. cit. p. 58/I.

3. As above sub 2.

4. op. cit. p. 107/I.

5. op. cit. p. 110/I.

6. Quart. Journ. of the Mythic Society, Bangalore. Oct. 1932, p. 222 seq.

as solved now. Still it remains a fact that the opinion of authorities in this matter rather speaks for than against the probability of this relationship, which was already suggested, as we have seen above, by the affinities between the respective cultures of both the ethnic groups.

In the same direction may point the simple style which Marshall found to be characteristic of the architecture of Mohenjo-daro which readily recalls to mind the grand but at the same time very simple style of the early Arab architecture. This early Arab style again continued the old Semitic tradition, as represented in the excavations of Ur and Lagash in particular and of old Mesopotamia in general.

These discoveries, facts and investigations, make it at least probable that close coherencies have been existing between the pre-Aryan cultures of India and the old Semitic ones in the Near East, as well as between the peoples who created and worked out the two civilisations.

I believe I have proved that the Dravidian peoples, whom I have called the Nayar-group¹ of Kerala may be considered as modern representatives of this third stage of the pre-Aryan mother-rights-civilisation, the archaeological remnants of which are preserved in the excavations of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.

If that is so, the relationship existing between the pre-Aryan cultures of India and the Indus-civilisation must have been a similar to that which connected the *older Arab cultures*—(as specially represented by the town-civilisation of Southern Arabia in general and of Hadramaut in particular) with the pre-historic Mesopotamian civilisations of the Chalcolithic age. This assumption is, as Marshall's authority shows, strengthened by discoveries both in the Indus Valley and in Western Asia. It seems further strengthened by the actual similarities, as existing between the remnants of (a) the third stage of the pre-Aryan mother-rights-civilisation in India, as represented by the aforesaid "Nayar-group," and (b) the remnants and survivals of the *old Arab, partly matriarchal civilisation in the Near East*.²

We do not know much about the pre-Islamic civilisation in Arabia from direct sources. Survivals still lingering among the Bedus and more among the townsmen of Southern Arabia are not yet sufficiently explored. They ought to be studied from our particular point of view. Such a comparative study, both of the surviving remnants of pre-Aryan cultures in Southern India and of the old Arabic cultures in Southern Arabia, may still bring forward many important facts. A thorough archaeological exploration in both the countries, as also the analysis of all direct sources and written records still available will, with all probability, strengthen the theory of cultural relations between the old civilisations on the shores

1. *Mutterrecht in Vorderindien*.

2. The old traditional connection between KERALA and the Islamic culture, as indicated by the conversion of King CHERUMAN PERUMAL to Islam and by the old history of the MAPILLAS (Moplahs) seems also to point in this direction.

of the Indian Ocean. Finally the correct interpretation of the direct sources and the written records in the light of our theory and of the folklore and mythology in both the countries, in Kerala and Southern India, as well as in Southern Arabia, should bring forward many more interesting facts. Such a comparative study moreover will not only throw light on the question of affinities between pre-Aryan cultures in India and the old Arabic cultures in the Near East, but also on the significance and meaning of the cultural development of these two very important and very old civilisations themselves. It will thus help us to understand that these two civilisations have been the cultural background on which Buddhism and Islam, mediæval India and Arabia have flourished. If this hypothesis is once proved by thorough investigations, the conclusion may be suggested that the pre-Aryan cultural forces, still living in modern India and the Islamic culture, these two heirs of the same cultural background, may possibly become united again, like two cousins of the same family who have since long forgotten that they are of common descent, but who, after a long period of mutual misunderstanding, find out again that their ancestors were the same.

This article, far from aiming even at an exhaustive *explanation* of the complicated problem under discussion, can of course not venture to attempt the solution of the many questions which are, naturally, still before us. This article on the contrary is merely meant to draw attention to the problem itself and its importance, an importance from the scientific and theoretical, as well as from the cultural and practical points of view.

III

THE FOLLOWING summary of our results therefore should not be taken as something final, but as the basis on which further investigations in the fields of ethnology, archæology and folklore could be carried out, thus serving both theoretical science and the requirements of national history.

1. The character, type and style of the present Indian civilisation minus the caste-system, predominance of the Brahmins and humble position of women,¹ are mainly of pre-Aryan origin.

2. The last (and most highly advanced) stage of the three Indian matriarchal civilisations is represented by the so-called "Nayar-group" and probably sprang from the Indus-civilisation, as represented by the excavations of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.

3. The old Arabic, partly also matriarchal civilisations, of the Near East in general and of Southern Arabia in particular, were probably in the same way related to the Mesopotamian civilisations of the Chalcolithic age, as the pre-Aryan cultures of the Dravidians to the Indus-civilisation.

1. Including all the consequences of this position, such as celibacy of widows, prohibition of divorce, seclusion of women, child-marriage, hypergamy, *sati*, etc., etc.

4. The Indus- and the Mesopotamian civilisations of the Chalcolithic age have been probably united by common bonds of cultural, racial and economic coherencies. Survivals and indications of this relationship are still traceable in the culture of the Dravidian peoples (especially the "Nayar-group") who show certain cultural parallels to Arab civilisation not only of the pre-Islamic period, but even of to-day. This holds good more of the southern than of the northern part of Arabia.

5. Islam and the Islamic religio-social system, its democratic principles and its equal rights for both the sexes, appears under the aforesaid aspects and deliberations to be :

(a) something absolutely not foreign to the *genius loci* of India and

(b) a natural outcome of the pre-historic premises, still traceable in the cultural development of India.

6. It will be—in *sha' Allah*—the object of a further article, to show the parallels, coherencies and affinities existing between Islam and the manifold religio-social movements in India which have aimed at abolition of caste-divisions, at a democratic social unity and at the re-institution of the former high position of Indian womanhood. Buddhism can be said to have been the most prominent among these movements, before the advent of Islam.

7. A thorough comparative study of these relationships will doubtlessly further the knowledge of the world's history and general scientific progress, but it will also strengthen the knowledge of our own cultural development in pre-historic, historic and present periods.

BARON ÔMAR ROLF EHRENFELS.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Anthropos —Anthropos, Revue Internationale d'Ethnology Et De Linguistique. St. Gabriel-Möding bei Wien, Oesterreich.
- Cens. I —Census of India. (Reports.)
- JAnSBö. —Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
- JAsBe. —Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- MACi. —Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Wien.
- MAN. —Man, A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science, London.
- MANIND. —Man in India, Ranchi.

A BAGHDAD COOKERY-BOOK

[TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC]

CHAPTER III—FRIED AND DRY¹ DISHES

OF FRIED dishes, some are sour, some salt, and some sweet. In this chapter all three kinds are mentioned.

'ANBARĪYA.²—Slice the meat, then cut it up with a large knife, and pound fine again in a mortar. Boil sumach in water, with a little salt and pieces of white bread pulp. Dry by hand, squeezing out the water and straining : in this stew the minced meat. Take a portion of this, and make into cabobs with the seasonings. When cooked, and the broth is all absorbed, serve dry in a dish, sprinkling with seasonings, coriander, cummin, pepper, mastic and cinnamon, all brayed fine. Add a little dry mint, and mix all together. Now dissolve fresh tail in a stone frying-pan, throwing out the sediment : take the meat, and throw it into the frying-pan to fry in the oil. Keep stirring until cooked, so as not to be dry or parched. Garnish with poached eggs. Leave to settle over a gentle fire. Spray with a little rose-water, and wipe the sides of the pan with a clean rag : then remove.

MISHMISHĪYA.³—Dissolve the tail and throw out the sediment. Cut fat meat small, then leave in the dissolved tail, stirring until browned. Cover with water, and add a little salt and cinnamon-bark. Then take red meat, chop fine, and make into cabobs the shape of apricots, placing in the middle of each a peeled sweet almond. When the meat has boiled in the water, and the scum has been skimmed off, drop in these cabobs, adding dry coriander, cummin, mastic, cinnamon and ginger all ground fine. When the liquid has all evaporated and only the oils remain, sprinkle with a trifle of vinegar to form a little broth. Then grind sweet almonds fine, mix with water, colour with saffron and add to the saucepan to taste as required. Sprinkle rose-water over the saucepan : wipe the sides with a clean rag. Leave over the fire an hour to settle : then remove.

SAFARJALĪYA.⁴—Cut fat meat into small, fine slices : dissolve fresh tail, and throw out the sediment. Put in the meat, adding a

1. Dozy (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 673) states that he does not know the exact meaning of *nāshif* as applied to dishes: from what follows, it would seem that it designates those recipes in which the broth is allowed to evaporate.

2. From 'anbar=amber: the same name designates "liqueur brandy," see Kazimirsky s.v.

3. See I. C. Jan. No. p. 40 n. 3.

4. From *safarjal*=quince.

dirham of salt, two *dirhams* of dry coriander, brayed fine, and cinnamon-bark, and a little mastic. Cover with water. When nearly cooked, put in cabobs of meat minced with seasonings. When the meat has cooked in its broth, take large, ripe, bitter quince, peel, pip, and cut into middle-sized pieces, then throw on top of the meat to cook with it. Take another portion of quince, pound, and extract the juice in a stone mortar by hand, squeezing well : strain, and pour into the saucepan. Sprinkle in about five *dirhams* of wine-vinegar. Take about ten *dirhams* of sweet almonds, chop up fine, soak in water, and add. Colour with a little saffron. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, then leave over a slow fire an hour to settle, and remove.

NĀRANJIYA.¹—Cut up fat meat small : dissolve the tail, and put the meat into the saucepan, adding about a *dirham* of salt and dry coriander, and stir until browned. Then cover with water, boil, and skim off the scum. Throw in fine-ground pepper, mastic, cinnamon-bark and ginger. Cut up onion and peeled carrot into small pieces, and throw in. Take red meat, mince fine, putting in a little fresh tail and the usual seasonings, and make into cabobs the size of oranges, then drop into the saucepan. When set firm, take the yolks of eggs with a little saffron, and beat well : then remove the cabobs, and while still hot dip them into the egg and cover them with it, and put them back into the saucepan for an hour. After this time, take them out and dip them into the egg again : do this thrice. When almost cooked, take a little orange juice and lemon juice and sprinkle on the meat in the pan. Peel and chop up ten *dirhams* of sweet almonds, soak in water, and throw into the pot. Rub over the saucepan some sprigs of dry mint. Wipe the sides with a clean rag, and leave over a slow fire an hour to settle : then spray with rose-water, and remove.

FĀKHTIYA.²—Cut fat red meat into small slices and fry lightly in tail as described above : then cover with water, and boil, removing the scum. Make middling cabobs of red meat minced fine, and drop into the saucepan. Throw in some small pieces of onion, a little salt, cummin, coriander, pepper, mastic and cinnamon, all brayed fine. When almost cooked, take Persian milk and a little strained sumach-juice, mix together, and pour into the saucepan. Take peeled walnuts, chop fine, mix with sumach-juice, and throw into the pot. Rub over the pan some sprigs of dry mint, and leave over the fire an hour to settle : then spray with a little rose-water, wipe the sides with a clean rag, and remove.

MUDAQQAQĀT ḤĀMIDA.³—Cut red meat into thin slices, then mince fine, adding seasonings, coriander, pepper, cinnamon and mastic, together with chick-peas and a little onion. Make into cabobs

1. See above, p. 20, n. 4.

2. From *fākhta* = ring-dove.

3. Literally, " bitter mince."

smaller than oranges. Melt fresh tail, and throw in the cabobs, stirring until browned : then cover with water. Cut up two or three onions and add. When cooked, remove the oils, and sprinkle on top a little lemon or grape-juice, or a mixture of both, or sumach-juice, or pomegranate-juice. Rub over the saucepan some sprigs of dry mint, and throw in a little mastic, pepper and cinnamon. If desired, sprinkle in a little wine-vinegar, and colour with saffron. Spray the saucepan with a little rose-water, and wipe the sides with a clean rag. Leave over the fire an hour : then remove.

BŪRĀN.¹—Take egg-plant, and boil lightly in water and salt, then take out and dry for an hour. Fry this in fresh sesame-oil until cooked : peel, put into a dish or a large cup, and beat well with a ladle, until it becomes like *kabīṣ*.² Add a little salt and dry coriander. Take some Persian milk, mix in garlic, pour over the egg-plant, and mix together well. Take red meat, mince fine, make into small cabobs, and melting fresh tail, throw the meat into it, stirring until browned. Then cover with water, and stew until the water has evaporated and only the oils remain. Pour on top of this the egg-plant, sprinkle with fine-ground cummin and cinnamon, and serve.

SHĪRĀZĪYA.³—Cut up meat small, and fry lightly in melted tail as usual : then cover with water, and boil until cooked. When done, sprinkle with cummin, coriander, cinnamon and salt. When the water has all evaporated, and the oils have been removed, throw in curds as required, stirring lightly. Leave to settle over the fire. Sprinkle with fine-brayed, cummin and cinnamon : then remove.

SIMPLE AND SWEET DISHES

BŪRĀNĪYA.⁴—Cut up fat meat small : melt tail and throw out sediment, then place the meat in it together with a little salt and ground dry coriander, and fry lightly until browned and fragrant. Then cover with water, adding green coriander leaves and cinnamon-bark : when boiling, skim off the scum. When little liquor is left, throw in a few halved onions, a *dirham* of salt, and two *dirhams* of dry coriander, cummin, cinnamon, pepper and mastic, all ground fine. Mince red meat as described above and make into light cabobs, then add to the pot. Take egg-plant, cut off the stalks, and prick with a knife : then fry in fresh sesame-oil, or melted tail, together with whole onions. When the meat is cooked, a little murri may be added if desired. Colour with a pinch of saffron. Put the fried egg-plant in layers on top of the meat

1. See *I. C. Jan.* No. p. 23, n. 4.

2. See below p. 199.

3. From *shīrāz*—dried curds

4. According to Chelebi, on the authority of the *Qāmūs*, so-called after al-Ma'mūn's wife Būrān bint al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl : it seems more likely, however, that the name is derived from *būrān*, see p. 23.

in the pan, sprinkle fine-brayed dry coriander and cinnamon, and spray with a little rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave over the fire an hour to settle : then remove.

BAŞALIYA.¹—Cut fat meat into small, thin slices : melt fresh tail, and throw away the sediment. Put the meat into the oil, and stir until browned : then cover with water, adding a little salt, green coriander leaves, and cinnamon-bark. Boil, and remove the scum. When little liquor is left, take fresh white onions, peel, cut up firmly, wash in salt and water, and throw into the saucepan : let there be half as much onions as meat. Add fine-ground cummin, coriander, pepper, mastic and cinnamon. Some colour with a little saffron. If desired bitter pour in about ten *dirhams* of lemon-juice or vinegar. Leave to settle over the fire an hour : wipe the sides of the pan, and remove.

RAIḤĀNIYA.²—Cut red meat into thin slices, and fry lightly in melted tail until browned : then cover with water. When boiling, skim, then add a little salt, and fine-brayed dry coriander, cummin, pepper, mastic and cinnamon. Mince red meat with seasonings and make into light cabobs, and throw into the pan. Now take two bundles of fresh spinach, cut off the roots, chop up small with a knife, and grind lightly in a stone mortar, then throw into the pot. When cooked and dry add some garlic, peeled and ground, with a little salt and cummin. Stir, and leave to settle over the fire an hour. Sprinkle with dry coriander and cinnamon brayed fine, and remove.

NUJŪMIYA.³—Fry meat in its own oil with the usual seasonings, adding a handful of peeled chick-peas. When cooked, garnish with a layer of poached eggs, and sprinkle with seasonings, fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon. Leave over the fire an hour to settle : then remove.

NIRJISIYA.⁴—Cut up fat meat small : melt fresh tail, and throw the meat into the oil, adding a little salt and fine-brayed dry coriander, stirring. When browned, cover with water, throw in a handful of peeled chick-peas, boil, and skim. Now take fresh onions cut up small, green coriander leaves, and carrots, scraped, cored, and then scraped into fine shreds. Mince red meat with seasonings and make into small cabobs : then throw into the saucepan, adding also the carrot and onion, and stir. Add seasonings, two *dirhams* of coriander, cummin, mastic and cinnamon brayed fine. If desired, sprinkle with a little murri. Garnish with poached eggs, and sprinkle with fine-brayed cinnamon. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave over the fire an hour to settle : then remove.

MANBŪSHA.⁵—Take red meat and mince fine, removing the

1. From *baṣal* = onion.

2. From *raiḥān* = aromatic herb, esp. sweet basil.

3. From *nujūm* = stars, presumably referring to the eggs.

4. From *nirgis* = narcissus.

5. Literally, "uprooted."

veins and gristle : then half-boil in water with a little salt, and dry. Melt fresh tail, throw the meat into the oil, and stir until browned : then cover with water, adding a little salt, dry coriander, and green coriander leaves. Take a handful of peeled halved chick-peas, and throw in on top of the meat. Heat until cooked, so that the liquor evaporates and only the oils remain. Add brayed cummin, pepper, cinnamon and mastic. Garnish with poached eggs, sprinkle with fine-brayed cinnamon, and spray with a little rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave over the fire an hour to settle : then remove.

MADFŪNA.¹—Cut up fat meat small : dissolve tail, and fry the meat lightly in it. Then cover with water, adding a *dirham* of salt, and a *dirham* of fine-milled dry coriander, and cinnamon-bark. When boiling, remove and throw away the scum. Take red meat and mince fine, boil in salt and water, throw in a handful of peeled chick-peas that have been coarsely ground and steeped in water for an hour. Then take large egg-plant, cut off the stalks, remove all the seeds, taking care not to pierce the sides, and stuff with the meat, adding the usual seasonings : lay in the saucepan, having first put in a little chopped onion. Colour the broth with a little saffron. Sprinkle with a *dirham* of fine-brayed dry coriander and cinnamon, and spray with a little rose-water. Wipe the sides of the pot with a clean rag, and leave over a slow fire an hour to settle : then remove.

BŪRĀNĪYA AL-QAR'.²—Cut up fat meat small : melt fresh tail and throw out the sediment, then put the meat into the oil and lightly fry until browned. Then cover with lukewarm water and a *dirham* of salt, and add green coriander leaves and cinnamon-bark. When boiling remove the scum. Now cut up onion as required, wash in warm salt and water, and throw into the saucepan. Take gourd, remove the pith and pips, and cut small into middling pieces : remove the outer skin, and throw into the pot. Make cabobs of meat minced fine with seasonings, and throw also into the saucepan. Colour the broth with saffron. Add sufficient salt, and well-brayed cummin, dry coriander, pepper, mastic and ginger. Sprinkle with a little fine-brayed cinnamon, and spray with a trifle of rose-water. Wipe the sides of the pan with a clean rag, and leave over a slow fire an hour to settle : then remove. If desired sour, omit the saffron, and sprinkle with a *dirham* of lemon-juice.

KHUḌAIRĪYA.³—Cut fat meat into small pieces : dissolve the tail, throw out the sediment, and put the meat into the oil, adding a *dirham* of salt and fine-brayed dry coriander. Fry the meat lightly until browned : then cover with water, throwing in small pieces of

1. Literally, "buried."

2. Sc. "gourd *būrāniya*."

3. From *khudair*, diminutive of *khaḍir*=green.

cinnamon-bark and green coriander leaves. Boil for an hour, and skim. Take green beans, remove both pods and skins, and put into hot water for an hour, until no more scum rises : then wash with the hands, and leave an hour to dry. Make light cabobs of fine-minced red meat, and throw into the pot. An hour later, throw in the beans, and stir. When cooked, add fine-brayed cummin, pepper, ginger and mastic, stirring. Garnish with poached eggs : sprinkle with a little fine-brayed cinnamon, and spray with a trifle of rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave over a slow fire an hour to settle : then remove.

RABĪ'ĪYA.¹—Cut up fat meat small : melt tail, and lightly fry the meat in the oil with a little salt and fine-brayed dry coriander. When the meat is browned, cover with water, adding green coriander leaves and lightly-pared cinnamon-bark. Boil, and remove the scum. Drop in cabobs made of red meat minced fine with seasonings, and a handful of chick-peas, soaked and split, as well as a handful of green beans, shelled, skinned and split, and half a handful of raisins. Stir. When cooked, throw in as required salt, and fine-ground cummin, pepper, mastic and ginger. Garnish with poached eggs : spray with a little rose-water, and sprinkle with about a *dirham* of fine-brayed cinnamon. Leave to settle over the fire for an hour : then remove.

MAKHFIYA.²—Cut red meat into thin sliced strips about four fingers long : dissolve tail, and throw out the sediment. Put the meat into the oil, with a *dirham* of salt and fine-milled dry coriander, and fry lightly until browned. Then cover with water, adding green coriander leaves, cinnamon-bark, a handful of peeled chick-peas, and a handful of onion chopped fine. Boil, and remove the scum. Now mince red meat fine, and make into cabobs with seasonings. Take boiled egg, remove the whites, and place the yolks whole into the middle of the cabobs, and place into the saucepan. When almost cooked, throw in fine-ground cummin, pepper, mastic and ginger. Take eggs and beat well : remove the strips of meat, dip them while still hot in the egg, and return them to the pot. Do this twice or thrice, until the slices have a coating of egg, and finally return them to the saucepan. When the liquor has all evaporated, sprinkle with a *dirham* of fine-brayed cinnamon, spray with a little rose-water, and leave to settle over the fire for an hour : then remove.

DINĀRĪYA.³—Cut fat meat into small thin pieces : melt tail, and put the meat into the oil to fry lightly, adding a *dirham* of salt and fine-ground dry coriander. Cover with water, cinnamon-bark and green coriander leaves. Boil, and skim. Throw in pieces of peeled onion.

1. From *rabi'* = spring, spring vegetation.

2. Literally, "hidden."

3. From *dīnār*, the standard gold coin of the Arabs (legal weight 66 grains) : the recipe explains the appellation.

Now take red meat, mince fine with seasonings, and make into cakes like *dīnārs*, and throw them into the saucepan. Take carrots (large ones), chip off the skins, cut into *dīnārs*, and add : take boiled eggs, cut likewise into the shape of *dīnārs*, and throw into the pot. Some, after cutting up the eggs, fry them in sesame-oil before putting them into the saucepan. When cooked, throw in fine-ground mastic, pepper and cummin. Sprinkle with about ten *dirhams* of old murri to which three *dirhams* of vinegar have been added. Drop in half a *dirham* of cinnamon. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag. Leave to settle over the fire for an hour : then remove.

RUTABĪYA.¹—Cut red meat into small, long, thin slices : melt fresh tail, and throw out the sediment, then put the meat into the oil, adding half a *dirham* of salt and the same quantity of fine-brayed dry coriander. Stir until browned. Then cover with lukewarm water, and when boiling, skim. Put in a handful of almonds and pistachios peeled and ground coarsely, and colour with a little saffron. Throw in fine-ground cummin, coriander, cinnamon and mastic, about 2½ *dirhams* in all. Take red meat as required, mince fine, and make into long cabobs placing inside each a peeled sweet almond : put into the saucepan. Take sugarcandy dates, or Medina dates, as required : extract the stone from the bottom with a needle, and put in its place a peeled sweet almond. When the meat is cooked and the liquor all evaporated, so that only the oils remain, garnish with these dates. Sprinkle with about ten *dirhams* of scented sugar, and a *dānaq* of camphor : spray with a little rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave to settle over the fire for an hour : then remove.

MUDAQQAQĀT.SĀDHIJA.²—Cut up fat meat small, and put into the saucepan. Take red meat, cut into thin slices, then mince small with a little tail, a handful of peeled, crushed chick-peas, and a handful of washed rice. Cover the meat in the pan with water, and boil. Throw in cabobs made of the minced meat, and when these are firm, remove them from the pot, together with the meat. Now melt fresh tail, throw out the sediment, and place the meat and cabobs back into the pot, and stir in the oil until browned. Add a little salt, and about two *dirhams* of fine-brayed dry coriander, cummin, pepper, mastic and cinnamon : then cover with water. Throw in cinnamon-bark, and a ring of dry dill. When boiling, take out the dill, and throw in a handful of washed rice, and half a handful of peeled chick-peas. When cooked, take off the flame, and leave over a slow fire an hour to settle. Sprinkle with half a *dirham* of fine-brayed cinnamon. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag : then remove.

KHASHKHĀSHIYA.³—Cut red meat into small slices : melt fresh

1. From *ruṭab*=date.

2. Literally, "plain mince."

3. From *khashkhāsh*=poppy.

tail, and throw the meat in to fry lightly. Drop in half a *dirham*, and the same quantity of brayed dry coriander. Then cover with lukewarm water, boil, and skim. Add fine-chipped cinnamon-bark, and a little fine-ground ginger. Make a broth with $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ratls* of hot water, and add 150 *dirhams* of sugar or honey. When the sugar is dissolved, sprinkle in a handful of poppy-flour. Stir well, until cooked and set. Then throw in 30 *dirhams* of fresh poppy: or, if this be not procurable, of dry poppy soaked and ground. Stir until well mixed. Colour with saffron, and spray with a little rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave to settle over a slow fire for an hour: then remove.

UNNĀBIYA.¹—Slice red meat into small, thin pieces: melt fresh tail, and remove the sediment. Put the meat into the oil to fry lightly, adding half a *dirham* of salt, and a like quantity of fine-brayed dry coriander. Cover with lukewarm water. Then take red meat, mince fine, removing the veins and gristle, and throw in a little of the usual seasonings. Make into cabobs the shape of jujube-fruits, putting into each a peeled pistachio, and throw into the saucepan. When half-boiled, make a thick mixture of saffron and rose-water: take out the cabobs and put them into this, then, after they are coloured, return them to the pot. When almost cooked, drop in a *dirham* of fine-brayed cinnamon and ginger, and sprinkle with about ten *dirhams* of good vinegar. Add 50 *dirhams* of sugar. Then throw in a handful of fresh jujube-fruits, and half a handful of peeled sweet almonds. Colour with saffron, and spray with a little rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave to settle over the heat of the fire for an hour: then remove.

FĀLŪDHAIYA.²—Cut red meat into small, long pieces: melt tail, and throw the meat into it, frying it gently with a *dirham* of salt and dry coriander. Then cover with water, and a piece of cinnamon. Cook until done, and only the meat remains, browned but not parched. Then throw in ground sugar and honey as required, colouring with saffron: add a handful of peeled sweet almonds, and keep stirring until set. If desired to set very firm, throw in for every two *ratls* of sugar or honey an *ūqīya* or less of starch soaked in water. Leave to settle over the fire an hour. Cover with fried white *sanbūsaj*³ stuffed with almonds and sugar. Spray the saucepan with a little rose-water, and wipe the sides with a clean rag: then remove.

BUNDUQIYA.⁴—Slice red meat into small pieces: melt tail, put the red meat into the oil, adding half a *dirham* of salt and a like quantity of fine-brayed dry coriander, and stir until juicy. Then cover

1. From *unnāb*=jujube-fruit.

2. From *fālūdhaj*, for which see below.

3. See *I. C. Jan.* No. p. 25, and below p. 201.

4. From *bunduq*=hazel-nut.

with hot water, adding green coriander leaves and a handful of chick-peas, peeled and pounded. Then take a handful of boiled chick-peas, and pound in the mortar. Mince red meat with seasonings, and make into cabobs, placing inside each a little of the pounded chick-peas. Make the cabobs the size of hazel-nuts, and throw them into the saucepan. When almost cooked, throw in about two *dirhams* of fine-brayed coriander, cummin, pepper and cinnamon. Separate the yolks from the whites of eggs, and garnish with these. Spray with a little rose-water. Wipe the sides of the saucepan with a clean rag, and leave to settle over the fire for an hour : then remove.

MUQARRAŞA.¹—Take red meat and cut into slices, then mince fine with the usual seasonings and a little garlic. Melt fresh tail, throwing out the sediment : make the meat into cakes, and throw them into the oil to brown. Then cover with water, and boil. When cooked, and the water has all evaporated, so that only the oils remain, sprinkle with a little fine-ground cummin, coriander and cinnamon. Leave to settle over the fire for an hour : then remove.

FUSTAQIYA.²—Take the breasts of chickens, and half-boil in water with a little salt. Drain off the water, and take the flesh off the bones, pulling it into threads : then put back into the saucepan, covering with water. Take peeled pistachios as required, and pound in the mortar : put into the saucepan, and stir, boiling. When almost cooked, throw in as much sugar as the pistachios. Keep stirring until set : then remove.

KURDÎYA.³—Take a suckling lamb, scald off the fleece, wash clean, quarter, and boil in water with a little salt and cinnamon-bark. When cooked, take out of the saucepan and dry. Take fresh sesame-oil and put into a stone or tinned copper frying-pan : when the oil is boiling, drop into it a ladleful of the water in which the lamb has been boiled. Now strip the meat off the bones, shred, and put into the frying-pan, stirring continuously until juicy. Sprinkle with fine-brayed dry coriander, cummin, pepper and cinnamon. Leave over a slow fire, covering the lid, to settle for an hour : then remove.

QALIYA AL-SHIWĀ'.⁴—Take cold roast of yesterday and cut into small pieces. Take fresh sesame-oil, put into the frying-pan, and boil : then add the roast, stirring. When its fat is melted, throw in fine-brayed coriander, cummin and cinnamon. If desired sour, sprinkle with a little vinegar coloured with saffron, and garnish with poached eggs : instead of vinegar, lemon-juice may be used, only in that case without eggs. Leave over a gentle fire an hour to settle : then remove.

1. Sc. "made into cakes."

2. From *fustaq*=pistachio.

3. Presumably=Kurdish.

4. Literally, "fried roast."

CHICKEN DISHES

BOIL the chicken, then quarter it. Fry lightly in fresh sesame-oil, with dry coriander, mastic and cinnamon. If desired sour, after frying make a broth either with sumach-juice, or pomegranate-seeds, or lemon-juice, or grape-juice, or the two last mixed, or vinegar and sugar as for *zīrbāj*.¹ Peel sweet almonds, grind small, mix with water, and throw into the saucepan. Spray with rose-water, and rub over the pan some sprigs of dry mint. If not made *à la zīrbāj*, omit mint. If made *à la maşūs*,² fry lightly in sesame-oil after boiling, adding celery and vinegar coloured with saffron: some garnish with poached eggs. If made *à la mamqūr*,³ after frying lightly throw on vinegar and murri mixed in equal parts, with a little of the boiling-water. If made *à la muṭajjan*,⁴ throw on a little of the boiling-water and some old murri: when removed from the fire, squeeze on it fresh lemon-juice, but first fry in sesame-oil until browned. If made *maqlū*,⁵ fry in sesame-oil, throw on a little of the boiling-water, and garnish with poached eggs. If made *à la isfidbāj*,⁶ boil the chicken with mastic, cinnamon and salt: then grind small sweet almonds, mix with water, and add, together with a handful of chick-peas, peeled and soaked, and a ring of dill, garnishing with poached eggs. If made *à la khashkhāshīya*⁷ or *à la fālūdḥajīya*,⁸ fry lightly in sesame-oil, then return the boiling-water, and proceed as for making the said dishes. If made *à la ḥalawīya*,⁹ fry lightly in sesame-oil as described above, then put back the boiling-water, add the ingredients of *ḥalwa*, and proceed as described in the recipe. Chicken dishes should not be without dry coriander, but never put onion or garlic into them. This is all that needs to be observed in making chicken dishes.

CHAPTER IV—HARĪSA¹⁰ AND BAKED DISHES

HARĪSA.—Take 6 *raṭls* of fat meat, and cut into long strips: throw into the saucepan, and cover with water. Heat until almost cooked: then take out, strip the meat from the bone, shred, and put back into the saucepan. Take good, clean wheat, shell, clean, grind, and wash: weigh out 4 *raṭls*, and put into the pot. Keep a steady fire going until the first quarter of the night is gone, stirring all the time: then leave over a good fire. Put in quartered chicken with cinnamon-bark, and leave until midnight: then beat well until set in a smooth paste—set hard it is spoilt—adding salt to taste. If water is needed, put in hot water. Leave until dawn: then stir again, and remove. Melt fresh tail, and pour this over

1. See *I. C. Jan.* No. p. 36.

2. *Ibid* p. 41.

3. *Ibid* p. 40.

4. See above p. 200.

5. Sc. "fried."

6. See *I. C. Jan.* No. p. 46.

7. See above p. 195.

8. See above p. 196.

9. See *I. C. Jan.* No. p. 38.

10. *Ibid* p. 27.

when ladling out. Sprinkle with cummin and cinnamon ground fine separately. Serve with old murri and fresh lemon-juice. It is better when made in an oven than over an open fire.

HARISA AL-ARUZ¹ (also called 'URSIYA).²—Cut fat meat into long strips, and proceed as in the preceding recipe, only instead of wheat, use coarse-ground rice. When this is added to the meat, proceed as described above. In ladling out, cover with molten chicken-fat, and sprinkle with sugar.

TANNŪRIYA.³—(This is best when made with lamb⁴ or veal). Take 5 *ratls* of meat, and cut into middling pieces : wash, and throw into the saucepan. Cover with water, add a little salt and cinnamon-bark, and boil, skimming. Throw in dry coriander. Take 2 *ratls* of wheat, shelled, cleaned and ground : wash, and throw into the pot, adding a few sprigs of dill, and salt to taste. Cover. Fill with water, leaving a space of four fingers, and put into the oven until the following morning. Then remove : place under it bread-crumbs, sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon, and serve.

KABĪS.⁵—Cut fat meat into middling pieces, wash, and throw into the saucepan, with a handful of chick-peas, a handful of shelled wheat, salt to taste, cinnamon-bark, dry coriander, cummin, mastic, and sprigs of dill. Let there be plenty of water. Add with the meat the fore and hind legs of a yearling lamb. Put the pot into the oven, and leave there from nightfall until morning. Then remove, place on bread-crumbs, sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon, and serve.

SUKHTŪR⁶ (also called **KIBĀ**). —⁷ Cut up fat meat small. Take fine sheep's tripe, wash with hot water and soap, then with hot water and citron leaves, then with salt and water, until quite clean. Smear inside and out with saffron and rose-water. Mince red meat with seasonings and make into light cabobs, then throw into hot water to set, remove, and place on top of the cut meat. Take rice, twice as much as the meat, and about a quarter as much chick-peas, wash several times, and mix with the aforesaid meat : throw in as required salt and fine-scraped cinnamon-bark. Colour all with saffron : sprinkle with fine-brayed dry coriander, cummin, mastic, pepper, cinnamon and ginger. Some add a chicken, plucked and quartered. Take the tripe and cut into middling pieces, and stuff with the meat, joining together and sewing up with cotton, or skewering with dry sticks. Lay into the pot, covering with water, and add salt and the aforesaid seasonings : colour the water again with a little saffron. Add some thin slices of fat meat. After boiling, add more water as required, then

1. Sc. "rice *harisa*."

2. Presumably vocalized thus, sc. "marriage feast."

3. From *tannūr*=oven.

4. The printed text has the misprint *jamal* [C].

5. Sc. "stuffed."

6. From the Persian *sukhtū*, "sheep's tripe stuffed with minced meat and rice" (Steingass, s.v.).

7. The Persian *kībā*, "a sheep or goat's ventricle stuffed with minced meat and rice" (Steingass, s.v.) : not, as Father Anastase-Marie suggests [C], from the Arabic *qibba*.

put into the oven, and cover. Leave from nightfall until morning : then remove, and serve. If it is desired to make without tripe, put the meat, rice and chick-peas into a pot with a narrow top, and leave in the oven, covered with water to a depth of four fingers. When boiling, stir. Cover the pot, and leave in the oven until morning : then remove.

ṬAFSHĪL.¹—Cut fat meat into long pieces, put into the saucepan, cover with water, and boil, skimming. Take egg-plant, and remove the black skin. Cut up a little onion and large Nabatean leeks. If egg-plant is not in season, use carrot instead, scraped and cut into long pieces. Add fresh celery as required, and some sprigs of fresh mint. Add as much vinegar as there is water. Throw in mastic, coriander, cinnamon, pepper and ginger, all brayed fine with the exception of the cinnamon. Colour with saffron. Put into the oven, cover, and leave until dawn : then remove.

AKĀRI.²—Take a yearling lamb, wash clean, and put into the saucepan with enough water to cover it thrice. Throw in a handful of peeled chick-peas, salt to taste, fine-ground mastic, dry coriander and cummin, and pieces of cinnamon-bark. Leave the pot in the oven from nightfall until morning, covered : then remove, and serve.

'ADAS TANNŪRĪ.³—Cut fat meat into long pieces, and place in the saucepan, throwing in washed beet. Take lentils, clean, wash, and add to the pot. Fill with water, leaving a space of four fingers, and put in the oven, covered, until morning : then remove. Throw on coriander and cummin, together with a little chopped garlic. Sprinkle with fine-brayed cinnamon, and serve with fresh lemon-juice, or, if not in season, with salted lemon.

SIKBĀJ TANNŪRĪ.⁴—Cut up the meat and throw it into the saucepan, adding seasonings and herbs. Dissolve date-honey in vinegar, and colour all with saffron. Add salt to taste. Put into the oven, cover, and leave from nightfall until morning : then remove.

CHAPTER V—FRIED, SOUSED AND TURNED DISHES, PIE, ETC.

MUṬAJJAN.⁵—Take suckling kid, skin, and wash well : then quarter, and boil in vinegar. After scalding, dry, and fry in fresh sesame-oil. Add fine-brayed dry coriander, cummin and cinnamon. When browned, take out of the frying-pan, and put into old murri. Sprinkle with fine-brayed coriander and cinnamon. Squeeze over it the juice of fresh lemon, and remove.

1. "Sorte de soupe de lentilles" (Kazimirski) ; "decoctum, pec. lentium" (Freytag) : Dozy quotes a vocalization *ṭifshil*, and a quotation to a similar effect. The use of egg-plant in this recipe is therefore peculiar. Chelebi's note on the name is based on a misconception : the word *ṭafaishal* ["iusculi species" Freytag] is quite different.

2. Sc. "trotters."

3. Literally, "lentils in the oven."

4. Sc. "sikbāj (see I. C. Jan. No. p. 34) in the oven."

5. Sc. "fried in a *ṭājīn*."

MUṬAJJAN NĀSHIF.¹—Cut a kid into quarters, and scald in vinegar : then fry in sesame-oil. Sprinkle with fine-brayed cummin and cinnamon. If desired plain, scald in water, fry in sesame-oil, and sprinkle with the aforesaid seasonings.

MAṢŪṢ.²—Take a suckling kid and skin, cut into quarters, and half boil in water. Refine³ fresh sesame-oil in the saucepan. Strip off celery-leaves, and throw them into the oil. When the kid is juicy,⁴ place it in the saucepan, covering it with good vinegar. Colour with saffron, and leave over the fire to settle and finish cooking. Add a little mastic : then remove.

MAQLŪBA.⁵—Take and slice red meat, then chop with a large knife. Put into the mortar, and pound as small as possible. Take fresh sumach, boil in water, wring out, and strain. Into this place the minced meat, and boil until cooked, so that it has absorbed all the sumach-water, though covered to twice its depth : then remove from the saucepan, and spray with a little lemon-juice. Lay out to dry. Then sprinkle with fine-ground seasonings, dry coriander, cummin, pepper and cinnamon, and rub over it a few sprigs of dry mint. Take walnuts, grind coarse, and add : break eggs and throw in, mixing well. Make into cakes, and fry in fresh sesame-oil, in a fine iron or copper frying-pan. When one side is cooked, turn over on to the other side : then remove.

SANBŪSAJ.⁶—Take meat as described in the preceding recipe. Make thin bread and cut up, then stuff with the aforesaid meat after cutting it into strips : make them triangular, and fasten down with a little dough. Put into sesame-oil : then remove. The variety called *mukallal*⁷ is stuffed, instead of with meat, with sugar and almonds ground fine and made into a dough with rose-water, or with the sweet called *Ṣābūniya*,⁸ and then fried in sesame-oil. Some take it out of the sesame-oil and put it into syrup, remove from the syrup, and leave it in fine-ground scented sugar, with musk and camphor if desired.

MAQLŪBA AL-SHIWĀ'.⁹—Take cold roast, and cut up fine with a knife, adding the usual seasonings, together with walnuts : then proceed as for *maqlūba*, with eggs. If desired sour, sprinkle with a little lemon-juice.

MUFARRAKA.¹⁰—Take chickens' livers and crops, wash, and boil in water with a little salt : then take out, and cut up small. Mix with yolks of eggs, adding the usual seasonings as required : then fry in a frying-pan

1. Literally, "dry fry."

2. The verb means, "to suck in."

3. By boiling in water, and skimming [C].

4. Sc. after frying in the oil.

5. Literally, "turned."

6. See I. C. Jan. No. p. 25: from the Persian *sanbūsa*, which designates "anything triangular" (Steingass).

7. Literally, "crowned."

8. See below, p. 210.

9. Literally, "turn of roast."

10. Literally, "rubbed": cf. *farik* I. C. Jan. No. p. 46. n. 1.

in sesame-oil, stirring all the time. If desired sour, sprinkle with a little pure lemon-juice. If desired plain, use neither lemon-juice nor egg.

BAZMĀWARD.¹—Take hot roast which has been allowed to cool, cut up with leaves of mint, a little wine-vinegar, salted lemon, and walnuts, and spray with a little rose-water : then chop up fine with a large knife, continuing to moisten with vinegar until it is thoroughly soaked in it. Take good pithy white bread, extract the pith, and with this stuff the roast well. Cut with a knife into long medium-sized pieces. Take an earthenware tub, wet with water, then dry, and spray with rose-water : put in a layer of fresh mint, place the strips thereon one on top of another, and cover with a little more mint. Leave for an hour : then serve. It may also be eaten when left overnight : like that it is very fine.

BAID MUTAJJAN.²—Boil eggs, shell, and then fry in sesame-oil, and sprinkle with fine-brayed coriander, cinnamon and cummin. Take out of the frying-pan, and put into old murri, adding seasonings. If murri is not available, take the eggs out of the pan ; put into it a little water, salt and cinnamon, boil, and pour over the eggs. Another recipe : Fry the eggs without first boiling them, then throw in the seasonings, and spray with murri.

BAID MAŞŪŞ.³—Take fresh sesame-oil, place in the saucepan, and boil : then put in celery. Add a little fine-brayed coriander, cummin and cinnamon, and some mastic ; then pour in vinegar as required, and colour with a little saffron. When thoroughly boiling, break eggs, and drop in whole : when set, remove.

CHAPTER VI—FISH DISHES.

Fish may be either fresh or salted. Here we will mention a few select dishes.

FRESH FISH

SAMAK MUSHWĀ.⁴—Take fresh fish, and scrape off the skin very well with a knife : split open, wash thoroughly, and dry. Take sumach, grind fine, and throw out the seeds : take half this quantity of dry thyme, and also grind, together with a quarter as much garlic, skinned and chopped fine. Now take half the total quantity of walnuts, and chop : mix all together, adding a little fine-brayed coriander, cummin, cinnamon and mastic. Make this into a paste with fresh sesame-oil, adding salt to taste. Smear the fish with sesame-oil and saffron mixed with rose-water inside

1. A Persian compound word, from *bazm* "feast" and *āward* "brought": Chelebi appears to be wrong in saying that the original form is *zumāward*.

2. Sc. "fried eggs."

3. Sc. "*maşûş* eggs."

4. Sc. "roast fish."

and out : then stuff with the stuffing described. Tie up with strong cotton threads, and place on a new roasting-spit : put into the oven over a fire slow and not blazing. Cover, and leave to cook well : then remove. This may be eaten either hot or cold.

SAMAK MAQLŪ.¹—Take fresh fish, cut open, and wash well, then cut into medium-sized pieces. Chop up garlic, thyme and the usual seasonings, and with this stuff the fish, folding the pieces over the stuffing. Colour with saffron, and fry in fresh sesame-oil. When cooked, remove from the frying-pan and put into old murri. Some also stuff with the stuffing used in making *samak mushwā*, as described above.

SAMAK MUSAKBAJ.²—Cut fresh fish into middling pieces, and fry in sesame-oil. Throw in a little dry coriander, whole, then place in wine-vinegar coloured with saffron, adding some celery-leaves.

SAMAK MAMQŪR.³—Cut [fish] into middling pieces, wash, colour with saffron, and fry in sesame-oil. Add fine-chopped *blattes de Bysance*. Put into a mixture of vinegar and murri, twice as much murri as vinegar.

MĀLIH NĀ'IM.⁴—Take fresh *shabbūt*,⁵ cut open and gut, then wash thoroughly, and dry. Salt very thoroughly. Wrap in a piece of cloth and roll, then put in a room or a hot place where there is no draught for half a day, or less or more, only let it be a summer's day. If the flesh is then soft under the skin—touch with the fingers to test whether well done—take it out of the covering, and wash well. Mix saffron with rose-water, and with this smear inside and out. Then take fine-ground cummin, coriander and cinnamon, and a little *blattes de Bysance* : make small holes [in the fish], and place this in, sprinkling it on the inside as well. Put into a frying-pan of tinned copper or stone, and cover with sesame-oil. Leave in the oven over a slow fire, covering. When the fish has absorbed the sesame-oil, and is dry again and browned, remove. It may be eaten either hot or cold. It is sometimes eaten with fried egg-plant and *kāmakh rijāl*.⁶

SALTED FISH

SAMAK MAQLŪ BI-KHALL WA-RAHSHĪ.⁷—Take salted fish, wash thoroughly in water, then dry, and fry in sesame-oil. Put into the frying-pan a good handful of whole dry coriander. Now take good vinegar as required, pour on top of sesame-meal, and knead by hand, adding the

1. Sc. "fried fish."

2. Sc. "fish à la *sikbāj*."

3. Literally, "soused fish."

4. Literally, "soft salt."

5. This name has puzzled the lexicographers, who variously describe as chad, carp and turbot : see Lane, Kazimirski and Dozy s.v.

6. For this, see below, p. 207.

7. Sc. "fish fried with vinegar and sesame-meal."

vinegar little by little until the required consistency is obtained, not too light and not too heavy. If desired, some fine-ground mustard may be added, but this is not necessary. Take the salt-fish out of the frying-pan hot, put on top of the meal, then pour over it the sesame-oil remaining in the frying-pan, together with the coriander. Sprinkle with fine-ground cummin, coriander and cinnamon, and also walnuts. It may be eaten either hot or cold.

MĀLIḤ BI-LABAN.¹—Take salted fish, wash and clean as described above, then fry in sesame-oil. Take out while hot, and drop into milk in which chopped garlic has been placed. Sprinkle with fine-ground cummin, coriander and cinnamon. Eat either hot or cold.

MĀLIḤ MAQLŪ SĀDHIJ.²—Fry in sesame-oil, and sprinkle with the aforesaid seasonings, ground fine.

MĀLIḤ MUKAZBAR.³—Wash salted fish, then fry in fresh sesame-oil with coriander. Take out hot, and drop in vinegar coloured with saffron.

MĀLIḤ BI-KHALL WA-KHARDAL.⁴—Fry in sesame-oil, as described. Take out of the frying-pan, and place in vinegar into which have been dropped fine-ground mustard and a little fine-ground coriander. Colour the vinegar with a little saffron.

ṬIRRIKH⁵ DISHES

The well-known recipe is : Fry in sesame-oil, breaking over whole eggs. The varieties are as follows.

MAQLŪBA AL-ṬIRRIKH.⁶—Take *ṭirriḥ* and fry in sesame-oil : then take out, and place in a dish to cool. When cold, cut off the heads and tails, remove the spine, bone, and scale with the greatest care. Crumble and break up the flesh, and sprinkle with dry coriander, cummin, caraway and cinnamon. Break eggs, throw on, and mix well. Then fry in sesame-oil in a frying-pan as *maqlūba* is fried, until both sides are browned : and remove.

MUFARRAKA.⁷—Fry the *ṭirriḥ*, and bone as described above. Sprinkle with seasonings. Break over it eggs, and fry in sesame-oil in a large frying-pan. Keep stirring until browned, as in making *mufarraka* as described above.

1. Sc. "salted with milk."

2. Sc. "plain fried salted."

3. Sc. "salted with coriander."

4. Sc. "salted with vinegar and mustard."

5. Chelebi has a learned note on the identity of this fish (which the manuscript spells *ṭarriḥ*, but see Dozy and Freytag). The word is derived from the Greek *Tárixos*, but in Arabic has a more limited significance, being applied to a fish caught in the Lake of Wan (Arjish) in Armenia.

6. Literally, "turned *ṭirriḥ*."

7. See above, p. 210, n. 10.

TIRRIKH MUHASSĀ.¹—Fry *tirrikh* in sesame-oil, and bone as described above. Throw in seasonings. Take good vinegar, and mix with sesame-meal, as described in the recipe for *mālih*.² Put sesame-oil in the frying-pan, and place the *tirrikh* back, throwing in a handful of whole coriander : then fry a second time. Drop into the vinegar and sesame-meal. Leave in the frying-pan a little of the sesame-oil, purify it, and then pour it on. If desired, add walnuts and peeled sesame.

CHAPTER VII—SAUCES, RELISHES AND SAVOURIES

There are many preparations which are served during meals, to cleanse the palate of greasiness, to appetize, to assist the digestion, and to stimulate the banqueter. Here, as before, we shall mention briefly a choice selection.

SAUCES

NA'NA' MUKHALLAL.³—Take fresh, large-leaved mint, and strip the leaf from the stalk. Wash, and dry in the shade : sprinkle with aromatic herbs. If desired, add celery-leaves and quarters of peeled garlic. Put into a glass bottle and cover with good vinegar, coloured with a little saffron. Leave until the mint has absorbed the sourness of the vinegar so that the latter has lost its sharpness : then serve.

BĀDHIJĀN MUKHALLAL.⁴—Take medium-sized egg-plants, and cut off half the stalks and leaf : then half boil in salt and water, take out, and dry. Cut firmly, and stuff with fresh celery-leaves, a few sprigs of mint, and some quarters of peeled garlic. Put in layers in a glass bottle, sprinkle with aromatic herbs and fine-brayed *blattes de Bysance*, and cover with good vinegar. Leave until quite matured : then use.

LIFT MUKHALLAL MUHALLĀ.⁵—Take medium-sized turnips, peel, and cut into small pieces, adding a trifle of salt, a little *blattes de Bysance*, and some aromatic herbs, and rub thoroughly in the hand. Then take vinegar as required, and into each *raḥl* put two *ūqīya* of honey : colour with a little saffron. Cover the turnip with the mixture, and place in a glass bottle, covering the top. Leave until mature : then serve. What is not dissolved may be cut up and boiled lightly in salt and water : sprinkle with a little *blattes de Bysance*, and cover with vinegar. When mature, serve.

BĀDHIJĀN MUHASSĀ.⁶—Take egg-plant, cut off stalks and leaves, and boil lightly in salt and water : then take out, drain, and cut

1. Literally, " *tirrikh* made as soup (*ḥasā*)."

2. See above, p. 203.

3. Sc. " mint in vinegar."

4. Sc. " egg-plant in vinegar."

5. Sc. " turnips in vinegar sweetened."

6. Sc. " egg-plant soup."

into small pieces. Now add a little salt, some aromatic herbs, and *blattes de Bysance*. Take best pomegranate-seeds, grind small, steep in good vinegar, strain, and throw away the dregs : pour this on to the egg-plant, and mix. Take walnuts and almonds, and grind coarse, putting in peeled sesame : grill. Then place a little sesame-oil in a copper bowl, and when this is boiling throw in the walnuts, almonds and sesame, and stir. Pour this upon the egg-plant together with the sesame-oil, place in a glass bottle, and strew with fine-brayed *blattes de Bysance*. Leave for a few days before serving.

For sousing cucumber, capers, onion, and the like, put into vinegar as required, leave until soft and tender, and then serve.

RELISHES

BĀDHINJĀN BI-LABAN.¹—Take medium-sized egg-plants, cut off the leaves and half the stalks, and half boil in salt and water : then remove, and dry well. Throw into milk and garlic. Refine fresh sesame-oil, add a little cummin and coriander, and into this place the egg-plant. Sprinkle with some *blattes de Bysance* and sesame, and serve.

QAR' BI-LABAN.²—Take gourd, peel, throw away the pith and pips, and cut up small. Boil in salt and water until cooked, then take out of the water and dry. When dry, put into Persian milk into which has been placed some fine-chopped garlic. Sprinkle with sesame, and serve.

SILQ BI-LABAN.³—Take beet with large ribs : cut off the ends of the leaves, and chop into pieces a span long. Wash, and boil in salt and water until cooked. Dry, put into Persian milk and garlic, sprinkle with sesame, and serve.

SHĪRĀZ BI-BUQŪL.⁴—This is an excellent relish which both awakens and stimulates the appetite. Take mint, celery and vegetable leek : strip the leaves of the celery and mint, chop all fine with a knife, then pound in the mortar. Mix well with dried curds, and sprinkle with salt to taste and fine-ground mustard. Garnish with coarse-chopped walnuts, and serve. If dried curds are not available, use instead coagulated milk from which the water has been strained, mix with a little sour milk, and serve.

ISFĀNĀKH MUTAJJAN.⁵—Take spinach, cut off the lower roots, and wash : then boil lightly in salt and water, and dry. Refine sesame-oil, drop in the spinach, and stir until fragrant. Chop up a little garlic, and add. Sprinkle with fine-ground cummin, dry coriander and cinnamon : then remove.

1. Sc. "egg-plant with milk."

2. Sc. "gourd with milk."

3. Sc. "beet with milk."

4. Sc. "dry curds with vegetables."

5. Sc. "fried spinach."

SAVOURIES

KĀMAKH RIJĀL.¹—There are several varieties of this, but all follow the same recipe, only differing in ingredients. First take a large, dry pumpkin-shell from which all the pith and seeds have been removed : soak in water for two hours, then dry thoroughly. Put in 5 *ratls* of sour milk, 10 *ratls* of fresh milk, and 1½ *ratls* of fine-brayed salt, and stir. Cover, and leave for some days in the hot sun. This is first made in June, at the beginning of the mid-summer. Each morning add 3 *ratls* of fresh milk, and stir morning and evening. Add milk as the liquid lessens, until the beginning of August. Now take mint-leaves, *shūnīz*,² and quarters of peeled garlic, throw in, and stir, adding fresh milk to make up as usual, until the middle of September. Cover until the beginning of October : then remove from the sun until set, and serve. There is also the simple variety, in which no [aromatic] ingredients are used ; another, in which *shūnīz* and garlic are used ; and another, in which are used the dried leaves of the red rose cut off from the stalk.

ZAITŪN MUBAKHKHAR.³—Take olives as soon as ripe, green if preferred (but some like the black) : the green is more suitable for perfuming. Bruise, adding salt as required, and turn every day, until the sourness passes off. Put grated cinnamon on a plate for a night and a day, until all the moisture in it evaporates. Chop up fine peeled garlic and dry thyme : take about a *dirham* of this, with olive-seed, cotton dipped in sesame-oil, and a *dirham* of walnut, and leave over a slow fire : then add to the cinnamon. Take the reticulated plate of olives and place it on a chafing-dish into which has been put the said perfume, and close the door : stand over the olives a cup or a plate, so that the odours do not escape. Stir from time to time, so that the perfume may go all round it, and leave for a complete day : then remove. Sprinkle with sesame-oil, coarse-ground walnuts, sesame peeled and toasted, garlic, and fine-ground thyme, mixing all well together. Leave in a glass or earthenware jar with oil for some days, covered over : then serve.

KHALL WA-KHARDAL.⁴—Take sweet almonds, peel, and chop up fine : then moisten with sour vinegar until making a thin paste. Grind mustard fine, and mix in as required, together with a little *blattes de Bysance* : then serve.

MILḤ MUṬAYYAB.⁵—Take large pieces of rock Andarānī⁶ salt, put into a new earthenware jar, and close the mouth : leave in a hot oven a whole day, then bring out. When cold, mill fine. Take coriander, sesame,

1. *Rijāl* is the arabicized form of the Persian *rīchāl* (*rīchār*), "confection, electuary" (Steingass). For *kāmakḥ*, see I. C. Jan. No. p. 21.

2. See above, p. , n. .

3. Sc. "perfumed olives."

4. Sc. "vinegar and mustard."

5. Literally, "scented salt."

6. See I. C. Jan. No. p. 33, n. 2.

shūnīz, hemp, poppy, cummin, fennel, and leaves of *asafoetida* and *zni-seed*: toast all, and mix in. After milling the salt, colour it by placing it for a day and a night in water in which saffron has been dissolved : then dry, and mill again. It may also be coloured with sumach-juice or vermillion.¹ If desired, it may be dyed green with beet-juice.

BĀQILĪ BI-KHALL.²—Take green beans as soon as firm, and peel off the outer skin : then boil in salt and water until cooked. Dry, and pour on a little sesame-oil : cover with good vinegar, and serve.

CHAPTER VIII—JŪDHĀB,³ KHABĪṢ,⁴ ETC.

JŪDHĀB AL-KHUBZ.⁵—Take the pith of leavened bread, and soak in water or fresh milk until moist. Coat below and on top with sugar and fine-ground almonds, and colour with saffron. Leave over the fire until fragrant, stirring : then remove. When serving out, sprinkle with fine-brayed scented sugar.

JŪDHĀB AL-QAṬĀ'IF.⁶—Take *qaṭā'if* stuffed with almonds and sugar and fried : arrange in a dish between two thin cakes, and set under a chicken. Between every two layers put sugar, and almonds, peeled, chopped fine, and scented, as in stuffing *qaṭā'if*. Pour on sesame-oil, or if preferred, fresh milk with more sugar. When cooked and fragrant, remove. Some, instead of almond and almond-oil, use walnut and walnut-oil.

JŪDHĀB KHUBZ AL-QAṬĀ'IF.⁷—Take *qaṭā'if*-bread as required : spray the dish with a little rose-water, and place the bread thereon in layers, putting between each layer almonds and sugar, or pistachio ground fine : spray again with rose-water. When the bread fills the dish, pour on a little fresh sesame-oil, and cover with syrup. Hang over it a fat plucked chicken, smeared with saffron : when cooked, remove. Small stuffed *qaṭā'if* are also treated in this way.

JŪDHĀB AL-KHASHKHĀSH.⁸—Take two *ratls* of pure sugar, and make into a thin syrup : then sprinkle in a quarter as much white bread, and half that quantity of poppy. Colour with saffron, and allow to set.

1. The word in the manuscript is *isrīqūn*, a variant form of *zarqūn*, derived from the Greek *syrikon* (Latin *syricum*) according to the more favoured view, i.e., minium: this being poisonous, Chelebi conjectures that *salīqūn* should be read, which may mean "vermilion" as well as "minium." However, Dozy gives an alternative derivation from Persian *āzar-gūn*, sc. "fire-coloured," which also points to vermillion.

2. Sc. "beans with vinegar."

3. See I. C. Jan. No. p. 28 : for the derivation and meaning, see Lane s. v.

4. Literally, "mixed": see Lane s. v.

5. Sc. "bread *jūdhāb*."

6. Sc. "*qaṭā'if* (for which see I. C. Jan. No. p. 29, n. 2, and below, p. 213) *jūdhāb*."

7. Sc. "*jūdhāb* of *qaṭā'if*-bread."

8. Sc. "poppy *jūdhāb*."

Some add honey. When set, place between two thin cakes, and hang over it a fat chicken smeared with saffron.

JŪDHĀB KHABĪṢ AL-LAUZ.¹—Take almond *khabiṣ*, and make after the same fashion as the above.

JŪDHĀB AL-TAMR.²—Take 4 *raṭls* of dried dates, and 10 *raṭls* of water, and place in a dish. Heat, until cooked : then knead well in the hands, and strain through a sieve. Return to the dish : add half a *raṭl* of sugar, quarter of a *raṭl* of honey, half a *dirham* of saffron, a *raṭl* of crumbled bread-pulp, a *raṭl* of sesame-oil, and a quarter of a *raṭl* of peeled walnuts : stir until almost cooked, then place between two thin cakes. It may also be garnished with almonds, and is then called '*aṣida al-tamr*.'³ It may also be made without sugar or honey.

JŪDHĀB AL-RUṬAB.⁴—Take a tinned copper dish, and spray with a little rose-water. Spread a thin cake therein, and cover with newly-gathered *khastāuī*⁵ dates. Sprinkle with fine-ground pistachios and almonds, and toasted poppy, to form a layer. Add another layer of dates, and so continue until the dish is half-filled, making the top layer of almonds and pistachios. Pour on half a *raṭl* of syrup, and an *ūqīya* of rose-water which has been coloured with half a *dirham* of saffron : cover with a thin cake. Hang over it a fat chicken stuffed with sugar, almonds and pistachios kneaded with scented rose-water, and smeared with saffron inside and out. When thoroughly cooked, remove.

ANOTHER JŪDHĀB.—Take the pith of a white loaf and rub well in the hands : then place in a tinned copper dish. Mix in well-ground almonds and pistachios, and a little toasted poppy. Pour in an *ūqīya* of rose-water mixed with a third of a *dirham* of saffron. Cover with syrup : if desired, add sugar or liquid honey. Suspend over it a fat chicken stuffed as described above, until cooked. Then remove, and serve.

The method of suspending the chicken over *jūdhāb* is as follows. Hang it up in the oven, and watch : then, when the fat is about to run, place the *jūdhāb* under it.

KHABĪṢ.—Take half a *raṭl* of crumbled pith of white loaf, and a quarter of a *raṭl* of sesame-oil. Put the sesame-oil in a tinned copper dish, and boil. Sprinkle in the aforesaid bread, little by little, stirring over a slow fire. Add pure sugar, ground and sifted : stir, leaving moist. Dish out, and sprinkle with sugar. Some use fresh milk instead of sesame-oil.

Another recipe : Take a *raṭl* of sesame-oil, add half a *raṭl* of water, half a *dirham* of saffron, and a quarter of a *raṭl* of white bread-flour : mix with an *ūqīya* of rose-water and a *raṭl* of honey all together, and boil, stirring with a poker until the oil is resolved. If desired, add a handful

1. For *khabiṣ al-lauz* see below, p. 210

2. Sc. " *jūdhāb* of dried dates."

3. '*Aṣida* is "wheat-flour moistened and stirred about with clarified butter, and cooked" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2060).

4. Sc. " *jūdhāb* of fresh dates."

5. " *Epithète d'une espèce de dattes* " (Dozy, *op. cit.*, i, p. 371).

of poppy and five *dirhams* of peeled pistachios. Serve out, covering under and over with fine-ground sugar.

Another recipe: Take a *ratl* of sesame-oil, and crumble into it a *ratl* of white meal. Boil, stirring, until fragrant: then add a third of a *ratl* of dissolved sugar, honey, or date-syrup. Cook over a slow fire, stirring with a poker, until the oil comes away and is thrown off. If desired sugary, coat under and over with ground sugar scented with camphor.

KHABIŞ AL-LAUZ.¹—Take one *ratl* of peeled, ground sweet almonds, and three *ratls* of sugar. Put the sugar into a dish and dissolve, with two *ūqīya* of rose-water. When the sugar is dissolved and has begun to set, add the ground almonds, and stir until done. Serve out, coating under and over with fine-ground sugar. This may also be made with flour: put with the *ratl* of sugar two *ūqīya* of flour, then proceed as above.

KHABIŞ AL-QAR'.²—Skin a gourd and remove the seeds, then boil well. Put on a reticulated plate to dry: bray in a stone mortar, squeezing by hand. Put sesame-oil into a dish and boil: then add flour, and then the gourd. Pour on syrup until set: then remove.

KHABIŞ AL-JAZAR.³—Peel and boil carrots: removing the hard core, cut up small and bray, then proceed as in the foregoing recipe.

CHAPTER IX—HALWĀ'.

HALWĀ' YĀBISA.⁴—Take sugar, dissolve in water, and boil until set: then remove from the dish, and pour on to a soft surface to cool. Take an iron stake with a soft head and plant it into the mass, then pull up the sugar, stretching it with the hands and drawing it up the stake all the time, until it becomes white: then throw once more on to the surface. Knead in pistachios, and cut into strips and triangles.⁵ If desired, it may be coloured, either with saffron or with vermilion. Sometimes it is crumbled with a little peeled almonds, sesame, or poppy.

ŞĀBŪNIYA.⁶—Dissolve sugar, then pour it out of the dish into a vessel, adding sesame-oil: when boiling, throw in some syrup, and for every *ratl* of sugar, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ūqīya* of honey, and stir. When almost set, mix starch and water and throw in, stirring. Keep pouring in syrup until it sets: then add peeled almonds ground fine. When thoroughly done,

1. Sc. "almond *khabiş*."

2. Sc. "gourd *khabiş*."

3. Sc. "carrot *khabiş*."

4. Sc. "dry *halwā*."

5. The word in the original is *shawābīr* (sing. *shābūr*): Dozy mentions the form, but is uncertain of its meaning. Chelebi, in a learned note in which he quotes Father Anastase-Marie as his authority, derives from the Syriac *šāfūrata* "beauty," and shows that the word was used of a style of hair-dressing favoured by women and fops of Baghdad, in which the hair was brought down to a point between the eyebrows, in the form of a triangle.

6. From *šābūn* = soap.

ladle into a plate, stretch flat, and sprinkle with fine-ground scented sugar.

FUSTAQIYA.¹—Make as in the preceding recipe, only using pistachios instead of almonds. Leave over the fire the best part of an hour, then roll out on a soft surface. When cold, cut into triangles, and sprinkle with fine-ground sugar. This kind is also called *muqarrada*.²

MAKSHŪFA.³—Take equal parts of sugar, almonds (or pistachios), honey, and sesame-oil. Grind the sugar and almonds, and mix together. Add saffron to colour, mixed with rose-water. Put the sesame-oil into a basin, and boil until fragrant : then drop in the honey, and stir until the scum appears. Add the sugar and almonds, stirring all the time over a slow fire until almost set : then remove.

LAUZINAJ.⁴—Take a *raṭl* of sugar, and bray fine. Take one-third of a *raṭl* of peeled almonds, and likewise bray small : mix with the sugar, moistening with rose-water. Take bread made thin like the crust of *san-būsaj*, or thinner if possible : roll this loaf out, and place on it the almonds and moistened sugar, fold round strip-wise, cut into small pieces, and lay out. Refine fresh sesame-oil as required, and add : then cover with syrup to which rose-water has been added. Sprinkle with fine-ground pistachios.

FĀLŪDHĀJ.⁵—Take a *raṭl* of sugar and one-third of a *raṭl* of almonds and grind both together fine, then scent with camphor. Take one-third of a *raṭl* of sugar, and dissolve in half an *ūqīya* of rose-water over a slow fire, then remove. When cooled, throw in the ground sugar and almonds, and knead. If the mixture needs strengthening, add more sugar and almonds. Make into middling pieces, melons, triangles, etc. Then lay on a dish or plate, and serve.

MUKAFFAN.⁶—Take a *raṭl* of sugar, and one-third of a *raṭl* of almonds or pistachios, and grind together well, kneading vigorously with rose-water. Put into a basin an *ūqīya* of sesame-oil. Dissolve half a *raṭl* of sugar, and make into a syrup. When the sesame-oil is boiling, put in a third of the syrup, stirring all the time : then an *ūqīya* of starch mixed with water, and continue stirring until set. Turn out on to a soft surface to cool. Roll into small squares the size of the palm. Add some of the kneaded sugar and almonds, and wrap in the form of belts. Sprinkle with scented sugar, and remove.

BARAD.⁷—Take best white flour, made into a dough, and leave to rise. Put a basin on the fire, with some sesame-oil. When boiling, take in a reticulated ladle some of the dough, and shake it into the oil, so that as each drop of the dough falls in, it sets. As each piece is cooked, remove

1. See above, p. 197. n. 2

2. See above, p. 197.

3. Literally, "uncovered."

4. This is the origin of the word "lozenge."

5. The arabicized form of the Persian *pālūda*, literally "strained."

6. Literally, "wrapped in a shroud."

7. Literally, "hailstone."

with another ladle to drain off the oil. Take honey as required, mix with rose-water, and put over the fire to boil to a consistency : then take off, and while still in the basin, whip until white. Throw in the *barad*, and place out on a soft-oiled surface, pressing in the shape of the mould. Then cut into pieces, and serve.

SAMAK WA-AQRĀŞ.¹—Take $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ratls* of sugar and half a *ratl* of sweet almonds peeled, grind fine, and scent with a little musk. Take half a *ratl* of best pure honey, and put into a basin with an *ūqīya* of rose-water : boil, and skim. Mix an *ūqīya* of starch with rose-water, and add to the honey : stir for an hour, until it begins to obtain a consistency. Then throw in the ground sugar and almonds, and beat well with a poker until set. Take off the fire, and leave on a soft surface to cool. Now take carved wooden moulds, the shape of fishes and loaves, and make the confiture into these shapes. Lay the fish on a platter, with the loaves around it. Other shapes may also be made in the mould, such as cock, lamb, etc. Peeled pistachios may be sprinkled over the aforesaid loaves : and the fish may, if desired, be coloured with saffron mixed with rose-water.

CHAPTER X—KHUSHKNĀNAJ, MUṬBAQ AND QATĀ'IF.

KHUSHKNĀNAJ.²—Take fine white flour, and with every *ratl* mix three *ūqīya* of sesame-oil, kneading into a firm paste. Leave to rise : then make into long loaves. Put into the middle of each loaf a suitable quantity of ground almonds and scented sugar mixed with rose-water, using half as much almonds as sugar. Then press together as usual, and bake in the oven : remove.

MUṬBAQ.³—Make the dough as in the preceding recipe, only for every *ratl* of flour put in four *ūqīya* of sesame-oil. Make into loaves shaped in the mould, and place between each pair of loaves a quantity of plain *halwā'*, made without almonds and pistachios and with only a little sesame-oil.

BĀDHĪN,⁴ **KHUBZ AL-ABĀRĪZ.**⁵—*Bādhīn* is made as follows. With a *ratl* of flour mix three *ūqīya* of fresh sesame-oil, and make into loaves, putting into the middle of each almonds (or pistachios) and fine-ground scented sugar. Press together and make into shapes, using an appropriate mould, then bake in the oven. Some take dry dates as required, remove the stones, knead with some rose-water, sesame and toasted poppy, and stuff with this. For *khubz al-abārīz*, mix with a *ratl* of flour four *ūqīya* of sesame-oil, and an eighth of this quantity of shelled sesame, make into a good dough, and bake in the oven : then remove.

1. Literally, "fish and loaves."

2. From Persian *khushk* = dry, *nān* = bread.

3. Literally, "enveloped."

4. So Chelebi informs me, in place of the printed *urnīn* : neither word appears in the dictionaries.

5. Literally, "bread of seasonings."

AQRĀṢ MUKALLALA.¹—Take best flour as required, and knead halfway between light and heavy, then leave to rise. Take sugar and pistachios, grind fine, knead with syrup, scent, and make into thin loaves: spread over the dough, and cook in the oven. Take half a *ratl* of sugar, and dissolve in an *ūqiya* of rose-water: grind half a *ratl* of sugar, and sprinkle into the dissolved sugar, stirring, until it obtains a consistency; then empty into a vessel. Dip the loaves into this, and let it set on them: then sprinkle with fine-ground scented sugar. Leave to cool: and serve.

QAṬĀ'IF.²—This is of various kinds. Stuffed *qaṭā'if* are baked into long shapes, stuffed with almonds and fine-ground sugar, rolled round, and laid out: then sesame-oil, syrup, rose-water and fine-ground pistachios are thrown on. Fried *qaṭā'if* are baked into loaves, stuffed with almonds and fine-ground sugar kneaded with rose-water, rolled, and fried in sesame-oil, then taken out, dipped in syrup, and removed. Plain *qaṭā'if* are put into a dish and immersed in sesame-oil, then syrup is added, rose-water, and fine-ground pistachios.

AQRĀṢ MUKARRARA.³—Take white flour and knead lightly, then leave to rise. Take a *ratl* of sugar and a third of a *ratl* of almonds, grind fine, form into a firm paste with rose-water and syrup, and make into thin cakes. With this dress the dough, and fry in sesame-oil. Take out, dip in syrup, dust in ground sugar, and put back into the dough: do this thrice. Sprinkle with fine-ground scented sugar, and remove.

FATĀ'IR.⁴—Make a light dough, then fry in sesame-oil into loaves: take out, dip in syrup, and sprinkle with sugar.

MUBAḤṬHARA.⁵—Take the pith of white bread, and rub well into crumbs with the hand: mix with this almonds and pistachios, peeled, toasted and ground, and sprinkle with a little sugar. Refine sesame-oil, and pour on. Cover with hot syrup and rose-water: and remove.

LUQAM AL-QĀḌĪ.⁶—Make a firm dough. When fermented, take in the size of hazel-nuts, and fry in sesame-oil. Dip in syrup, and sprinkle with fine-ground sugar.

RUṬĀB MU'ASSAL.⁷—Take fresh-gathered dates, and lay in the shade and air for a day: then remove the stones, and stuff with peeled almonds. For every ten *ratls* of dates, take two *ratls* of honey: boil over the fire with two *ūqiya* of rose-water and half a *dirham* of saffron, then throw in the dates, stirring for an hour. Remove, and allow to cool. When cold, sprinkle with fine-ground sugar scented with musk, camphor and hyacinth. Put into glass preserving-jars, sprinkling on top some of the

1. Literally, "crowned loaves."

2. See above, p. 29, n. 2.

3. Sc. "repeated cakes."

4. Sc. "pan-cakes."

5. Literally, "jumbled up."

6. Sc. "judge's mouthfuls": another sweetmeat was called "Caliph's mouthful," see Steingass, p. 1127.

7. Literally, "honeyed dates."

scented ground-sugar. Cover, until the weather is cold and chafing-dishes are brought in.

TO MAKE FRESH DATES WHEN NOT IN SEASON.—Take large poor-quality dates with stalks complete. Take a green water-melon, make a hole in the top large enough to admit the hand, then remove the pith, leaving the juice in. Put in the dates as required, replace the top, and leave for a day and a night. Then take out the dates : they will be found to be like fresh-picked dates.

HAIS.¹—Take fine dry bread, or biscuit, and grind up well. Take a *raṭl* of this, and three quarters of a *raṭl* of fresh or preserved dates with the stones removed, together with three *ūqīya* of ground almonds and pistachios. Knead all together very well with the hands. Refine two *ūqīya* of sesame-oil, and pour over, working with the hand until it is mixed in. Make into cabobs, and dust with fine-ground sugar. If desired, instead of sesame-oil use butter. This is excellent for travellers.

SHAWĀBĪR.²—Take a round frying-pan with raised sides, and pour into it about two *ūqīya* of sesame-oil. When boiling, throw in three *ūqīya* of honey. Then take half a *raṭl* of toasted white flour, and with this mix two *ūqīya* of toasted almonds, pistachios, and hazel-nuts, peeled and ground fine, as well as two *ūqīya* of fine-ground sugar. Sprinkle this into the honey, and stir, until set and fragrant. If desired to thicken, add more of the aforesaid flour. Remove, and allow to cool, turning over on to a soft surface. Cut into triangles, and dip in syrup : sprinkle with fine-ground scented sugar, and remove.

KABŪLĀ'³ (also called 'ASĪDA).⁴—Toast three *raṭls* of white flour and remove. Then set the dish over the fire with three *ūqīya* of sesame-oil and a quarter of an *ūqīya* of whole cummin. When boiling and fragrant, pour in about two *raṭls* of water, and boil for an hour. Now add an *ūqīya* of washed rice : when boiling and the rice is cooked, sprinkle in the flour, stirring all the time with a poker. When the flour is finished, pour in about an *ūqīya* of sesame-oil, little by little. When set and thoroughly cooked and fragrant, remove from the fire. Grease the vessels with sesame-oil, and ladle out, covering with boiled sesame-oil, fine-ground walnuts and pistachios, and sesame, peeled and roasted. Then add syrup or honey, and serve. If desired, instead of sesame-oil, butter may be used as a dressing.

1. A well-known sweetmeat, see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 686, where a full description is given.

2. See above.

3. "Bouillie très-épaisse" (Kazimirski).

4. See above.



Fly-leaf of the MS. of *Futūhāt al-Makkiyya* bearing the autographs of the Emperor Jahāngir, 'Abdur Rahīm, (Khān-Khānān) and Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Gujarāt.

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A VALUABLE MANUSCRIPT OF THE FUTŪHÂT-AL MAKKÎYYA

AMONG the valuable manuscripts presented to the library of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, by His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, there is a copy of Muhî-ud-Dîn Ibn al-'Arabî's *Futûhât-al-Makkîyya* which contains, among others, the autograph-notes of 'Abdur Rahîm, Khân-Khânân (d. 1036 A.H./1626 A.D.), the Emperor Jahângîr (1014-37 A.H./1605-1628 A.D.), and Sayyid Muḥammad, the famous Ṣufi saint of Gujarât. (d. 1045 A.H./1635 A.D.).

The manuscript (size $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$; 8×5 ; 35 lines to a page) is divided into five volumes. It is written in a beautiful, minute *Naskh* and is slightly defective at the end. As the colophon which should probably have contained the name of the scribe and the date of the manuscript is missing, it is not possible to state definitely the exact date of its transcription, but it is perhaps safe to assert that it was copied towards the beginning of the ninth century A.H.

It appears from the autograph-note of the Khân-Khânân ('Abdur Rahîm) that the manuscript was brought to him by one Mullâ Ḥasan 'Alî Isfahânî and that it entered his library at Aḥmadâbâd on the 7th Rabî'-uth-Thâni, 992, A.H. (1584 A.D.).

The note runs as follows :—

این کتاب عالی جناب بتاريخ ۷ - ربیع الثانی ۹۹۲ در دارالامان احمد آباد حمیت عن الشر
والفساد ملاحسن علی ابتیاع نموده آورد و داخل کتب فقیر حقیر کثیر التقصیر عبدالرحیم ابن
محمد بیرم خان عنی عنہما شد حامد آ و مصلیاً -

Translation.—" Having purchased this valuable copy, Mullâ Ḥasan 'Alî of Isfahân brought it to me at Aḥmadâbâd—may God protect it from evil and destruction—on the 7th Rabî'-uth-Thâni, 992 (A.H.), and it entered the library of this poor, sinful *faqîr*, 'Abdur Rahîm, son of Muḥammad Bairâm, may God pardon them both. Praise (be to God) and blessings (on the Prophet.)"

This note is followed by a seal of 'Abdur Rahîm bearing the date 992, A.H. Probably he presented the manuscript to the Emperor Jahângîr who, in his turn, presented it to Mîr Sayyid Muḥammad of Gujarât, in

1028, A.H. (1619 A.D.) The autograph-note of Jahângîr runs as follows :—

الله اکبر - دروقتی که نتیجه السادات میرجلال الدین محمد را از دار الخلافه آگره بخدمت
والد بزرگوارش میرسید محمد که مزبور بفضیلت و صلاح آراسته است رخصت بگجرات
نمودم این کتاب نفیس شریف را که مسمی بفتوحات المکی است بدست او بمیر مومی الیه
فرستادم - حرره نیازمند درگاه الهی نورالدین جهانگیر پادشاه ابن اکبر پادشاه غازی در
۱۴ - مهر ماه الهی سنه ۱۰۲۸ مطابق ۲۱ - شوال سنه ۱۰۲۸ هجری^۱

Translation.—“Allah-u-Akbar! When I deputed the scion of the Sayyids, Mîr Jalâl-ud-Dîn Muḥammad from my capital, 'Āgrâ, to Gujarât, the residence of his father Mîr Sayyid Muḥammad—a (mystic) adorned with the qualities of excellence and rectitude—I also sent this excellent book, entitled *Fûṭuhât-al-Makki*, to the aforesaid Mîr as a present. Written by this slave of the Court of God, Nûr-ud-Dîn (Muḥammad) Jahângîr Pâdshâh, son of Akbar Pâdshâh Ghâzî, on the 14th of the Ilâhî month, the 14th year (of *Julus*) corresponding with the 26th Shawwâl, 1028, *Hijra*.”

Sayyid Muḥammad,² who was born on the 14th Rajab, 989 A.H.,³ was a well-known mystic of Aḥmadâbâd, Gujarât. He was a descendant⁴

1. Some mischievous person has mutilated the autograph of the Emperor by adding additional letters or *makaz*, or *nuqta*, etc., as for instance, والد بزرگوارش has been changed into کمال الدین etc. similarly, in Mîr Sayyid Muḥammad's autograph جلال الدین has been changed into کلال الدین etc.

2. His full title was Sayyid Muḥammad, *Maqbûl 'Ālam* bin Sayyid Jalâl-ud-Dîn, *Mah 'Ālam* (*Mîrât-i-Aḥmadî*, Supplement, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 41; J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Aḥmadâbâd*, Part II, London, 1905, p. 15).

3. *Mîrât-i Aḥmadî*, Supplement, p. 41. According to *Bâdshâhnâma* (Vol. I, Part II, p. 329), *'Amâl-Ṣalîḥ* (Vol. III, p. 359) and *Ma'athir-ul-Umarâ*, (Vol. III, p. 4447) the Sayyid got the following chronogram of his birth :

من و دست و دامان آل رسول

4. According to Mullâ 'Abdul Hamid (*Bâdshâhnâma*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 329), he was the Fifth in descent from the famous Sûfî saint, Shâh 'Ālam. Burgess has given the following genealogical table of the Mîr in *The Muh. Arch. of Ahmadabad* (II, p. 15) which is identical with that of the *Mîrât* (Suppl. p. 40).

1. Makhdûm Jahâniyân Jahangasht Saiyyid Jalâl Bukhârî (A.D. 1308-1384).

2. 'Abdullâh Qutb 'Ālam or Sayyid Burhân-ud-Dîn, (d. 857 A.H./1453 A.D.) buried at Batua (Aḥmadâbâd).

3. Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh 'Ālam known as Miyân Manjila, son of Qutb 'Ālam, died 20th Jumâda II, 880 A.H. (21st October, 1475, A.D.).

4. Sayyid Râjû, *Sattâr 'Ālam*, son of Shâh 'Ālam.

5. Sayyid Ahmad Shahîd, *Panah 'Ālam*, son of Râjû Sattâr.

6. Sayyid 'Abdul Ghafûr, *Mazhar 'Ālam*.

7. Sayyid Ḥasan, *Nûr 'Ālam*, son of Sayyid 'Abdul Ghafûr.

8. Sayyid Jalâl-ud-Dîn, *Mah 'Ālam*, son of Sayyid Ḥasan.

9. Sayyid Muḥammad, *Maqbûl 'Ālam*, son of Sayyid Jalâl-ud-Dîn.

of the famous saint Shāh 'Ālam¹ (d. 880 A.H. 1475 A.D.) whose tomb at Rasūlābād,² near Aḥmadābād, is visited by thousands of devoted Muslims every year. Sayyid Muḥammad was the *Sajjada Nashin*³ of the tomb of Shāh 'Ālam. He met the Emperor Jahāngīr in the 12th and the 13th years of his reign, in 1026 A.H. and 1027 A.H. (1617, 1618 A.D.) The Emperor refers to him in his *Memoirs* in four places, namely,

(i) when the Sayyid came to see him along with the other Shaykhs living at Aḥmadābād⁴ and

(ii) when the Emperor enquired from him about a reported miracle of Shāh 'Ālam. The Emperor writes (thus)—

"I myself asked Sayyid Muḥammad, who is lord of the prayer carpet (in charge of the Mausoleum) and who is not wanting in excellence and reasonableness, what was the real state of affairs";⁵ and

(iii) when the Emperor gave him a sum of Rs. 2,000 for celebrating the 'Urs of Shāh 'Ālam⁶ (1027) and when

(iv) he presented to the Mīr a copy of the *Qur'ān*, transcribed by the famous calligraphist, Ya'qūt-al-Musta'samī, and asked him to translate it into Persian⁷ and to send it to him through his son Sayyid Jalāl. The Emperor has given an interesting account of this incident in his *Memoirs*. He says :⁸

"On Saturday I ordered Sayyid Muḥammad, grandson of Shāh 'Ālam, to ask for whatever he desired without concealment, and I took an oath on the *Qorān* to this effect. He said that as I had sworn

1. For Shāh 'Ālam's life see *Mirāt-i Aḥmadi*, Suppl., p. 37., *Khaṣmat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, II, pp. 71, 72 ; for his contribution to Urdū literature see 'Abdul Haq's, 'The Ṣūfī Work in the Early Development of Urdu Language' (Aurangabad, Deccan, 1933), pp. 28-31. See also M. S. Commissariat's *History of Gujarat*, Vol. I, 1938 p. 208, etc.; 'Ain-i Akbari (Jarret, iii, p. 372).

2. "Rasūlābād, the dwelling of the apostle or, as the place is now usually styled, Shah 'Ālam, is within the bounds of the village of Dāne-Limda or Sundhal Khāndrol, about a mile and a quarter to the south of Aḥmadābād, and two and a half miles north-west of Baṭuwā or Vatuvā, where is the tomb of Shāh 'Ālam's father." (Burgess, *The Muh. Arch. of Ahmadabad*, II, p. 16).

3. According to *Mirāt-i Aḥmadi* (Suppl., p. 41), his father Sayyid Jalāl Māh 'Ālam gave him the *Sajjada* two years before his death, which took place on the 14th Dhu'l Qa'da, 1003 A.H.

4. *Memoirs of Jahangir* (translated by Rogers and Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 419. The Emperor writes thus "On this day Sayyid Muḥammad, *Ṣahīb Sajjada*, (Lord of the prayer carpet), of Shāh 'Ālam (a mosque near Ahmedābād) and other Shaikhs living at Ahmedābād came to meet me and pay their respect."

5. *Memoirs*, i, p. 422. The Persian text is as follows :—

و من خود از سید محمد که صاحب سجاده ایشان است و خالی از فضیلتی و معقوایی نیست پرسیدم که حرف چه صورت دارد. گفت من هم از پدر و جد خود همین طور شنیده‌ام و بتواتر رسیده.

(*Tuzuk-i Jahāngīri*, Nawal Kishore edition, p. 211).

6. *Memoirs*, II, p. 12.

7. Shāh Nawāz Khān (*Mu'āthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 448) says that the Mīr actually translated the *Qur'ān* into Persian but I have been unable to trace any contemporary authority supporting this statement.

8. *Memoirs*, II, pp. 34-35.

on the *Qorân* he would ask for a *Qorân*, that he might always have it by him, and that the merit of reading it might accrue to His Majesty. Accordingly, I gave the Mîr a *Qoran* in Ya'qût's handwriting. It was a small, elegant volume, and was the wonder of the age. On the back of it I wrote with my own hand that I had made this gift on a certain day and in a certain place to Sayyid Muḥammad. The real reason for this is that the Mîr is of an exceedingly good disposition endowed with personal nobility and acquired excellences, of good manners and approved ways, with a very pleasing face and open forehead. I have never seen a man of this country of such a pleasing disposition as the Mîr. I told him to translate this *Qorân* into plain language without ornament, and that without occupying himself with explanations or fine language he should translate the *Qorân* in simple language (*luḡhat-i-rikhta*) word for word into Persian, and should not add one letter to its exact purport. After he had completed it he should send it by his son Jalalu-d-dîn Sayyid to the Court. The Mîr's son is also a young man of external and internal intelligence. The signs of piety and blessedness are distinct on his forehead. The Mîr is proud of his son, and in truth he is worthy, as he is an excellent youth."

Mullâ 'Abdul Ḥamîd assigns the Sayyid a place of honour among the Shaykhs of the reign of the Emperor Shâhjâhân and states that the Emperor met him twice,¹ once when he visited Gujarât as a prince in the company of the Emperor Jahângîr and again when he was returning from Junair,² a hill-fortress in the Deccan. 'Abdul Ḥamîd adds that as the Sayyid suffered from asthma, he was unable to wait on the Emperor personally. Accordingly, he sent his son Sayyid Jalâl to the Royal Court.³ He died in 1045 A.H./1635 A.D. in the eighth year of the reign⁴ (of Shâhjâhân) and was buried at Rasûlâbâd,⁵ outside the city of Aḥmadâbâd.

1. *Bâdshâhnâma*, Vol. i, Part ii, p. 329.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 329. 'Amal-i-Ṣaliḥ (Vol. iii, p. 359) gives Ajmîr for Junair. It says :

ودوم بار بوقی که از دارالخیراجمیر منوجه قرار گاه سریر شلافت مصر شده بودند -

Apparently *جمیر* is a mistake for *جنیر*.

3. *Bâdshâhnâma*, Vol. i, Part ii, p. 329.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 332 ; 'Amal-i-Ṣaliḥ, iii, p. 359. *Mîrât-i-Aḥmadî* (Suppl., p. 42) says that he died on the 12th Rajab, 1045 A.H.

5. Burgess gives the following description of his tomb : " At a distance of about sixty yards west-south from the central mausoleum (of Shâh 'Ālam) is second on the same plan and scale, but having its main entrance on the east, another on the south and doors between the pillars on each face. The arches over these doors are all filled with the same beautiful perforated stone-work as in the Pîr's tomb ; much of this, however, has probably been restored in an imitative way during the nineteenth century. The central grave in this tomb is that of Sayyid Muḥammad Maqbûl 'Ālam, the son of Sayyid Jalâl-ud-dîn Mah 'Ālam, and sixth in descent from the Pîr. Over this grave, upon a stone tablet, are the footprints of the prophet (*qadam-i-rasûl yâ sharîf*). Inside the dargâh also are three other graves on the south side ; these are of Maqbûl 'Ālam's son Sayyid Jalâl ad-Dîn Maqsud 'Ālam, in the centre " (*The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, ii, p. 20).

Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad wrote a large number of Sufistic works also, but the author of the *Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī* refers to only two of them,¹ namely :

- (i) *Jum'āt-i-Shāhī* (جمعات شاهی), which is in seven volumes and comprises 'the discourses of Shāh 'Ālam on Divine mysteries'; and
- (ii) *Latā'if-i-Shāhī* (لطائف شاهی), comprising the morning and the evening prayers, etc.

He is also reported to have been very generous and to have distributed 500 Maḥmūdī coins every Friday.²

His son Sayyid Jalāl, *Maqṣud 'Ālam* (who carried the present manuscript of the *Futūḥāt* from the Emperor Jahāngīr to his father) was born on Saturday night, 15th Jumāda II, 1003 A.H.³ (27th January, 1595 A.D.) He learnt the *Qur'ān* by heart at the age of 11 and later pursued the study of various subjects under Mawlānā Ḥusayn Shaybānī and completed his studies under Shaykh 'Abdul 'Azīz, a *murīd* and pupil of *Maqbul 'Ālam*. He learnt the mystic sciences from his father.⁴ He visited Agra about the year 1028 A.H. and the Emperor Jahāngīr presented him with an elephant.⁵ He also paid visits to the Court of the Emperor Shāhjahān in the years 1037 A.H., 1039 A.H., 1047 A.H., and 1048 A.H., and received valuable gifts from the Emperor.⁶ On the 9th Sha'bān, 1052 A.H. the Emperor persuaded him to accept the *mansab* of a Commander of 4000 personal and 700 horse⁷ and later promoted him to a *mansab* of 6000 personal and 1500 horse.⁸ He was also appointed to the post of a *Sadr*, an office which was previously held by Mūsavī Khān.⁹ He was a devoted mystic, versed in the technique of the Ṣūfīs and wrote verses under the

1. Supplement, p. 42.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 42. In '*Amal-i Ṣalīḥ* (iii, pp. 358-359) there is a reference to the generosity of the Mīr. It is said that all the people, numbering more than a lac, who assembled on the occasion of the 'Urs of Shāh, 'Ālam are provided with food by the Mīr.

3. The chronogram of his birth is وارث رسول (Bādshāhnāma, Vol. ii, Part ii, p. 332; *Mīrāt-i Aḥmadī*, Suppl., p. 42). According to '*Amal-i Ṣalīḥ* (iii, p. 362) he was born on the 11th Jumāda II, 1003 A.H.

4. *Mīrāt-i Aḥmadī*, Suppl., p. 42.

5. *Memoirs* (translated by Rogers and Beveridge), ii, p. 98.

6. *Yād-i Ayyām* (by 'Abdul Ḥayy), 'Aligarh, 1919, p. 74. According to the *Bādshāhnāma*, ii, p. 134 (1048 A.H.), p. 142 (1048 A.H.), p. 144 (1048 A.H.), p. 151 (1050 A.H.), p. 155 (1049 A.H.), p. 290 (1052 A.H.), p. 307 (1052 A.H.), p. 310 (1052 A.H.), he was given 500 *mulūr*; 2 horses; Rs. 10,000; Rs. 3,000; Rs. 5,000; Rs. 5,000; Rs. 5,000; Rs. 10,000, respectively.

7. *Bādshāhnāma*, ii, pp. 315, 316. He was also awarded Rs. 30,000 cash, besides other presents. Shāh Nawāz Khān (*Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, iii, p. 449) says that the general public disapproved of this action of the Sayyid.

8. On 11th Jumāda I, 1056 A.H. (*Bādshāhnāma*, ii, p. 511). A little later he was raised to 6000 personal and 2000 horse (*Bādshāhnāma*, ii, pp. 627, 718).

9. *Bādshāhnāma*, ii, p. 316; (*Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, iii, p. 449).

pen-name of *Rizā'i*, or *Rizā*.¹ According to Mullā 'Abdul Ḥamīd, the Emperor Shāhjahān had a very high opinion of Sayyid Jalāl's attainments and character and had expressed the opinion that he 'was a most genial companion.'² In 1056 A.H. (1646, A.D.) we find him at Kābul³ and, a year later (20th Rabi' II, 1057) we hear of his death at Lahore.⁴ He was buried there and later his body was exhumed and taken to Ahmadābād and buried at Rasūlābād, near the grave of his father, Sayyid Muḥammad.⁵

1. On a pillar of the porch of the great *rauza* of Qutab 'Ālam at Batwā, the following verses, apparently composed by the same Jalāl, are to be found :

قطب عالم که مست شاه افلاک از روضه او فرود براه افلاک
زین پیش کلاه آسمان بی سر بود شد کعبه او سر کلاه افلاک
خواه زاد این درگاه بر لال بن محمد بن جلال شادی گفته .

(Translation : " Qutab 'Ālam who is sovereign of the spheres.

Has by the *rauza* augmented the glory of the spheres.

Ere this vault of the sky had no Crown ;

His Gunbad (sepulchral cupola) became the crown of the spheres.

Composed by the born Slave of the family Jalāl bin Muḥammad bin Jalāl Shāhi").

(H. Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, 1897, p. 307).

In *Mirāt-i Aḥmadī* (Suppl., p. 43) three *Rubā'i*s of Sayyid Jalāl are quoted. Of them, the following bears the pen-name of the poet, i.e., *Rizā* :

خم خم می عشق را نهان نوش رضا وز گفتن سر عشق خاموش رضا
گر خرقه فقر مصدقی میخوانی عیب همه را چو مرتضی نوش رضا

In *'Amal-i-Ṣaliḥ* (iii, pp. 360, 361) three more *Rubā'i*s are quoted ; while in *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā* (iii, p. 449) another *Rubā'i* is given which the author quotes with the following remark :

این رباعی مشهور است .

2. *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. i, Part ii, p. 331.

3. *Ibida*, Vol. ii, pp. 519, 571. *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, i, p. 771. A year earlier he was in Kashmīr (*Bādshāhnāma*, ii, p. 448).

4. *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. ii, p. 718. The news of his death was conveyed to the Emperor on the 1st umāda I, 1057 (*Bādshāhnāma*, ii, p. 681) who expressed regret at his death ; asked for his pardon from God and bestowed Royal favours on his descendants. *'Amal-i-Ṣaliḥ* (iii, p. 362) places the Sayyid's death on the 11th Jumāda II, which does not seem to be correct. According to *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* (Suppl. p. 43), however, the Sayyid died in 1059 A.H. which is quite wrong. See also *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā* (iii, p. 450) where the Sayyid is reported to have died on the 1st Jumāda I, 1057 A.H.

5. *Mirāt-i Aḥmadī*, Supplement, p. 43. Sayyid Jalāl was survived by three sons :

(i) Sayyid Ja'far *Badr-i-'Ālam* (born 1023 A.H., died 1085 A.H.). He succeeded his father as *Sajjāda Naṣhīn* in 1052 A.H. (*Bādshāhnāma*, ii, p. 315) ; suffered from an attack of paralysis in 1056 A.H. (*Bad.* p. 682), refused to accept the office of *Sadr-us-Sudūr* under Shāhjahān (*Mirāt*, Suppl., p. 44), etc. He is reported to have excelled his father in learning (*Bad.*, ii, p. 753). He was a voluminous writer, and the author of the *Mirāt* (Suppl. pp. 43, 44) refers to one of his works entitled *Rauzat-i Shāhi*, divided into 24 volumes, the first twenty of which deal with the lives of the saints, etc., and the last four contain a discussion on Ḥadīth and Tafsīr. See also *Yād-i-Ayyām* (by 'Abdul Ḥayy), pp. 75, 76. Sayyid Ja'far's son, Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mahbūb 'Ālam* (d. 1111 A.H.) was also a well-known author and mystic : (*Mirāt-i Aḥmadī*, Suppl., p. 44).

(ii) Sayyid 'Alī the second son, (d. 1091 A.H.) held high offices under Shāhjahān and Aurangzib. In the 28th year of the reign of Shāhjahān the title of *Rizawī Khān* was conferred upon him, while in the 10th year of the reign of Aurangzib he was appointed *Sadr-i-'Āzam*. (For details see *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, ii, pp. 307-309).

(iii) Sayyid Mūsā, the third son, who also held an office under Shāhjahān, was sent by the Emperor to Ahmadābād to assist his brother, Sayyid Ja'far, who suffered from paralysis (*Bādshāhnāma*, ii, p. 6. and 2).

Jahângîr says in his autograph-note on the *Futuhāt* MS. that he entrusted the copy to Sayyid Jalâl on the 14th of the Ilâhî month of Daî, in the 14th year of his Julûs (accession) corresponding with the 26th Shawwâl, 1028 A.H. There is an entry in the *Memoirs*, in the 14th year of the accession, dated the 24th Shahrîwar, which runs as follows :—

“To Sayyid Jalâl, s. Sayyid Muḥammad, the grandson of Shâh ‘Ālam Bukhârî, an account of whom has been written among the events of my Gujarât expedition, I gave leave to return. I gave him a female elephant for his riding, as well as his expenses.”¹

It appears that the note on the *Futuhāt* MS. was written some three weeks after the Emperor had given the Sayyid ‘leave to return.’ It is also probably certain that the Sayyid did not leave Agra immediately. Apparently, he remained there for some weeks more and received the manuscript at the time he took formal leave of the Emperor on or about 14th Mihr, the 14th year of the Julûs.

The MS. did reach Mîr Sayyid Muḥammad at Aḥmadâbâd who, as a token of love, gave it to Sayyid Jalâl who had brought it all the way from Agra. His autograph-note which is in Arabic runs as follows :—

وهبت هذا الكتاب لقرّة عيني وقوة ظهري وسمى والدي ولدي جلال الدين محمد مد الله تعالى عمره في رضاه - حرره بانامه محمد بن جلال الدين عنا الله عنهما.

Translation.—I gave this book to the delight of my eyes, the strength of my back and the namesake of my father, my son Jalâl-ud-Dîn Muḥammad. May God prolong his life in accordance with His will. Written with his own hand by Muḥammad, son of Jalâl-ud-Dîn Muḥammad. May God pardon their sins.

Of the three autographs on the manuscript, e.g., of ‘Abdur Rahîm Khân-Khânân, the Emperor Jahângîr and Mîr Sayyid Muḥammad, the last one appears to me to be the most valuable, for, while the autographs of the former two are not very rare, I do not know of the existence of any other autograph of the Mîr.

I hope that the publication of these notes will enable the authorities of the Victoria Memorial Hall to correct the following fantastic description of the manuscript which they have published in their *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibits* :²

“904—Manuscript copy of *Fatoohat Maki* (in Five Volumes). A Book on Sufism by Mohiuddin Arabi in Arabic Language. Vol. I is in the handwriting of the Emperor Jahangir ; Volume II in that of Abdul Rahim Khan, son of Bairam Khan and Vol. III in that of Akbar.”

I am grateful to my friend Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., the Curator of the Hall who granted me every facility in my work.

1. *Memoirs* (translated by Rogers and Beveridge, ii, p. 98).

2. Calcutta, 1925, p. 50.

THE ARABIC POETRY OF HAFIZ

[Hâfiz of Shîrâz is pre-eminently a Persian lyric poet. In his *Diwân* interspersed among Persian poems are found many ornamental Arabic hemistiches and verses which, as the great Indian scholar Shibli has in his famous book *Shî'ru'l A'jam* aptly remarked, are like precious stones set in a ring. Admittedly Hâfiz was versed in Arabic literature and learning, and was endowed with considerable talent for composing Arabic verses; but this does not entitle him to be ranked among the eminent Arabic poets of his period. In the following article the writer has tried to demonstrate by quoting examples that Hâfiz had a remarkable aptitude for versifying in Arabic. *Editor.*]

THE share contributed by the Persians in the expansion of Arabic literature is a subject too vast to be dealt with in a short paper.

But study of the Arabic compositions of those famous Persian poets who are called bilingual, like Mas'ûd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmân, Sa'dî, Khusrâu, 'Imâd, Hâfiz and Jâmî, would furnish ample material for filling the gap in the literary history of Persia. As a matter of fact, the role played by the Persian poets in the realm of Arabic Poetry is of outstanding importance, as it forms a link between the post-classical Arabic literature and the contributions of the Persians to Arabic. This is, indeed, a very interesting subject for study and research, which has hitherto been neglected, at which the late Professor Browne has expressed his astonishment.¹

That Khwâja Hâfiz of Shîrâz enjoys world-wide reputation as a lyrical poet of Persia, does not require special emphasis. His Persian poems are well known and are read with great interest and enthusiasm all over Asia and Europe. But few of his admirers are perhaps aware that Hâfiz possessed the ability of composing poems in Arabic also. Many Arabic verses are found in his *Diwân* which have become an integral part of his Persian poems. The *Diwân* of Hâfiz, which has for long been published in Persia, India and Europe, was not compiled by the poet himself in his lifetime, but was collected after his death by his old friend Muḥammad Gulandâm, who edited it with an introduction. It has been rightly remarked that numerous interpolations have crept into the *Diwân-i-Hâfiz* on account of its constant transcription; and as Ridâ Qûlî says² the verses and odes of Salmân of Sâwa (d. 778 A.H.), a contemporary of Hâfiz, have been inserted in his *Diwân*. Undoubtedly such verses and even complete odes have been interpolated in most of the later editions of the *Diwân*, but there can be

1. *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 447.

2. *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahâ*, Vol. II, p. 12.

no obvious reason for introducing the Arabic verses or poems composed by others in the name of Ḥâfiz, although an instance of this kind will be noticed later on. There is little doubt, however, of the genuineness of these Arabic compositions in the *Dîwân* of Ḥâfiz.

Before dwelling on the Arabic poetry of Ḥâfiz it will be worth while to ascertain the academic career of the poet and his competent knowledge of the Arabic language and literature, and also to inquire what sort of works he composed in Arabic besides these stray verses in his *Dîwân*. In his biographies the poet is simply described as a "Ḥâfiz," or one who has committed the Qur'ân to memory. He was not only a *Ḥâfiz* in this sense; he was also conversant with the different readings of the sacred Book to which he alludes in the following verse:

عشقت رسد بفر یاد ار خود بسان حافظ قرآن ز بر بخوانی با چارده روایت
ندیدم خوشتر از شعر تو حافظ بقرآنی که اندر سینه داری

"Love may attend to your complaint if, like Ḥâfiz, you learn the Qur'ân by heart with fourteen readings.

"I have never seen any poetry sweeter than thine, O Ḥâfiz, by virtue of that Qur'ân which thou keepest in thy bosom."

One of his biographers says that Ḥâfiz received his education under Maulânâ Shamsuddîn 'Abdullâh of Shîrâz, who used to teach in the school founded by him.¹

It is stated that Haji Qiwâmuddîn Ḥasan (d. 754 A.H.), the Vizier of the Treasury of Shâh Abû Ishâq, who was a patron of letters, founded a college at Shîrâz, where he appointed his *protege* Ḥâfiz as a Professor of Jurisprudence and Quranic Commentary.²

His service in the said college can be inferred from the following verses by him:—

طاق و رواق مدرسه و قیل و قال درس زینها بخاک کوی تو مار و نهاده ایم

"Leaving aside the portico and vault of the College, and the discussions of teaching, we have come down to the dust of thy lane."

از قیل و قال مدرسه حالا دم گرفت یکچند نیز خدمت معشوق و می کنم

"My heart has by now got sick of the discourses and discussions of the College and now I should also attend for some time to wine and the beloved."

برد در مدرسه تا چند نشینی حافظ خیز تا از در میخانه کشادی طلبیم

"How long, O Ḥâfiz, wilt thou sit at the door of the school? Get up, and let us find an escape in a tavern."

1. *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣaḥa*, Vol. II, p. 12.

2. *Ḥayât-i-Ḥâfiz* (Urdu), p. 8-11.

زکنج مدرسه حافظ مجوی گوهر عشق قدم برون نه اگر میل جستجو داری

" O Hâfiz, seek not the pearl of love in the corner of the school ; step out if thou art inclined to search for it."

The oldest documentary evidence which we possess about the attainments of Hâfiz in Arabic is the introduction to his *Dîwân*, written by his friend Gulandâm, which is a fine specimen of the Persian prose of the eighth century. In the course of his introduction the editor says, *inter alia* :—

" ولی محافظت درس قرآن و ملازمت شغل سلطان و تحشیہ کشاف و مصباح و مطالعہ مطالع و مفتاح و تحصیل قوانین ادب و تجسس دواوین عرب از جمع ابیات و غریلاتش را مانع آمدی "

Professor Browne has translated the above passage as follows :—

" However, diligent study of the Qur'ân, constant attendance to the King's business, the annotation of the *Kashshâf* and the *Misbâh*, the perusal of the *Matâli*, and the *Miftâh*, the acquisition of canons of literary criticism and the appreciation of Arabic poems prevented him from collecting his verses and odes."¹

In the above translation Browne has read تجسس for تحسین دواوین عرب which, I think is not quite correct. The word تجسس is found in most of the printed as well as manuscript copies of the *Dîwân* of Hâfiz. Besides, this reading does not convey any plausible meaning, as the appreciation of *Dîwâns* or poems does not involve such an absorbing mental pre-occupation as to prevent a poet from compiling his *Dîwân*. The exact translation should therefore be " the search for Arabic *Dîwâns* " which is most suitable and appropriate.

This introduction is to be found in the oldest copies of the *Dîwân*. Haji Khalifa has also translated as follows a portion of the above quotation into Arabic.²

" ذکر مرتب دیوان حافظ فی دیباجتہ ان مولانا حافظ لم یرتب دیوانہ لکثرة اشتغاله بتحشیہ الکشاف والمطالع ودرسہا فرتب بعدہ باشارۃ قوام الدین عبد اللہ "

From this it is evident that Hâfiz, besides studying the Qur'ân, wrote annotations on the well-known commentary of al-Zamakhsharî, which served at that time as text-book in the Arabic Madrasahs and is still prescribed in India and Muslim countries. He also annotated the *Misbâh*, a book on Arabic grammar by al-Mutarrizî (d. 610).³ Both these works

1. A Literary History of Persia, Vol. III, p. 272.

2. *Kashfu'l-Zunun*, Vol. I, p. 508.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 448-449. Haji Khalifa has given the titles of commentaries on this book and the names of their authors, some of whom were contemporaries with Hâfiz. This book was prescribed as a text-book in the 8th century.

of Ḥafīz have apparently been irrecoverably lost. To his annotations on the *Kashshāf* he alludes in the following verse :—

زحافظان جهان کس چو بنده جمع نکرد لطائف حکما با کتاب قرآنی

“No one of the Hafizes in the world has combined as I have the facetious sayings of the philosophers with the scripture of the Qur’ān.”

From the following verses it is evident that Ḥafīz had a special liking for the book *Kashshāf* and spent most of his time in reading, lecturing and writing notes on it. He says :—

ز مصحف رخ دلداری بر خوانم که آن بیان مقامات کشف و کشف است
بخواه دفتر اشعار و در و بصره را کن چه وقت مدرسه و بحث کشف و کشف است

“Read a verse from the book of the face of the beloved, as it is an explanation of difficult passages from the books *Kashf* and *Kashshāf*.”

‘Take the collection of poems and proceed to a desert as this is not the time for attending college and debating the arguments of *Kashf* and *Kashshāf*.”

By *Kashf* mentioned in both the verses probably *Kashfu’l-Asrār* is meant, either a book on the exegesis of the Qur’ān, written by Abū Ṭālib of Mecca (d. 437 A.H.)¹, or the *Kashfu’l-Asrār* of ‘Abdu’l-‘Azīz Ahmad al-Bukhārī (d. 730), a commentary on the Principles of Jurisprudence by al-Bazūdi (d. 482)².

Besides this, Ḥafīz indulged in the study of *Matali’* and *Miftāh*; by the first probably *Matālī’u’l-Anzār* is meant, a work on Logic and Philosophy by al-Baidāwī (d. 683 A.H.)³. The second, *Miftāḥu’l-‘Ulūm*, is a cyclopædia of Rhetoric by as-Sakkākī (d. 606 A.H.)⁴. Both these works were generally prescribed as text-books for higher studies in Arabic in those times. This is a proof of Ḥafīz’s scientific and philosophical studies in the Arabic language.

From the introduction to the *Dīwān* of Ḥafīz, referred to above, we learn about his fondness for the *Dīwāns* of Arab poets which is of itself a testimony to his high taste in Arabic poetry. In the opening line of his *Dīwān* he has inserted a hemistich from the following verse of the Umayyad ruler, the notorious Yazīd, who was a poet of some distinction and the author of a *Dīwān*.⁵

1. *Hajī Khalifah*, Vol. II, p. 320.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 114-115.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 480. *Hajī Khalifah* has given a list of commentaries on *Miftāh*, some of them written by contemporaries of Ḥafīz.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 526.

اَنَا الْمَسْمُومُ مَا عِنْدِي بَرِّيَاقٌ وَلَا رَاقٌ أَدْرِكَا سَأْوَنَا وَلَهَا الْيَا يَاهَا السَّاقِ

This quotation of Hâfiz became so popular that it inspired several poets to compose odes modelled after the same metre and rhyme. Of such imitations the following Ghazal of Jâmi may be taken as a fine imitation.¹

نَسِيمُ الصَّبْحِ زُرْمَنِي رَبِّي بِخَدِّ وَقَبْلَهَا كَهْ بُوئے دُوستِ می آید ازانِ بَا کِزِهْ مَنزِلَهَا
رَسِيدَا يَنْكِ زَرِهْ سَلَمِي وَمِنْ اَزْضَعْفِ تَنْزِينِ سَانِ فَخِذْ يَا صَاحِ رُوحِي تَحْفَةً مَنِي وَقَبْلَهَا
زَجُورِ دُورِ غَمْفَرِ جَامِ جَامِي غَصَهْ هَا دَارِدِ وَلَكِنْ خَوْفِ اَمْلَالِ النَّدَامِي لَمْ يَطُولَهَا

The مقطع or concluding couplet, in the above-mentioned Ghazal of Hâfiz has been a subject of criticism by the Indian poet and critic, the learned Azâd of Bilgirâm who says that in the following hemistich :—

مَتِي مَا تَلَقَّ مِنْ تَهْوِي دَعِ الدُّنْيَا وَامْهَلَهَا

the letter ف should have been supplied before the word دَعِ, because according to the rules of Grammar when the compensation جزاء of a hypothesis شرط falls in the imperative, prohibitive or nominal proposition, it is expedient to add ف before it.² But ar-Radî in his commentary on Kafiyyah³ and some commentators of Alfîyyah have allowed such a latitude to the poets, who are accordingly at liberty not to use ف in such cases. It is a well-known dictum that “يَجُوزُ لِلشَّاعِرِ مَا لَا يَجُوزُ لغيرِهِ” what is allowed to poets is not allowed to others.”

That Hâfiz had access to the works of the Arabian poets can be inferred from his verses in which he seems to have borrowed the ideas of those poets, for instance :⁴

بِرَوَايِنِ دَامِ بَرْمَرِغِ دُكْرَنَهْ كَهْ عَنقَارَا بِلَنْدِ اسْتِ آشِيَانَهْ

which is apparently a direct importation of the idea expressed by Abu'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri in the following verse :

اَرَى الْعَنْقَاءَ تَكْبِرَانِ تَصَادَا فَعَانَدَ مِنْ تَطِيقِ لَهُ عَنَادَا

The Arab poet at-Tannûkhi says :

وَإِذَا مَتَّ اسْطَحْجَانِي وَافْرَشَا مِنْ عَضْوَنِ الْكَرَمِ تَحْتِي فَرَشَا
وَاقْطَعَا نِي كَفْنَا مِنْ زَقَاهَا وَانْضَجَا مِنْهُ عَلَيْهِ وَارَشَا

1. The complete ode of Jâmi with an English translation will be found in Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III, pp. 544-545.

2. Khazana-i-'Amira, p. 182.

3. Sharhu'r-Radi 'ala'l-Kafiyyah, Vol. 1, p. 86.

4. A *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III, p. 289.

و اد فنانی یا ندیمی الی اصل کرم فرعه قد عرشا
ایظل الفرع منی ظاهراً ویر والا صل منی العطشا
و کلا نابعد ما قلت الی حاکم یفعل فینا ما یشا

Ḥâfiz seems to have borrowed the same idea in the following verses of his Sâqî-Nâmah :

چو من بگنردم زین جهان خراب بشوئید جسم مرا با شراب
بتابوئے از چوب تا کم کنید براه خرابات خا کم کنید
باب خرابات غسل دهید پس انگاه بردوش مستم نهید
مریزید برگرد من جز شراب میارید در ما تم جز رباب

Al-Khatib of Qazwin says :

لوم تکن نية الجوزاء خدمته لما رأیت علیها عقد منتطق

Ḥâfiz reproduces the same idea in his following verse :

جوزا سحر نهاد حائل بر ابرم یعنی غلام شاهم و سو گند می خورم

The following line of the famous Tughrâ'i :

هذا هلال العيد قد جاءنا بمنجل یحصد شهر الصيام

has surely inspired our poet when he says :

مزرع سبز فلک دیدم و داس مه نو یادم از کشته خویش آمد و هنگام درو

About the poet's knowledge of Arabic Professor Browne observes :—

“As regards Ḥâfiz's intellectual attainments, his bilingual poems alone show that he had a good knowledge of Arabic, apart from the statements of his editor, Muhammad Gulandâm, as to his more scientific work in that language.”¹

Looking to a trustworthy piece of historical importance, contained in the introduction to his *Dîwân*, and finding in it references to his literary pursuits, we come on sure ground as to Ḥâfiz's qualifications and his systematic studies in Arabic arts and sciences. The following verses show that Ḥâfiz was well-acquainted with the following standard works of Arabic Philosophy and Medicine: the *Sharhu'l-Mawâqif* by Qâdî Adududdîn at-lajî and *Al-Qânûn* and *Ash-Shifâ* of Avicenna :

1. *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III, p. 289.

دگر چو قاضی فاضل عضد که در تصنیف بنای شرح مواقف بنام شاه نهاد
دی گفت طیب از سر حسرت چو مرادید هیات که درد تو ز قانون و شرافت

His thirst for acquaintance with various branches of Arabic learning is evident from an anecdote mentioned by the author of *Lata'ifu'l-Khayâl*¹ in which Hâfiz is said to have read *Hikmatu'l-'Ain*, a text-book of Philosophy,² with Sayyid Sharif of Jurjân. It is related that while reading Hâfiz asked his teacher the definition of *جهل بسیط* or Simple Ignorance, to which the latter replied : ' It is the same kind of ignorance as employed by you in the following verse :

گفتم این جام جهان بین تو که داد حکیم گفت آن روز که این گنبد مینامی کرد

(i.e., ' When did the Wise give you this world-reflecting goblet ?' I asked him. ' The very day when He was making this goblet-like dome,' he replied).

There is no separate Arabic *Diwân* of Hâfiz, but the occasional Arabic verses and poems which are scattered here and there in his Persian *Diwân* form the bulk of the Arabic production of Hâfiz. These verses and poems are of two kinds, viz. :—

1. *Mulamma'ât*, " Patchwork " or Macaronic poems, in which alternate lines or verses are in two different languages, generally Arabic and Persian. The Arabic hemistich is often some well-known phrase from the verses of the *Qur'ân* or a quotation from *Hadîth* (the Sayings of the Prophet), a proverb or an aphorism, and these have been so exquisitely set that, according to the learned Shiblî, " they look like pretty gems set in a ring."³

2. Purely Arabic poems and verses which are unrivalled in simplicity and eloquence and bear witness to the cultivated ease with which Hâfiz composed in Arabic. He himself says out of humility :—

اگر چه عرض سخن پیش یار بی ادبی است ز بان خموش ولیکن دهان پر از عربیست

The word '*Ajam* in Arabic means dumb, and therefore *زبان خموش* may be taken for '*Ajami* or Persian language, and the meaning would be that, although the poet's tongue is Persian, yet his mouth is full of Arabic. Ibn Ma'sûm has taken the second hemistich of Hâfiz in the same meaning.⁴

I give here below the Arabic verses and poems of Hâfiz as gathered from his Persian *Diwân*. It must be mentioned that most of these Arabic

1. The original text was published in the *Oriental College Magazine*, November 1934 ; a Persian work on the biographies of Persian poets, written in 1072 A.H. (1665 A.D.), a unique MS. of which has been discovered and described by Professor Muhammad Iqbal of the Punjab University.

2. A treatise on Divine Philosophy written by Ali b. Muhammad known as *Dabiran-al-Katibi* of Qazwin d. 675 A.H.).

3. *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, Vol. II, p. 227.

4. *Sulâfatu'l-'Ajam*, p. 489.

verses have been found to be transcribed incorrectly. I have been able to collate them with different copies of the *Diwān* and have corrected the mistakes made by the copyists.

I. The first kind of ¹Ḥafīz's Arabic poetry falls into four groups :—

The *taḍmin*¹ or "insertion" of Quranic verses, of which the following are illustrations :

- شب قدر است وطنی شد نامه هجر سلام هی حتی مطلع الفجر²
 چشم حافظ زیر بام قصر آن حوری سرشت شیود جنات تجری تحتها الأنهار داشت³
 ارچه بغمد میکشی تیغ جفا بکین من فکر مگر نمی کنی فی عمد ممدد⁴
 چو هست آب حیات بدست تشنه میر فلا تمت ومن الماء کل شیء حی⁵
 محتسب خم شکست و من سراو سن بالسن والجروح قصاص⁶
 به حسن عارض وقد تو برده اند پناه بهشت و طوبی طوبی لهم وحسن مآب⁷

(2) The insertion of Ḥadith or sayings of the Prophet are found in the following couplets :—

- شعبده بازی کنی هر دم و نیست این روا قال رسول ربنا ما انا قط من ادى
 مشورت با عقل کردم گفت حافظ می بنوش سا قیامی ده بقول مستشار مؤتمن⁸

(3) Proverbs :—

- بصوت بلبل و قری اگر ننوشی می علاج کے کنمت آخر الدواء الکی⁹
 هر چند کار مودم از وی نبود سودم من جرب المنجرب حلت به الندامه

1. *Sulābat'ul-'Asr* p. 489

2. *Qur'ān* 97 : 5.

3. *Ibid.*, 1 : 25

4. *Ibid.*, 104 : 9

5. *Ibid.*, 21 : 30.

The poet Anwarī has also inserted this verse in his following couplet :—

سیر آبست و حق می گوید ومن الماء کل شیء حی

(*Kulliyat*, p. 742, Lucknow).

6. *Ibid.*, 5 : 45.

7. *Ibid.*, 13 : 29.

8. See Taybis' *Sharhu'l-mishkhāt*.

9. Vide al-'Askari's *Jamharatu'l-Amthāl*, p. 24, Bombay.

Anwarī says :—

گر کنم خیار به خود سوزم گفته اند آخر الدواء الکی

رخیم مذکر نثار بود روزی چند بدان دلیل که القاص لایحب القاص¹

(4) Lyrical mulamm'a or "patchwork" verses which abound in the Dīwān :—

(I)

خدا را بر من بیدل بیخشا می و او صلی علی رعم الاعادی
نگار را در غم سودا می عشقت تو کنا علی رب العباد
دل حافظ شد اندر چین زلفت بلبل مظلّم والله هادی

(II)

من از رندی نخواهم کرد توبه ولو آذیتنی بالهجر والهجر
وفا خواهی جفا کش باش حافظ فان الربیع والخسران فی التجر

(III)

الا ای ساربان محل دوست الی رکا نکم طال اشتیاق
بیا ساق بده رطل گرانم سقاك الله من کاس دهاق
دروغم خون شد از نادیدن دوست الا تعسا لایام الفراق
مضت فرص الوصال وما شعرنا بگو حافظ غزلها می فراق

(IV)

چند پوید بهوائی تو زهر سو حافظ یسر الله طریقاً بک یا ملتسمی

(V)

شمت روح وصال و شمت برق جمال بیا که بوی ترا میرم ای نسیم شمال
احادیا لجمال الحلیب قف وانزل که نیست صبر جمیل در اشتیاق وصال

(VI)

اختیاری نیست بدنا می ما ضلّی فی العشق من یهدی السبیل
بی می و مطرب بفردوسم نخوان راحتی فی الراح لا فی السلسیل

(VII)

بیان شکن هر آئینه گردد شکسته دل ان العهد عند ملوک التهی ذم
در نیل غم فتاد و سپهرش بطعنه گفت الآن قد ندمت وما ینفع الندم
حافظ بکنج میکده دارد قرارگاه کالطیر فی الحدیقة واللیث فی الاجم

1. 'Imād Faqīh, a compatriot of Ḥāfiẓ has also inserted the same proverb in his following verse :—

بلبل ار طعمه زند بر من چه عم القاص لایحب القاص

(Oriental College Magazine, Vol. V, No. 4, Lahore).

(VIII)

چشم خونبار مرا خواب نه درخور باشد من له یقبل داء عجبا کیف نیام
تو ترحم نکنی بر من بیدل دانم ذاك دعواى وهانت وتلك الايام

(IX)

از خون دل نوشتم نزدیک یار نامه انی رایت دهر آ فی هجرک القیامه
هر چند کاز مودم از وی نبود سودم من جرب المجرب حلت به الندامه
دارم من از فراق در دیده صد علامت لیست دموع عینی هذا لنا العلامه
پرسیدم از طبیبی احوال دوست گفتا فی بعدها عذاب فی قریبها القیامه
گفتم ملامت آرد گر گردد دوست کردم واللہ ما راینّا حبّاً بلا ملامه
باد صبا دلم را نا که نقاب برداشت کاشمس فی ضحیها تطلع من الغمامه
1 حافظ چو طالب آمد جامی و جان شیرین حتی یذوق منه کاسا من الکرامه

(X)

خوشادمی که در آئی و گویمت بسلامی قدمت خیر قدوم نزلت خیر مقام
بمی نما ند که روز فراق ما بپیر آید رایت من ربضات الحمی قباب خیامی
بعدت منك و قد صرت ذائبا کهلّال اگر چه روی چو ماهت ندیده ام بتامی

(XI)

بسا که گفته ام از شوق باد و دیده خویش ایا منازل سلمی فاین سلماک
بعجیب واقعه بس غریب حادثه ایست انا اصططرت قتیلا و قاتلی شاک
اثر نما ند ز من بی تمائلت آری ارا ما اثر محیای من محیاک
دع التکاسل تغنم فقد جری مثل که زاد را هر وان چستی است و جالاک

It must be remarked here that, in the above Ghazal, Ḥāfız has imitated the ode of his compatriot 'Imād Faqīh using the metre and rhyme employed by the latter, as in other odes in which too, the metres and rhymes used by 'Imād have been adopted by Ḥāfız. The following concluding line of 'Imād has also been quoted by Ḥāfız :—

عماد خسته بگویت همیشه می گوید ایا منازل سلمی فاین سلماک

Professor Iqbāl of the Punjab University has published such parallel odes of both the poets in the *Oriental College Magazine*.²

1. Jāmi, in the same rhyme but in a different metre, has written the following Arabic verses, as given by Azad in *Atashkadah* (p. 80) :—

سلام الله مااحت حمامه لفقد الالف او حادته حمامه
على اکفاف واد حل فیها سعاد بالسعادة والسلامه

2. November 1929, pp. 95-96.

II. The second kind of Ḥāfiẓ's Arabic poetry is purely Arabic verses of which a considerable selection is found in his *Dīwān*. I have collected them here, just to give an idea of his Arabic compositions :—

(I)

سبت سلمى بصدغيها فوادی وروحي كل يوم لاينادی
امن انكرتني عن حب ليلي عريق العشق في بحر الوداد

(II)

سليمى منذ حلت بالعراق الاق في هواها ما آلاق
ربيع العمر في مرعى حاكم حماك الله يا عهد التلاق
نهاني الشيب عن وصل العذارى سوى تقبيل خد واعتناق

(III)

بضرب سيفك قتلى حيا تنا ابدا فان روى قد طاب ان يكون فداك

(IV)

ما بسلمى ومن بذى سلم اين جيراننا وكيف الحال
عفت الدار بعد عافية فاستلوا حالها عن الا طلال
قصة العشق لا انفصام لها فصمت ههنا لسان الحال
يا بريد الحمى حماك الله مرحبا مرحبا تعال تعال
في كمال الجمال نلت منى صرف الله عنك عين كمال

The last verse, not found in any of the printed copies of the *Dīwān*, has been taken from Sādiq 'Alī's commentary on the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ.¹

(V)

يا ملجأ البرايا يا واهب العطايا عطفاً على مقل حلت به الدواهي

(VI)

اتت روائح رندا الحمى وزاد غرامى من المبلغ عنى الى سعاد سلامى
اذا تقرب عن ذى الاراك طائر خير فلا تفرد من روضها اين حماى
وان دعيت بلحد وصرت ناقض عهد فما تطيب نفسى و ما استطاب منامى

In this ode also, the following Ghazal of 'Imād has been imitated:—

على منازل سلمى تحيتي و سلامى هناك روضة آنسى وتلك دار سلامى²

1. *Sharḥ Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 295-298. Nawalkishore Press 1314 A.H.

2. *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. VI, No. I, pp. 95-96.

(VII)

سلام الله ماكر الليالى على ملك المكارم والمعالى
 على واد الاراك ومن عليها ودار بالوى فوق الرمال
 اموت صابرا يا ليت شعري متى نطق البشر عن الوصال
 فحبك راحتي في كل حين وذكرك مونسى في كل حال

An Arabic ode of nine couplets has been given by Ṣādiq 'Alī in the name of Ḥāfīz in his commentary on the *Dīwān*, which begins with the following line :—

الم يات للاحباب ان يرحموا ولنا قضين العهد ان يتندموا

But this ode belongs to the famous poet Amīr Khusrau (d. 722 A.H.) who quotes it *in extenso* in his introduction to the Persian *Dīwān Ghurratu'l-Kamāl*.¹

In conclusion, I am inclined to remark that the Arabic poetry of Ḥāfīz has a peculiar charm of its own and on account of its archaic simplicity and elegant style, deserves to rank with the best poetry of the later and contemporaneous Arabic poets, which is not regarded by some critics as original in the real sense because it lacks the rigid conventionalities of Arabic classicism. As a matter of fact, we fail to find in the Arabic poetry of Ḥāfīz that force of expression, fluency and artistic exuberance, rich imagery and glowing eloquence which characterise his Persian odes and which have immortalised him as the greatest lyrical poet Persia has ever produced. It is hardly necessary to point out here that the plane of Ḥāfīz's imaginative flights was the Persian rose-garden, in which he poured out his melodies like a sweet nightingale, but it was beyond his natural tendencies and intellectual environments to sing in the strain which the mountainous region and sandy desert of Arabia demanded. Therefore his Arabic poems appear like a rather colourless bouquet of wild flowers as compared with his blooming Persian rose-garden.

AHMEDMIAN AKHTAR.

1. *Dibācha-i-Ghurratu'l-Kamāl*, p. 65, Delhi.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

DECCAN

THE *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i Urdu* :—The Anjuman was founded in 1903 in Aligarh. Its object and purpose was to enrich the Urdu language by translating works of western literature and science into Urdu and by undertaking works of compilation in the same language on different subjects.

The first Hon. Secretary of the Anjuman was Moulvi Shibli. He was succeeded in this office by Moulvi Habibur Rahman Khan Sherwani and Moulvi Aziz Mirza respectively. At the death of the latter Moulvi Abdul Haq undertook the sole responsibility of running the Anjuman. Under his secretaryship during the last nearly thirty years the Anjuman has become one of the most important literary associations in the country. It would be correct to say that when Moulvi Abdul Haq took up the responsibility of bringing up this infant association, it was weak and deficient in vitality. But by his untiring and fostering care it grew up into a healthy and strong, organism full of life and promise.

For a long time Moulvi Sahib was Inspector of Schools and the Principal of the Intermediate College at Aurangabad (Deccan). The Headquarters of the Anjuman were fixed up there in the picturesque surroundings of the 'Begam's Mausoleum.' But as the scope of the Anjuman's work widened it was felt that Aurangabad was anything but a centrally situated place for its purpose. In the All-India Urdu Conference, held at Aligarh on the 24th and 25th October, 1936, it was finally decided that the headquarters of the Anjuman should be established at Delhi in order to facilitate its contact with the provincial organizations and to enable it to take a more active part in the promotion of the Urdu language in different parts of the country.

As the Anjuman is now leaving this part of the country, a brief resumé of its literary achievements will not be out of place :

The earlier work of the Anjuman was mostly confined to publishing learned books; but lately it has vigorously undertaken the popularisation of the Urdu language among the masses of the people. It has published some very old and rare anthologies after due collation and comparison of different manuscripts. The most important among them are the following :—

Tazkira-i-Gulzar-i-Ibrahimi; Tazkirat Shu'rai-Urdu of Mir Hasan Tazkira-i-Shura (pertaining to Urdu poets in Gujarat); Tazkira-i-Urdu of Mushafi, Tazkira-i-Shu'rai Urdu of Fath Ali Gudezi;

Chaministan-i-Shu'ra of Lachmi Narain Shafiq ; Makhzan-i-Nukat of Qayamuddin Qaim ; Diwan-i-Asar ; Diwan-i-Yaqin ; Intikhab-i-Kalam-i-Mir ; Kulliyat-i-Wali and Mathnavi-i-Khwab-o-Khiyal of Asar.

A monumental work of the Anjuman is the Standard English-Urdu Dictionary, which is by far the largest and most comprehensive English-Urdu Dictionary ever published, providing a thorough treatment of over 200,000 English words and phrases. The most striking feature of this compilation is that it gives Urdu equivalents not only for words in literary, colloquial and dialectal use ; but also for those that belong to the terminology of arts and sciences, as also for obsolete and archaic words used in literary books. Copious illustrations are given to explain a word having different shades of meaning that are not easily distinguishable, or when its definition is difficult of comprehension until exemplified. In cases where the existing Urdu vocabulary was found unable to sustain the meaning of the English, original new words have been coined in perfect harmony with the genius of the Urdu language. This work amply shows the richness of the Urdu language to express different nuances of thought with the utmost accuracy.

The Anjuman is also preparing a Dictionary of the Urdu language of a very high standard. The entire field of Urdu literary and colloquial usage has been explored and the history of every word is being given with illustrative quotations from standard works. This may be said to be the first Urdu Dictionary for the preparation of which the most scientific and ideal procedure has been adopted. This Dictionary will take some years more to complete.

Besides this large Urdu Dictionary two more works of immense importance are in hand (1) A Dictionary of Technical Terms (including terms of Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Economics, Politics and History). (2) A Dictionary of Crafts and Trades. Great pains have been taken to collect thousands of words of different crafts and trades which were in the process of dying out.

When the present Secretary of the Anjuman undertook the responsibility of running it he well realised that he must rely on himself. And so he did. But what a vast burden he was called upon to shoulder ! By his untiring and indefatigable zeal and sincerity he succeeded in transforming the Anjuman into an all-India organisation of great importance and possibilities.

Idara-i-Adabiyat-i-Urdu :—This is a recently started association which has for its object the publication of Urdu literary works. It has been doing useful work for some time. It has published several valuable anthologies which deal with Deccani poets of different periods. Some of them are as follows : Muraqqa-i-Sukhan ; Siraj-i-Sukhan ; Imam-i-Sukhan ; Faiz-i-Sukhan ; and Mata'i Sukhan. The association also publishes a monthly 'Sab-Ras' which has a wide circulation in Hyderabad.

The Jamiah-i-Nizamiyah :—The Jamiah-i-Nizamiyah was founded by

Maulana Anwarullah Nawab Fazilat Jung 67 years ago. This institution specializes in the teaching of Islamic studies and theology. On the 9th February 1939 it celebrated its 'Foundation Day' under the presidentship of Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Political and Educational Member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. This is not a suitable occasion to enter into any detailed discussion of the comparative merits of the ancient and the modern methods of teaching. It is certainly gratifying to see that the suggestion introducing modern methods of teaching was well received on this occasion. Religion must not be divorced from education and yet it is necessary that religious education should be imparted in a manner which instead of becoming drudgery should create interest in the minds of the students.

On this occasion an exhibition of manuscripts and calligraphy was organized, which proved to be a great success. Prizes were awarded to those whose specimens of calligraphy were considered to be of a superior quality. Such exhibitions are useful and instructive in that they inculcate artistic taste in the general public.

Y. H.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE *Anjuman-i-Bahar-e-Adab* of Lucknow came recently into sudden prominence by organising an Urdu Day all over Northern India on the 18th November 1938. It was purely a non-political movement, and the Hindus and Muslims shared equally in making the day a success, which was remarkable for processions and meetings held in all the cities and towns of the province. The Allahabad meeting was presided over by the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, now the President of the *Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-e-Urdu* of India. He spoke on the historical importance of Urdu, which he characterised as an emblem of Hindu-Muslim unity, and an indivisible joint property of both the communities. A great lover of beauty, grace and flavour of Urdu as he is, he did not want them to be destroyed by the use of uncommon Arabic and Sanskrit words. Pandit Krishen Prasad Kaul, a well-known author and Member of the Servants of India Society, presided over the meeting held in this connection at Lucknow. He said that Urdu was a mixture of several languages spoken by men of various nationalities who came together during the war days of medieval India. They found it difficult to understand each other if they spoke their own language, and, as a result, Urdu came into existence as a common language. Another notable Hindu gentleman, who presided over the meeting held at Agra, dealt with the elevating effect and cultural refinement which Urdu had brought into Indian society. It has done, he added, very useful service in the past and has vast potentialities for the future. He exhorted the lovers of Urdu to simplify, enrich and popularise it.

Bihar and some parts of Bengal also celebrated the Urdu Day, which has unmistakably served a useful purpose in strengthening its cause in Northern India. It is pleasing to note that it is making considerable headway in Bengal, and some of the staunch Muslim supporters of Bengali have also begun to associate themselves in propagating its cause in Bengal. Last year a number of the branches of the Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-e-Urdu were established there at Dr. Abdul Haq's initiative, and in last January a Bengal Urdu conference was held in Calcutta, in which articles dealing with the contributions made by Bengal to Urdu literature were read and appreciated. The conference sought favours from the centres of Urdu learning to encourage Urdu authors of Bengal. It has also requested the Government of Bengal to impart primary education through the medium of Hindustani.

Hindustani as the medium of instruction is engaging the attention of the Muslims of Bihar and the U. P. also. In the annual convocation of the Muslim University, Aligarh, the Hon'ble Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur (Member of the Executive Council, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government) gave some valuable suggestions in his admirable address, which he delivered in Hindustani, and thus broke for the first time in the history of the University the convention of English convocation addresses. He said that it is simply humiliating for a nation to impart education to its children through a non-mother-tongue, which cannot keep alive those thoughts, traditions and culture, which are parts of its national heritage. He made therefore a stirring appeal to make Urdu the chief medium of instruction in the Muslim University.

Happily, the Hon'ble Minister of Education of Bihar, who is an old boy of Aligarh, has undertaken the arduous task of working out details for instruction in schools of the U. P. and Bihar through the medium of Hindustani, i.e., Urdu and Hindi. He has appointed a Committee, consisting of illustrious Muslim and Hindu scholars and educationists of the U. P. and Bihar, to evolve a common Hindustani language for adoption as the medium of instruction in schools. It held an important meeting in last December at Patna, in which it considered the question of coining Hindustani technical terms with Urdu and Hindi equivalents. It was agreed that so far as the use of scientific terms in Hindustani was concerned the words should as far as possible be drawn from Indian sources commonly understood and not directly from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian or any other language, failing which the terms usually employed in the scientific terminology of the western countries should be adapted to the requirements of the committee. The committee has appointed three sub-committees to frame words as suggested on above lines. Dr. Abid Husain of Jama' Millia and Dr. Abdul Haq of the Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-e-Urdu have been deputed to work in this connection in Delhi, and Syed Suleyman Nadvi, along with some Hindu colleagues, at Patna. They will submit their reports in March 1939. Dr. Abdul Haq has already compiled some parts of the Hindustani dictionary which were shown to the members

and approved.

The problem of a common language has given rise to the question of a common script also. A section of the progressive Mussalmans suggest Roman script, but the above-mentioned committee does not consider it opportune at present for the introduction of any single script, be it Roman or any other. The committee has gauged the public opinion rightly. A prominent Mussalman said in the course of his presidential address of a semi-political conference held at Patna in Xmas week ; " Let me warn you most emphatically, that if you allow Urdu script to be changed for any other, you will be unwittingly saying good-bye to the soul of your Islamic religion and culture." The question of script was discussed in the convocation address of the Aligarh University also by Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur who said that at present the best solution seems to be to leave it to the choice of those who want education.

The All-India Philosophical Congress, which has done yeoman service in stimulating philosophical thought in India, held its fourteenth session at Allahabad on 26th December 1938. With a view to enable the Muslim thinkers to exchange ideas and to create interest in Muslim culture, a section of Muslim philosophy has been added to the congress this year. This was presided over by Dr. K. A. Hakim of the Osmania University. In his presidential remarks he said that Muslim philosophy is the intellectual structure raised on the foundation of Islam, which was not a metaphysical creed but an ethical and sociological revolution, guiding towards quite a new way of life. Muslim philosophy is therefore the philosophy of their religion which has, again, Muslim ethics as its integral part, and the most valuable contributions to the wealth of human thought were to be found within the sphere of Muslim philosophy of religion. But he deplored that Muslim philosophy was taught in India half-heartedly. Even the Muslim University of Aligarh has no professor for the subject. He emphasised the necessity of study and research in Muslim philosophy, which has greatly enriched the cultural heritage of India.

The papers contributed in the section by Muslim scholars were : (1) The Problem of Free-Will in Islam, (2) The Philosophy of Society in Islam, (3) Mysticism in Islam and (4) The Concept of Self in the Poetry of Iqbal.

The Philosophy Department of Aligarh has been conducting research in the theological philosophy of Ahmad Sirhindi, (better known as Mujjadid Alf Sani), which has now earned the degree of doctorate for one of its students. It has been highly appreciated by eminent scholars for its thoroughness of details and presentation of the subject-matter. Mujjadid Alf Sani's life and mission have recently aroused much interest in the U. P. and last month a Mujjadid Alf Sani's Number of an Urdu monthly ' Al-Furqan ' of Bareilly, U. P. came out. It contains some useful and interesting articles on the contributions made by Mujjadid Alf Sani to Islamic society and the polity of India in the 11th century A. H.

During the period under report the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, U. P.

has published two books, viz. : *Sirat-un-Nabi*, Vol. VI and *Maqalat-i-Shibli* Vol. VIII. The former is a volume of the life of the Holy Prophet of which five volumes have already appeared. The present volume deals with the ethical and moral teachings of Islam. In the beginning it has an elaborate discussion on the philosophy of Islamic ethics, which forms the pith and marrow of the book. The past writers on Islamic ethics, e.g., Ibn Maskwaih, Imam Ghazzali and Tusi and others treated the subject after the manner of Greek philosophy, but no one had yet explained the Islamic principles of ethics. This has been done in the above book. After this, there follow four chapters on Duties (including Behaviour), Virtues, Vices and Manners which have been discussed purely in the light of the Holy Prophet's teaching. The volume contains six hundred pages.

The second book is a collection of articles contributed by the late Maulana Shibli Noamani to contemporary newspapers on religious, historical, educational, literary and political topics.

In the session of the Idara-i-Maarif Islamia, held in Delhi in Xmas week, the Muslim scholars of the U. P. had a large share by contributing a good number of papers on the following subjects :—(1) The Earliest Compilation on the Geography of Hejaz and Tahāma, (2) Abu Hilal Askari's *Al-awā'il*, (3) Ibn Hazm Zahiri's *Jamhar-ut-un Nasāb* (4) Modern Iran (5) Indo-Arabic works on Traditions (6) Qannauj and Sind (7) Arab Compilers of Arabic Lexicons (8) Geography and the Mussalmans.

The old boys of the Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow, and the Shibli Academy of Azamgarh, invited the Idara to hold its next session at Lucknow. It has accepted the invitation, and its next meeting is to be held at Lucknow in 1940.

Just on the eve of writing this report, the U. P. sustained a great loss in the sad demise of Maulvi Khalilur Rahman, who was a well-known scholar in the history of Muslim rule in Spain and Morocco. He was the author of the following works mainly derived from English sources :—*Akhbar-ul-Undulus*, 4 Vols., *Muwalladeen*, *Nafh-al-Teeb*, and *Tarikh-ul-Khulafa*, etc.

At a monthly meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, an interesting paper was read on Firuz Shah Tughlaq's expedition to Thatt. The writer of the paper dealt with a letter found in a rare Persian manuscript, *Insha-i-Mahru*, which contains letters written by Amin-ul-Mulk Mahru, an eminent courtier of Sultan Muhammad and Firuz Shah Tughluq. The letter throws light on the circumstances that led to Sultan Firuz Shah's expedition to Thatt in Sind, which are quite different from the version of 'Afif's *Fīruz Shāhī*. 'Afif says that the expedition was undertaken with the objectives of conquest and vengeance, but the letter proves that it was a sequel to the aggression of Bābaniya, the ruler of Thatt. This is corroborated by *Sirat-i-Fīruz Shāhī* also.

At the annual meeting of the above society held on 6th February, 1939, the following exhibits were of special interest (1) a finely illustrated and ornamented manuscript of Persian poems of Hassan, Hafiz, Jami and

others. Copied by Mir Arab al-Husayni in 987 A.H. (2) An album of specimens of Islamic calligraphy, some of which bore the signatures of Ali Rida, Ibrahim al-Yazd, Wisal Shirazi, Sharifi (a Persian poet of the 10th century A.H.) and others. (3) An album of specimens of Islamic calligraphy, bearing the autographs of Ahmad al-Nairizi, Wisal Shirazi, Abdul Majid Isfahani and others. (4) Shah Namah by Firdausi Tusi, written calligraphically and containing several curious miniature paintings finished in the Tartar style. (5) *Al Ikhtisar Wat Tajrid* by Muhammad bin Uthman ash-Shafi'i, a work on the sayings of the Holy Prophet. It is an autograph copy written in 728 A.H. (6) The *Mu'allaqat* with a commentary of Ali bin Abdallah al-Wahrani. The MS. is dated 515 A.H. (1121 A. D.)

S. S.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

EIGHTH QUINQUENNIAL SESSION, ZURICH

August—September 1938.

FIFTY-SIX nations were represented by 1,200 historians at this very important Congress, at which India sent two official delegates, viz., Father Heras, S. J., Principal of St. Xavier's College and Director of Indian Historical Research Institute Bombay, and Professor H. K. Sherwani, Head of the Department of History and Political Science, Osmania University. Among other oriental or Muslim countries which sent official representatives to the Congress may be mentioned Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, China, Egypt, Iran, Palestine, Syria and Turkey. It may interest our readers that Algeria was represented solely by Frenchmen, Afghanistan by His Excellency the Afghan delegate to the League of the Nations, Palestine by the Professor of History at the Jewish University, Syria by His Excellency Emir Shekib Arslan and Turkey by Dr. Fuad Köprülü and Dr. Hamit Zübeyr Kosay, the former being Professor of History at Ankara and member for Kars in the Grand National Assembly, and the latter Director-General of Museums and Antiquities of the Turkish Republic. Apart from Father Heras and Professor Sherwani, who represented India officially, Calcutta University and Greater India Society were represented by Dr. Ghoshal, C. P. and Berar Research Society by Mr. Deshpande, Bombay University by Dr. Kaufmann and the University of the Punjab by Prof. D. Ward. In addition to these Indian representatives, Dr. Spear of St. Stephens College, Delhi and Mr. Whitehead, I.C.S., Advisor to Indian students at Cambridge also assisted the Indian delegation by their advice and thorough co-operation.

The Congress organisation is divided into a number of commissions

and Father Heras and Professor Sherwani were nominated by the Bureau to serve on the Eastern Commission. On hearing of his nomination, which was effected about a month before the meeting of the Congress, Prof. Sherwani sent the notice of a resolution to the Secretary proposing that the cultural influence of Islam had not been adequately treated by western historians in general and the International Bibliography of Historical Sciences in particular, and it was in the fitness of things that more regard were paid to it. The meeting of the Commission was held on August 27, i.e., a day before the formal opening of the Congress. There were present, besides Dr. Temperley, the President of the Congress and Chairman of the Commission, Dr. Olivia Maclachlan of Cambridge who acted as the Secretary, Dr. Hu Shih of China, Dr. Otto Franke of Germany, Dr. Krom of the Netherlands, Father Heras and Prof. Sherwani (Professor R. Grousset of France and Prof. Latourette of the U.S.A. being unavoidably absent). There was quite a lengthy discussion on Prof. Sherwani's resolution with regard to the importance and treatment of Islamic culture, and in the end it was decided in the form of a unanimous resolution that the Secretary of the Commission should bring it to the notice of Professor Carron, the Editor of the International Bibliography of Historical Sciences that the Bibliography had so far neglected the cultural influence of Islam in India and the Far East (countries which came directly within the scope of the Commission), and that an illustrative selection should be submitted later by experts. It was further decided that books in Oriental languages should also be included in this bibliography with their names written in Latin characters. On a query, the Indian representatives promised the Commission that they would submit a tentative classification of Indian history on scientific lines at the end of the Congress.

On August 28 the actual session of the Congress was formally opened in St. Peter's Church with a divine hymn on the organ. The speeches delivered were in the four official languages of the Congress, namely German, French, Italian and English, and among other speeches was one by Dr. Etter, then Home Minister of the Federal Government and now President of the Swiss Confederation. Dr. Temperley, the President of the Congress honoured the two official delegates of India by mentioning them by name.

The academic work of the Congress was divided into fourteen sections and a president and a secretary were nominated by the Bureau for each section. Among the 285 odd papers read at the Congress the following had a direct bearing on Islam and the East :—

SECTION II.—*Ancient History and Classical Archæology* :—

Professor O. Bertolini (Rome) : Transition from the Ancient to the Medieval Epoch, (in Italian).

Dr. Zübeyr Kosay (Ankara) : The Phrygian city of Bazarli, (in French).

SECTION V.—*Middle Ages and Byzantium* :—

Prof. La Monte (Cincinnati) : Decline and Fall of Frankish Seignior in Syria at the time of the Crusades, (in English).

Emir Shekih Arslan (Syria). The character of Ṣalāhuddīn the Great, (in French).

Dr. A. H. Lybyer (Urbana) : Historical importance of Sultan Muḥammad II, Conqueror of Constantinople, (in English).

Dr. J. Dabrowaki (Krakow) : Western Europe and the Eastern question in the XIVth and XVth centuries, (in German).

Dr. Fuad Kōprülü (Ankara) : Turco-Mussulman Feudalism in the Middle Ages, (in French).

SECTION VI.—*Modern Times up to 1914* :—

Prof. P. Silva (Rome) : Some aspects of the Mediterranean problem, from William III to 1914, (in Italian).

Dr. Y. M. Goblet (Paris) : The Mediterranean of the XIXth century (in French).

Dr. J. Matousek (Prague) : The Turkish question in the Counter-reform Diplomacy, (in French).

Dr. H. Temperley (Cambridge) : England and the Dogma of Turkey's Integrity and Independence from Palmerston to Disraeli, 1856-1878, (in English).

Dr. Dascalakis (Athens) : The French Revolution and Greek Independence, (in French).

Prof. A. Otetea (Jassy) : The Great Powers and the Elections for the Diwan *ad hoc* of Wallachia and Moldavia, 1789-1794, (in French).

SECTION VII.—*History of non-European countries*.—(Under the presidency of Professor H. K. Sherwani).

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal (Calcutta) : A Rare Indian Temple Type in Cambodia, (in English).

Prof. H. C. Seth (Nagpur) : The Kingdom of Khotan (Chinese Turkestan) under the Mauryas, (in English).

Mr. A. B. Advani (Karachi) : Crime and Punishment in the Days of the Tālpūr Rulers of Sindh, (1783-1843), (in English).

Father Heras (Bombay) : The story of the Minotaur in the Light of Mōhenjo-Dārō Inscriptions, (in English).

SECTION VIII.—*History of Religions and Ecclesiastical History* :—

Prof. Guidi (Rome) : Oriental Christianity, its Life and Function in Opposition to other great Oriental Religions, Manicheism and Islam, (in Italian).

SECTION XII.—*History of Ideas* :—

Prof. H. K. Sherwani (Osmania) : Islamic Political Thought : its Place in the Scheme of Political Science, (in English).

SECTION on *Historical Demography* :—

Professor Joan Lupas (Cluj) : The population of Morea in the XVIII century, (in French).

At the end of each paper there was a general discussion in which not only were criticisms freely offered and questions asked but constructive suggestions were also made.

The social side was by no means neglected. On the 28th of August, i.e., on the day the Congress was formally opened, there was a reception given to the delegates and other participators at the Congress by the Society of Antiquaries. On the 30th the various ancient Gilds of Zurich invited the delegates in national batches, the Indian and English delegates being included among others in the batch which was entertained to dinner by the Gild *Zunft um Waag*, the Gild of Scales, after which there was a performance of songs and recitations in the four national languages of Switzerland, German, French, Italian and Romansch, followed by a hymn in the Castilian dialect by Father Heras who sought to demonstrate the great similarity between Castilian and Romansch. The next day the delegates were taken on a lake trip to the great industrial town of Rapperswil and on September 1 to Kyberg Castle and the Picture Gallery at Winterthur, while on September 2 Prof. Meyenburg of the Zurich University invited them to a delightful evening party in his old world mansion, the Schiff, about 8 miles from Zurich. On the same day the British delegates to the Congress invited the Indian delegates to lunch with them at one of the fashionable restaurants of the city.

Before the Congress formally came to an end, the Indian delegation held two meetings, one presided over by Father Heras and the other by Prof. H. K. Sherwani in order to attempt a scientific classification of Indian History for general purposes as well as the basis of the Indian section of the International Bibliography. Not only was the non-communal principle of division into Ancient, Mediæval and Modern periods adopted, as has been functioning in the Osmania University for some years past, but a minute sub-classification was also attempted and each sub-period tentatively earmarked for a bibliographer of note in India. The whole scheme will soon be laid before the Indian Historical Association for approval, but in the meantime it was reported to the Secretary of the Eastern Commission.

A meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, the working body of the Congress, was held on September 4 to which Father Heras and Professor Sherwani were invited to sit along with other official national delegates. Among other things, reports of the various Commissions were read, including that of the Eastern Commission, and the

resolution on the influence of Islamic culture was finally adopted. It was announced that Dr. Laland of Washington, U.S.A. would be the president of the next quinquennial session of the Congress to be held at Rome in 1943 and that the next meeting of the Committee will be held in Prague in the summer of 1939.

H. K. SHERWANI.

INDICES TO THE LISĀN AL-'ARAB ; INDEX I.—*Names of Poets prepared by M. Abdul Qayyum, M.A. Offprint from the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore. 1937-1938.*

WHEN I acquired my copy of the Lisān in 1901 I was at once convinced that the Shawāhid cited in this best of all Arabic dictionaries formed the most exhaustive anthology of ancient poetry, and I made for my own use an alphabetical index which has helped not only me but a number of other students of classical Arabic poetry in easily tracing verses attributed to those poets we were studying. In the lapse of years I have been able to find the authors of many lines which are, after the manner of the oldest works of Arabic philology, cited anonymously, also to correct names given wrongly and discovered verses attributed erroneously to the wrong authors. It is therefore that I welcome the work of Mr. Abdul Qayyum, which makes this vast repertory of ancient Arabic literature accessible to all. As is well known, ancient philologists admitted as evidence only authors of the Golden Age, and with very few exceptions all poets lived in the time of paganism or during the first century of the Hijra. Of later poets Abu Nuwas is cited only three times, Bashshar in a few more cases. The most frequently cited poets are Dhur-Rumma and Ru'ba, while many of the poets cited are not otherwise known. A mere counting of the names, on the contrary, would not give a correct result. Mr. Abdul Qayyum gives many cross-references, but there are also in the Lisān a good number of errors which the editors have not been able to correct. We find, e.g., Basāma in place of Bashāma (not Bashshāma as printed). The promised index of rhymes will however facilitate our study in bringing many stray verses together. As a specimen of what I have been able to identify from other sources the following may suffice :

Abbāq ad-Dubairi IX. 139.16 ; XIII. 304.18 ; XVII. 117.2.

Ubayy b. Hartham I. 154.13 (Islāḥ I. 235).

Uthail al-'Abdi I. 103.3 (Islāḥ II. 12.)

Ibn Ahmar I. 129.12, 170 (not 179) ; III. 108.11 ; 264.5 ; V. 231.14 ; 403.3 ; IX. 15.6 (not 16) ; X. 56.16 ; XII. 150.10 ; XIII. 201.18 ; XVII. 129.20 ; 272.6 ; XVIII. 105.22 ; XX. 34.19.

These may suffice to show that investigation will prove that many of the hundreds of anonymously cited verses can be traced to their authors ;

for in my opinion a verse cited in evidence of the use of a certain word has only value if we know that it is genuinely by an ancient poet, because some ancient grammarians seem to have coined verses to prove theories for which no proof was available. Another point which will be cleared up by the index of rhymes is to show which of poets of similar names is really the author. So I have been able to sort out the verses of the two poets named al Marrār. Again it must be pointed out that the Lisān, in spite of the high quality of the edition, is by no means free from often serious errors. The two poets al-As'ar al-Ju'fī and Ash'ar ar-Raqabān should be corrected, the former is spelt with Sin the latter with Shīn. This error is quite common in many works in which these poets are cited. I had taken great trouble in my edition of the works of Marzubāni and al-Āmidī to vocalise all names so that students could have a safe guide, but unfortunately the publisher did not see his way to print them and in many cases we shall be obliged to go back to the very good manuscripts which I used for the edition.

I cannot help before closing my review to mention the most scholarly index of the 'Iqd al-Farīd by Professor Muhammad Shafī' which is a model for this kind of work. Though we have five editions of this work, each appears to have added to the printer's errors of its predecessor till it has been asserted that a correct edition was impossible. Through Shafī's work it may be possible to publish a really good edition of the 'Iqd. It is to his credit that he is training in truly scientific methods a new generation of Arabists in India worthy to rank with the best in Egypt and Europe.

I am looking forward to the remainder of the indices with eager expectation.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society ; January 1939.

I. Lichtenstädter ; *Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb and his Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*. The author discusses the importance of this work which has been preserved in one manuscript only and that not quite complete. The contents of the Kitāb al-Muḥabbar are a vast collection of historical and genealogical data derived from various sources, but specially from Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī who among scholars of the second century of the Hijra made the most extensive researches into the antiquities of the Arab race. Several chapters of the Kitāb al-Muḥabbar are copied, with and without acknowledgment, by later authors, some by Ibn Qutaiba in the Kitāb al-Ma'arif ; while Marzuqī has copied word for word the chapter on the annual fairs of the Arabs in his Kitāb al-Azmina. Much of the information is not found elsewhere, but it is fairly certain that we have at least one of the sources of the Kitāb al-Muḥabbar, namely a manuscript at one time in Najaf, which is supposed to be the Kitāb al-Mathālib of Ibn al-Kalbī, but in reality is one portion of the Muwaffaqiyyāt of az-Zubair b. Bakkār containing long extracts from the two works entitled Kitāb al-Mathālib,

by Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Haitham b. 'Adī. A friend of mine made a copy of this manuscript, written in my opinion in the sixth century, to judge from a photo of one page, but he did not always read the original correctly. He for example mostly misread final *Kaf* for *Lam*. Of this copy I made a transcript and among the chapters are those giving the trades pursued by the ancestors of the nobles of early Islam, also chapters on those who had some bodily defects and those who were the children of alien mothers, etc. It will be found that Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb has made full use of these chapters. Lichtenstädter points out how rarely Ibn Ḥabīb indicates his sources, which is so contrary to the custom of his time when great stress was laid upon a full *Isnad*. It may be because the author was aware that scholars knew his sources, but it may be dishonesty, as is certainly the case with Ibn Qutaiba in several of his works. The latter in his large *Kitāb al-Ma'āni* plunders the *Kitāb al-Hayawān* of al-Jāhiz persistingly, yet never acknowledges his indebtedness.

H. G. Farmer : *The Structure of the Arabian and Persian Lute in the Middle Ages*. Dr. Farmer is an undisputed authority on Arabian and Persian music and his numerous writings are too well known for me to enlarge upon them. Though we have many accounts of this, the favourite instrument of Arab musician, we have no old pictures. The author has in this article brought together all descriptions of its shape, size and make. If I am not mistaken, an illustration of a lute as in use in Germany in the 12th century A.C. is in the Manessian manuscript, once in the Heidelberg library, now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, which would be considerably older than the one Farmer mentions. As this instrument was introduced into Europe probably from Muslim Spain it may almost certainly have had the same shape as the oriental ones.

Professor Margoliouth adds to the foreign vocabulary of the *Qur'ān* the material brought together in the book by Professor Jeffery (*Gaekwar of Baroda Oriental Series*), which I do not know. Though the *Qur'ān* claims to have come down in the Arabic language, which is quite true in a wide sense, very early Arabic scholars drew up lists of the words of foreign origin, the earliest of which is perhaps the one by al-Qasim b. Sallām, printed on the margins of a recent edition of the *Itqān* of Suyūṭī. As a separate work the *Mutawakkilī* by Suyūṭī exists in a very faulty American edition and in an Egyptian one. Unfortunately these old Arabic scholars did not possess the necessary knowledge of foreign languages for their works to be of scientific value. It has been left to European scholars to propose suggestions as to the origin of words which have caused much trouble to and diversity of opinion among early Mufasssirs.

W. H. MORELAND : *Ships in the Arabian Sea about A.D. 1500*.—The author has collected from various sources particulars of the ships sailing in the Indian Ocean between Arabia and India, and comes to the conclusion that the frailness of the craft was one of the reasons why the Arab sailors never doubled the Cape. His statement that anchors consisted as a rule of huge pieces of rock is contradicted, for earlier times, by Beruni

in his book on *Precious Stones* recently published by me. There he says of the pearl-fishers that their anchors were of coarse iron and had hooks to grapple the soil at the bottom of the sea.

Contents of Oriental Journals.

Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Vol. XVII, p. 40-71, 133-172. F. Gabrieli : Gamil al-'Udri, Studio critico e raccolta dei frammenti.

Among the poetry of the first century of the Hijra a very large quantity consists of amatory poems, so different from the usual Arabic literature of the Golden Age, and much of it reflects probably real folk-songs of love. Most of the poets are almost mythical, such as Majnun, and Qais ibn Dharih, but the chief among them, Jamil, is a historical personality and his poems breathe real feeling. Gabrieli has made it his task to establish the authenticity of the poet who died in 82 A.H. and has collected from a number of sources 146 fragments, which form the appendix to his study.

On p. 123 Professor Guidi reviews the German book by Karl Ahrens, *Muhammad als Religionsstifter* (Muhammad as Founder of a Religion). While approving of the work he finds many statements most fantastic. While he (Ahrens) will substantiate that the Prophet derived much of his knowledge from (unknown) Christian missionaries, others will argue in favour of Jewish influence and all seem to forget, or will not see, that Islam was founded upon an ancient Arabic civilisation of which we really know far too little.

Pages 173-229 form elaborate study in French by G. Vajda on the Zindiqs in Islamic lands at the beginning of the Abbasi rule. He finds that only rarely are the Zindiqs mentioned under their real name as Manichæans. It was a struggle which Orthodoxy was fighting ceaselessly and which in its offshoots, in my opinion, has never ceased. He cites the names and actions of the best known Zindiqs of the early days.

Pages 230-265 contain a study of the Yamanite dialects of Arabic, both ancient and modern.

On page 266 Dr. A. J. Arberry publishes a hitherto unknown treatise by al-Fârâbî on poetry. It is entirely based upon the Aristotelian *Poetica*, and while giving another proof of the wide-spread knowledge of Greek philosophy in Persia, the book has never been more than a scholastic work without any influence upon existing Arabic verse composition. Al-Jahiz says somewhere (I have lost the reference) that he had read such a book, apparently an earlier version of the work of Aristotle, but that he could not make anything of it. Arabic literature never knew the epic or drama in the Greek sense, but it is interesting that a philosopher should have attempted to write about it.

AL-Andalus vol. IV., part I Madrid 1937.

GARCIA-GOMEZ : *Polemica religiosa entre Ibn Hazm ed Ibn Nagrila.*—The article deals with an otherwise unknown work by the Spanish scholar Ibn Hazm (d. 1053 A.C.), author of the *Kitāb al-Milal*, against Samuel b. Nagid b. Joseph b. Nagrila, the Jewish wazir of the last Zīrī king of Granada (died 1055 A.D.). The unique manuscript has been discovered in the Shahid Ali Library in Stanbul. From its contents it appears that Ibn Nagrila wrote a work in which he stated that the Qur'ān contained a number of contradictions and errors. Against this book an unknown author, probably a Spaniard, wrote a work from which Ibn Hazm derives his information. He himself does not seem to have had the work of the Jewish Wazir before him and it is not otherwise known to exist. In his polemics Ibn Hazm, as in his *Kitāb al-Milal*, shows an astonishing knowledge of the Bible and also of Rabbinical literature.

On pages 29-143 Professor Levi-Provencal publishes the second part of the memoirs of Abd Allah the last Zīrīde king of Granada, the first half having appeared in an earlier issue of the same journal. This portion contains, besides a French translation, a complete index of names, and some additional documents.

On pages 147-154 A. R. Nykl gives a description of the second part of the *Kitāb az-Zahra*, of which he has published the first fifty chapters after the Cairo manuscript. The remaining fifty chapters have been found in an old copy preserved in Turin, while a further portion is in the possession of P. Anastase of Baghdad.

Pages 155 ff. contain an account of inscriptions and another Muslim monuments in Burgos and other towns of Northern Spain.

Islam in Holland and the Dutch Colonies.

The Indonesian islands under the rule of the Dutch, with over sixty millions of inhabitants, of which nearly 90 per cent. are Muslim, mostly of the Shafi'i school, contain next to India the largest Muhammadan population in one State in the world. The number of pilgrims annually making the Hajj exceeds fifty thousand. So there can be no doubt of the importance of these islands as lands of Islam. Many educated Javanese and natives of the adjacent islands come regularly to Holland for higher education but there has been a lack of feeling of unity. To remedy this a society has been formed in the ancient University town Leiden under the presidency of the young ruler of Tjiandjoer, Soeria Nata Atmadja, who is in Holland for his studies. The aim is not only one of creating the feeling of unity among Indonesian Muslims in Holland, but also to instruct the members by lectures in the vital principles and aims of Islam,

for which their home-country, in spite of the large population, has not the necessary Universities and High Schools. The first of these lectures was delivered by the Imam of the Woking Mosque, Maulawi Mirza Wali Ahmad Baig on the 29th of November last year. The lecture dealt with the duty of the Indonesian Muslim sisters and brothers in Holland. The ultimate purpose of the new society is to found, or enlarge, centres of Muslim education in Java and the adjoining islands on the moral and social aspects of the lives of Muslims and to bring them into close contact with Muslims of other lands. We can only wish them unfailing success in their endeavours.

F. KRENKOW.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

LOYAL ENEMY. *The Life of Marmaduke Pickthall.* By Anne Fremantle. Hutchinson. 10s. 6d.

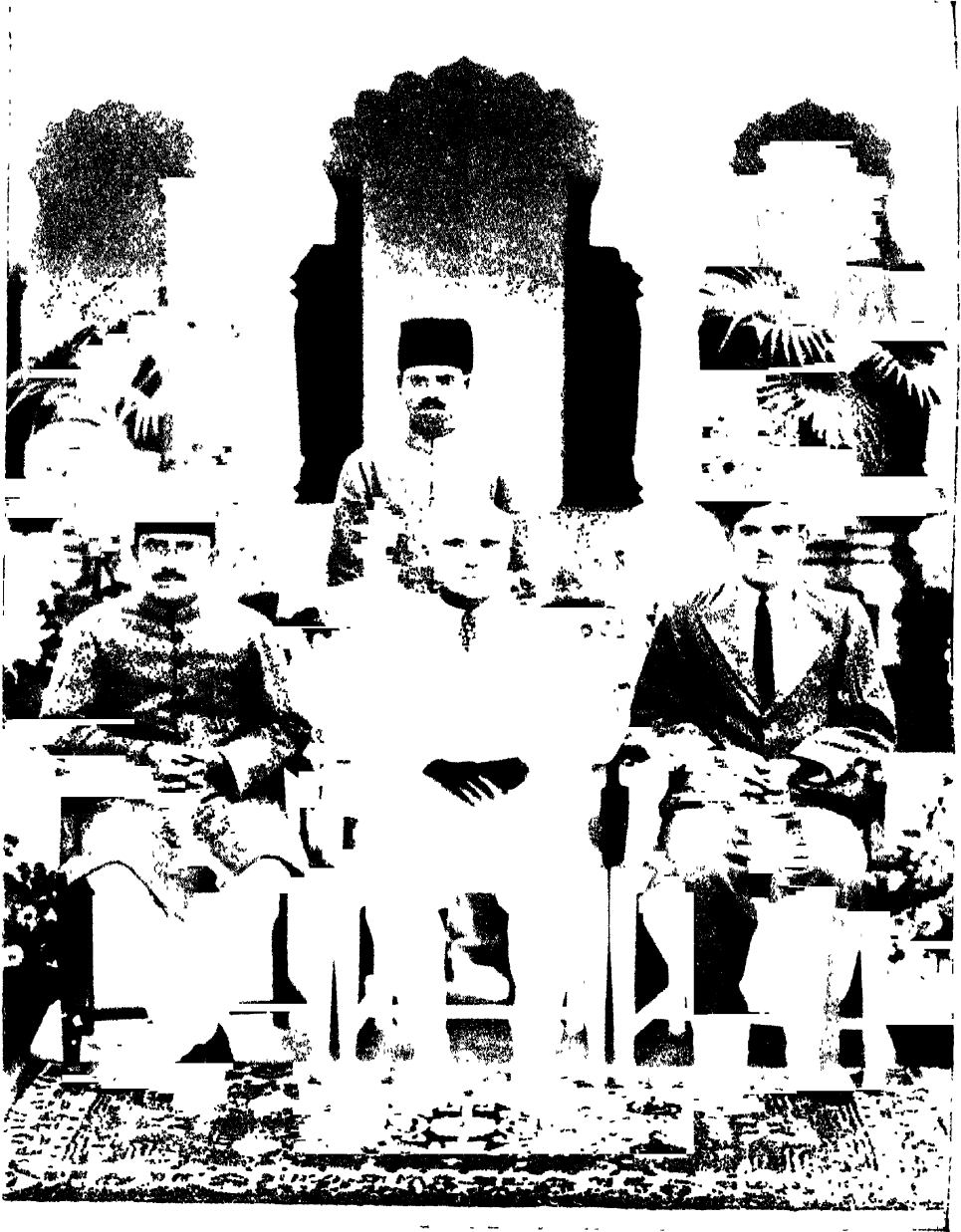
WHEN Mr. Pickthall, in the year 1920, began the last and possibly the happiest phase of his life—a decade of work in India, ending with his employment in the service of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad—the writer of this biography was still a child and during that period knew him only by frequent letters and on his infrequent visits to Europe. This she adduces as one difficulty—and a very great one—faced in the completion of a straightforward 'Life,' and another was the fact that 'he kept few records even of his outward life—and, being shy, confided to no one his reminiscences. He was, indeed, quite extraordinarily sensitive, armouring himself equally against inquisitive and critical, and merely admiring, fellow-creatures. He lived continually a dual life; outwardly essentially gay, easy, good-humoured, witty; inwardly still, disciplined, almost stern, looking always towards that 'other goal' of complete self-surrender and utter detachment from all human bondage and ties, which was the end of his faith.'

Considering these difficulties, which might well have appalled a less devoted disciple, and remembering Johnson's dictum that no man's life can be written except by himself, we were surprised by the completeness of the picture Mrs. Fremantle has drawn; admittedly, it is biography by a too indiscriminate inclusion of collected detail, and the first part in particular, up to Mr. Pickthall's contact with Eastern life, might well have been condensed.

Readers will remember that a resumé of Mr. Pickthall's career was contributed to these pages by Mrs. Pickthall. His first visit to the East—Cairo, Jerusalem, the Lebanon and Druse country—followed a decision to travel rather than enter a University, and at once he found himself at home. At the end of his life he wrote—'When I read *Alf Leylah wa Leylah* I see the daily life of Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Cairo, and other cities as I found it in the early nineties of last century. What struck me, even in its decay and poverty, was the joyousness of that life compared with anything that I had seen in Europe. The people seemed quite independent of our cares of life, our anxious clutching after wealth, our fear of death.

'And then their charity! No man in the cities of the Muslim empire ever died of exposure at his neighbour's gate. They undoubtedly had something which was lacking in the life of Western Europe...' Though for twenty years after these first Eastern experiences he remained a Christian he had long turned to Islam; the actual date of his conversion was December 1914.

In 1907 he went to Egypt on the invitation of Lady Valda Machell, whose husband Captain Machell was adviser to the Prime Minister, Mustapha Pasha Fehmy. Mrs. Fremantle gives a good account of this interesting episode—a dual existence which few could have carried off with perfect success; meeting at the Residency such men as Aubrey, Herbert, Mark Sykes, Valentine Chirol, George Lloyd (now Lord Lloyd) and Lord Cromer, and wandering the streets and bazaars as a Syrian and with his own



M. M. PICKTHALL (SEATED IN THE CENTRE) WITH HIS STAFF OF ISLAMIC
CULTURE--1935.

supreme genius for getting inside the minds of all he met, testing the trend of native opinion in this critical period of Egypt's strange history. Those who heard the day's adventures from the lips of so brilliant and witty a raconteur are to be envied.

'He was still, at this stage' writes Mrs. Fremantle 'single-mindedly a writer, and saw all things, good or evil, purely from the story-teller's point of view. Would he had remained so! Indignation and political consciousness are, for the imagination, and for every form of art and literature, temptations which all but a few of the greatest men of genius are well advised to resist at any cost.'

Leaving Cairo, he made a 'picaresque voyage' through the Delta, his chief objective being the *molid* held twice annually at the mosque of Sheykh Sayyid Ahmed at Tanta, and here again, amidst the confusion of the city of tents, (but not disguised in the manner suggested by the biographer), he wandered in the happy crowd as one of themselves. *The Children of the Nile* and other novels and some articles published in Egypt—quoted by Mrs. Fremantle—record some of his impressions. One of his many gifts was a most retentive memory, and all he witnessed and felt came to his mind in after years vivid and fresh, to be retold in his own limpid and delightful prose.

Between this period and the years of strain and anxiety of the Balkan Wars there came a peaceful sojourn on the slopes of Lebanon. The gardener and his wife being Maronites, Mr. Pickthall insisted that the ménage of the hired establishment should be completed by a Muslim cook and eventually engaged one whose card, printed in Arabic, announced him to be 'Sheykh Huseyn Hamdân.' A series of discovered peculations, particularly in the matter of the purchase of chickens for household use, led to a domestic scene which, as described by Mr. Pickthall, is so rich an example of his lighter vein, showing his keen perception of character and almost impish delight in the unveiling of those who had vainly credited him with lack of understanding, that we venture to quote part of it in full:

The sum charged for the chickens (bought from the cook's own brother) was three times the current market rate.

"But having made no stipulation as to cost beforehand, nor raised the question of expenses when the fowls arrived, I did not see my way to an objection. So I paid the bill.

"But I was vexed. One does not like to be regarded as an utter fool, and I had now good reason to believe the sheykh did so regard me. Unfortunately I do not possess the gift of anger for material things like fowls and money. The only anger I have ever known has been for abstract things, or else a tempest of unreason due to nerves. And anger which makes some men happy makes me sad. I have thus no weapon against rogues excepting laughter, a weapon which they generally cannot face. But how to try the power of laughter on the sheykh I could not at the time perceive.

"Then it happened that the carpenter came to cut my hair. There being no regular barber within a radius of ten miles, this carpenter did all the village hair-cutting. He worked on me that day religiously, omitting nothing of the proper compliments and little ceremonies while the sheykh and the gardener stood by and wished me health repeatedly. Their business was to sweep up every hair which fell from me and burn it instantly lest harm should come of it. When those helpers had departed and the carpenter was on the point of taking leave, a sudden thought occurred to me.

"'O Professor' I enquired 'did you ever in your life behold a chicken worth fifteen piastres?'

"'No, by my life,' was the astonished answer 'nor do I think that such a fowl exists on earth.'

"'Come, I will show you twelve of them' I said. 'The cook, you know, is not a common man. He is by birth a sheykh. He has inherited the secret of a breed of fowls, each one of which is worth much more than the small sum I mentioned—the price for which he deigned to sell them to me as a favour. Would you care to see them?'

" 'Wallahi' said the carpenter, scratching his head.

" I led him out under the trees to the enclosure in which those wretched fowls were scratching languidly. The place was just outside the sheykh's abode of which the door stood open. He was at home, for I could hear him moving plates and things.

" 'Well, what is your opinion?' I asked eagerly.

" He made a wry face and declared them not worth seeing.

" 'Fifteen piastres would buy four of them, the cock included.'

" 'That is because you do not know the points of this peculiar breed.' I argued warmly. 'If the sheykh charged me fifteen piastres for each bird, you may be sure that every one of them is worth a pound at least.'

" He shrugged his shoulders, muttering, 'The world is mad.' Then suddenly he caught my eye, and he became transfigured. With a guffaw he flung up both his hands, 'Praise be to Allah' he exclaimed. 'Never—never have I seen such splendid fowls. Each one is as an angel shedding light.' He rolled his big brown eyes as if in ecstasy.

" Two hundred feet above us, up the terraced slope, appeared the figure of a labourer against the sky. My barber made a trumpet of his hands and belled: 'Hi, O poor man! Come and see a show for nothing—the grandest sight on earth! The greatest rarity! Fowls at a pound apiece!'

" The figure up against the sky let fall its spade and came careering headlong down the terraces. The same shout brought upon the scene the gardener and his wife and children, who, when they knew the matter, ran and shouted, bringing other people, till by sunset half the village was assembled round our chicken-run, praising the appearance of those wretched fowls. My wife was angry, having English views concerning trespass. I had to tell her that those people were my own invited guests.

" The sheykh did not emerge from his retreat, where I could hear him banging things about as if enraged. The

people went away in the blue twilight, in merry, chatting groups beneath the trees, as from a festival. I went indoors. The sheykh performed his work that evening with an air of grievance. He sighed occasionally, but I took no notice.

" Next morning, as it chanced, a Turkish soldier strolled up to the house, bringing a letter. . . . I observed:

" 'As a bringer of good tidings, thou deservest favour. Wouldst care to see the grandest sight on earth—domestic fowls worth several pounds apiece?'

" 'Aye, that I would!' replied the soldier heartily.

" I took him to the place. He looked upon the fowls and straightway cursed their ancestry and their religion. It was some time ere I could bring him to perceive their beauty, but when he did at length perceive it, he became delirious.

" The peasant was again at work against the sky. Hearing a sound of joy, and seeing people looking at the fowls, he dropped his spade and rushed down madly as before, shouting to all the world to come and see. Within a quarter of an hour there was again a crowd about the chicken-run. A coffee-seller came up with his brazier and his clinking cups, and offered men free drinks in honour of the fowls. Hawkers of salted nuts and fruit and sweetstuff cried their wares in terms of chicken praise, while a minstrel perched upon the low branch of a carob chanted a long eulogy of birds worth golden pounds to the music of a one-stringed lute.

" The sheykh did not appear at all until the coast was once more clear of everyone except the Turkish soldier, who lay snoring in the shade. Then he ran after me as I was strolling off, and kissed my jacket's hem, beseeching:

" 'O, my master, spare me! I have borne enough! I only wished to make a little money!'

" He then collapsed upon the ground in tears. . . . When he recovered speech, he asked me:—

" 'How was I to know? The Englishman I served in Cyprus never noticed

me when things went well. How could I know Your Honour was so different? If anything was wrong in his opinion, he blamed me for it with cold anger instantly. If he had seen that I defrauded him, he would have cast me out. When Your Honour paid the bill time after time without objection I thought that all was well. It was machinery. I did not think you saw me as a man, so had no scruples more than a machine would have. The blame was yours since you had charge of me."

"Weeping anew, he went and opened a tin box he had, and took from it a chaplet of fine amber beads with little sapphires here and there between them.

"'O my dear lord,' he pleaded, 'do a kindness. Accept this gift from me. It is the best I have. It is worth more than all I gained from those accursed fowls. Let me repay the money or I die of shame. How could I guess that you were one of us? How was I to know you were—with all respect—a brother?'"

"For all his pleading I would not accept the amber beads. But from that hour the sheykh and I were friends, and understanding reigned within our paradise."

During the Balkan Wars the tension and distress of Turkey were felt by Mr. Pickthall to an extent that only those who were near him at that time can realize. He combated with all his power the enemy propaganda, and from 1908 onwards strove against what he clearly saw was the mistaken policy of England: he worked continually, both then and after 1914—if one may thus sum the complex issues—to make Turkey pro-Entente. The catastrophe of 1914 and the events of recent years reduce in perspective that valiant but hopeless struggle. As one follows the story of his activities—described in this biography—one senses, as Mrs. Fremantle obviously does, the bitter disappointment he felt, for he had foreseen and foretold that England was throwing away a precious thing, her influence over Turkey and the trust of the

Islamic peoples. "His whole mind was torn" writes the biographer "wrenched out of its even tenour...." That he was more right in his policy than even he knew, the perusal of his articles prior to 1914, dealing with British policy in the Near East and Egypt, will make manifest.

That long sacrifice of the born writer in the interests of politics was regarded by the admirers of *Said the Fisherman* and the other works of Mr. Pickthall as a grave loss to literature. But in following the course he did he was concerned purely, as Mrs. Fremantle makes clear, "with the advancement of what he believed to be the highest moral values. These included the right of all nations to a free existence and the right of every people to develop along their own lines. It is true he lost immeasurably as a writer, both in craftsmanship and in prestige, by so following his faith; true that he sacrificed the objective vision of the novelist in descending into the arena, but to have remained aloof, remote, deliberately to have divorced himself from what touched him so nearly, would have been to lose his intellectual integrity and to sin against the light as he had seen it."

The book concludes with an account of Mr. Pickthall's Hyderabad activities and the preparation of his translation of the Holy Qur'an. As we have already indicated, the biographer might well have used a much firmer hand in the arrangement and selection of her varied material. These 441 pages, however, are so informed with knowledge, sympathy, and understanding that in our opinion they perfectly achieve their object; she evokes, all too clearly, a beloved memory. She fittingly quotes the eloquent tribute of Professor Speight—"To India he gave himself with the liberality of which there is but one word, sacrifice; sacrifice of the liberty of the artist which called him as alluringly as to others, of the freedom of travel and the choice of work and friends. But he put such longing away from him to serve Islam, to conduct a large High School and to devote his personal service to the ruler whose recognition and appreciation and friendship he valued beyond words."

Mr. Pickthall's religion was his very life, and more and more was this true of

him as he grew older. In late years he wrote to a friend—"...only Islam can save mankind from the consequences of its own selfishness, for Islam is the surrender of the rebel viceroy to his sovereign lord; the surrender of man's selfish ever-changing will and purpose to the selfless, never-changing will and purpose of Almighty God. This alone is religion. Nothing else deserves the name...."

R. C.

TWO WORKS ON ARABIC MUSIC.

ANCIENT Arabian Musical Instruments as described by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamā (9th century)... Text in Facsimile and Translation edited with notes by James Robson, M.A., including notes on the instruments by Henry George Farmer, Ph.D., M.A. (Glasgow): The Civic Press, 1938.

Studien zur Arabischen Musik auf Grund der Gegenwärtigen Praxis in Aegypten von Alfred Berner; Leipzig 1937.

Over a thousand years lies between the periods of Arabic music treated in the two works under consideration. In orthodox circles there was always a wide difference of opinion among Muslim theologians as to the lawfulness of music at all, or how far it was permissible. Mr. Robson published recently the work of Ibn Abi-d-Dunya on this subject and most works on Hadith devote chapters to this question. Whether music was lawful or not the fact remains that it was largely practised from the earliest times of Islam, and its ascendancy was under the later Umayyades and the early Abassides, to which the Kitāb al-Aghānī of Abu-l-Faraj al-Isfahānī bears witness. The purpose of the work of Mufaḍḍal is an enquiry first into the lawfulness and then into the instruments in use. Unfortunately, as might be expected from a philologist, he lays more stress upon the linguistic aspect than, what we should have liked, a lucid explanation of the instruments, their make and application. Yet with the notes of the author and Dr. Farmer, a well-known authority on these matters, we get an insight into the

instruments in use at the time. It was a good idea to publish the text in facsimile so as to show the calligraphy of Yāqūt al-Musta'simī, a celebrated penman of the time of the last Caliph of Baghdad. Yāqūt, of whose work I know several manuscripts, seems to have copied, besides the Qur'ān, mostly small works, probably as editions de luxe for rich customers. In spite of the linguistic excursions of the author we get very little light upon the actual music, because the Arabs did not possess any system of notation. Perhaps such a thing was not even possible, as may be gathered from the second work under consideration. But we may assume that a continuous tradition among performers has preserved the essential features of ancient music.

Dr. Berner spent three years in Egypt for the purpose of making studies on modern Arabic music in that country; was there when the Congress of Arabic Music was held in Cairo under the auspices of the late King Fu'ad. Berner asserts that Arabic music does not know any instruments with a *fixed* scale, only those which enable a shading of the tone and consequently give much scope to the individual player for variations of melody. Hence he thinks it useless to try to establish such a fixed scale from actual music heard. This much also is fairly certain that for a performance the musicians practise beforehand by ear, and the song or music is graduated by metrical periods, which however leave to the chief performer the opportunity of freely varying the tune. Berner affirms that the theory of Arabic music as propounded by Meshāq (Mashriq 1899) and Egyptian theorists of the present day do not agree with the actual practise of musicians in Egypt of the present day, and he comes to the conclusion that, as said before, there is an age-long tradition among performers. The account of the instruments in use, which compares favourably with accounts in other works also, amplifies the statements of al-Mufaḍḍal. Everywhere, even in the names of the instruments the influence of ancient Persian music is evident, as is also historically well known. Also the modules, musical forms and rhythm are dealt with, but one of the best features of the work

is the transcription of a number of gramophone records for which the German Institute for the Scientific Study of Music is well equipped, while we in England apparently have nothing of this kind. It is a pity that the author did not do the same in transcribing some of the music he actually heard in Egypt. Both works enlarge our knowledge considerably of a science which has been studied in recent years only, and all interested in the history of music must gratefully acknowledge the service rendered by the publication of both works.

THE BOOK OF VERBS BY IBN AL-QATTA'.

IN 1894 Ignazio Guidi published the work of the Spanish scholar Ibn al-Qūṭiyya with this title, after the very old manuscript preserved in the Lucchesianah Library in Girgentii in Sicily, dated 534 A.H. Another manuscript in Constantine in Algeria could not be consulted. The material is arranged after the method of the Kitāb al-'Ain in an alphabetical order which though scientific, is cumbersome, as it does not follow the usual order of the Arabic alphabet. This arrangement may have been the cause why, as in the case of the Kitāb al-'Ain, the work has come down in so few copies. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya died in 367 in Cordoba. Nearly two centuries later a native of Sicily, 'Alī ibn Ja'far, known as Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' at the request of a noble patron, made a rearrangement of this work and published it with the same title. Manuscripts of this work, being written in Egypt, are more frequent. The method though far from perfect, is much better as it is in accordance with the usual alphabet in a rough way. He can however not get away from separating from the trilateral roots those which contain a Hamza, or Waw and Ya' as one of the radical letters and these verbs follow in separate chapters, followed by such verbs as contain more than three radical letters. The method followed is that he repeats the contents of the work of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya introduced by the letter Qāf to which he adds his own

supplementary meanings introduced by the letter 'Ain. This proves that Guidi was wrong in his estimate of the work and that Griffini had correctly estimated the scope of the work of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' (Cent. Amari, 431). For the planned edition of the work by the Dāirat al-Ma'ārif I have a copy, made by the Indian scholar Abu Abdallah Sūrati, of the manuscript preserved in the State Library at Rampur and collated by its librarian Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshi. This copy dated at the end of the first volume 851 A.H. is written by Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Latif ash-Sharqī (?) whom I should have liked to have identified not with the Yamanite scholar of the same name, but with the Nisba ash-Sharjī, who was known for his philological knowledge. But this scholar according to Sakhāwī died in 812 A.H. in Harad in the Yaman. (Dau' al-Lāmi' I. 354). The Rampur manuscript is divided into three volumes, as also stated by Yāqūt (Irshād, V. 107); but that he also made use of a similar work by Ibn Ṭarīf, as stated by Yāqūt, is not evident in the work of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', nor is there any evidence that he used such a work. The Escorial manuscript, dated 730 A.H. I have so far not been able to consult. Derenbourg does not state in his description that it is also divided into three volumes. Through the help of Dr. Ritter I have photographs of the undated manuscript in the Dāmādzadeh Library which Ritter estimates as being of the sixth century of the Hijra, while I should think that it is rather later in date. This manuscript appears to represent an earlier form of the work, because the Rampur copy contains additions in many places which are not found in the former, usually at the end of rubric. The Istanbul manuscript is not divided into three volumes like the Rampur one but into two only, the second volume beginning with the letter Ṭa'. Sūrati has gone to great trouble in comparing the work of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya with that of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' and has ascertained that the sigla Qāf and 'Ain do not in every case represent the actual findings. Some of these errors are not in the Istanbul manuscript, which however again omits the sigla where they are found in the Rampur codex. It is difficult to decide whether these dis-

crepancies are due to the scribes or are errors of the author himself, which is quite possible considering the chaotic arrangement in the work of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya. Only the collation of a third manuscript could perhaps solve this problem. I do not think that the author of the *Lisān* has used the work of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', but it was certainly in the hands of the author of the *Tāj*. I must add that Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' gives many meanings which are not confirmed by the two large dictionaries just mentioned, also that he himself without doubt has misread some of the rarer verbs in the sources from which he derived his additional material.

The Gotha Library possesses a manuscript which Pertsch believed to be a manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Af'āl* of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'. I asked the librarian through the kind help of the University Librarian for the loan of this manuscript to Cambridge, but when a manuscript was sent last October a mistake had been made and the correct codex was not sent. My request for the loan of the correct manuscript has so far been of no avail. So much is certain that it cannot be the *Kitāb al-Af'āl* of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', judging from the specimen printed in the catalogue as it refers to a *Muqaddima* which is not found in the *Kitāb al-Af'āl*. It may be however a copy of an earlier work by the same author which he mentions in the introduction to the *Kitāb al-Af'āl* and which had the title: *Abniyat al-Asmā' wal-Af'āl wal-Maṣādir*. From the title it is evident that this latter work also contained nouns and only an investigation could prove the correctness of my assumption.

I do not think too much importance should be attached to the discrepancy in the sigla, as the edition of the work of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya is based upon one manuscript only, however good this may be, as the possibility exists that Ibn al-Qūṭīyya himself added to his work, as is so often the case in works which circulated in few copies only. This is proved in the case of the work of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' by the findings in the two manuscripts as stated above.

I hope to be able to obtain photographs of the Escorial manuscript if only this destructive war in Spain would come to an end.

SAYYID 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ AL-HASANI; *AL IRAQ FIDAURAY-L-IHTILAL WAL INTIDAB* (Iraq during the Occupation and the Mandate), 2 Vols. Saïda 1354/1357.

THE author has previously published three volumes on the Wazirate in the Iraq and other works connected with his native land. This work is an amplification of his study of the Wazirate. When during the Great War the Sharif Husain betrayed the Muslim cause the Allied Governments were only too eager to make all kinds of promises to the Arab rulers, among them pre-eminently the liberation from the Turkish yoke and the foundation of an independent Arab State. When some day the correspondence between the governments concerned with the Sharif Husain is published the world may see the miserable appeals for help by the latter when the Wahabi forces made it apparent that his rule was soon to end. The disillusion came soon, for the Arab chiefs as the victors made no disguise of the fact that they wished to make colonies of the various parts of the Arab world. Then came, besides the Syrian revolt, the long struggle in the Iraq, of which very little has become known to the British public. In the first volume is an account of this struggle, with portraits of the principal Arab actors in the drama. The remainder of the work deals with the frequent changes in the Ministries after the accession of King Faisal and the strife for independence which cost the lives of two Prime Ministers, one of whom committed suicide, while the other was murdered, both because ultra-nationalists accused them of betraying the national cause. The pathetic letter of Sa'dūn to his son emphasises the difficulties these men had to contend with. For the student of modern history the work is full of interest as the author cites in full the correspondence as far as was made public, but also a number of private letters. Though the portraits which accompany the work are not very clear it is useful to see what the leading men looked like.

F. KRENKOW.

THE WILD RUE, *A study of Muhammadan magic and Folklore in Iran.* By Bess Allen Donaldson. (Luzac & Co.,)

SUPERSTITION of one kind or other seems to be very deeply rooted in human nature. Superstition is belief in unscientific causation and magic is mysterious control of the powers of nature or the control of supernatural powers by supernatural means. No tribe or race and no creed is entirely free from such beliefs. The author of this book seems to have observed the life of nearly all classes in Iran with a view to collect data for this interesting thesis. But the title of the book is misleading and offensive. There is nothing like Muhammadan magic as there is nothing one could honestly call Christian magic. The author ought to have known that magical practices are severely prohibited by Islam, and if prevalent religions are compared from the point of view of their superstitions and magical content, Islam could escape the charge much better than many others. The follower of every religion always makes an attempt to connect his superstitions with his religion. The Koran, the traditions of the Prophet, the lives and teachings of Imams and Saints are pressed into this service by the Muslims as Bible and the Saints of Christianity are similarly used by the Christians.

The author of this book seems to make an unjustifiable attempt in various places to prove that some of these practices are genuinely and correctly derived from the Koran and the teachings of the Prophet. The value of the book would have been much enhanced if the author had refrained from passing such judgments. Superstition is a concomitant of ignorance and human weakness, and the author has rightly acknowledged that much of it represents the old life with its fears and superstitions which, happily, are now beginning to pass away, and the tremendous changes in the laws and customs of the country brought about by the enlightened rule of Reza Shah have operated directly against superstitious practices and outworn ideas; but it is doubtful if superstition could ever be entirely uprooted from any nation in any phase of enlighten-

ment and culture, so long as the most extensive knowledge of the powers of nature, within and without, is only a drop in the ocean of the Unknown. The possibilities and probabilities of understood or mysterious phenomena is ever there. Even some of the leading British Scientists were seen to 'touch wood' while asserting that they had been healthy so far and nothing would induce them to sit thirteen at the dining table. Superstition is a deep-rooted trait of human nature. *Wild Rue* is an interesting study of the subject.

SUFISM—ITS SAINTS AND SHRINES. *An introduction to the study of Sufism with special reference to India* by John A. Subhan, B.A., B.D. of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Lecturer in the Henry Martyn School of Islamics Lahore, Ex-Member of the Qadiri Order. (Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow).

THE name of the author suggests the presumption that he is a Muslim by birth converted to Christianity. He has also mentioned on the title page that he once belonged to the Qadiri order of Sufis. The reading of this book gives one a pleasant surprise. Generally the zeal of converts leads them to bitter criticism of the creed that they have abandoned, and it is almost impossible for a convert to be impartial and objective in his outlook. It is gratifying to note that Mr. Subhan has not been blinded by his situation, and the book betrays nowhere any trace of missionary zeal. There is no other book in the English language giving a brief account of almost all the sufi orders. The chapters on the earlier and later development of Sufism are a summary of the historical researches of well-known scholars in that line. Sufi terminology is set forth and explained with clarity. The accounts of the lives and teachings of the saints are taken from Muslim sources—as a matter of fact there is no other alternative. There are anecdotes current about the saints, rather difficult for the modern man to swallow, but the author has given the stories as they are related without any attempt at

ridicule or criticism, and like a fair critic he has not attributed the degenerate elements in Sufism to the spirit of Islam. The book has a valuable appendix of names, dates and places. There is also an attempt to point out analogies between Vedant, Buddhism and Sufism. The author has spent much time and labour, and though the wide sweep of the book has compelled him to swim on the surface and be sketchy, so much valuable material about Sufism has been compressed into the book that it is a good source of reference about the subject.

ILLUMINATION IN ISLAMIC MYSTICISM.

'The Princeton Oriental Texts' have been enriched by a fourth volume. This is a translation with an introduction and notes based upon a critical edition of Abu-Al-Mawāhib Al-Shādhili's treatise entitled 'Qawanin Hikam-Al-Ishrāq' by Edward Jabra Jurji. This series is doing very valuable service to Islamic studies. The three volumes preceding this were *Usamah's Memoirs*, Arabic text edited from the unique manuscript in the Escorial Library; *Ottoman Statecraft*, the Turkish text with introduction, translation and notes by Walter Livingston Wright, and *The Antiquities of South Arabia*, a translation of Al-Hamadāni's *Al-Iklil*.

Of all the religious movements in Islam, some of the greatest Islamic scholars in the West have turned their attention to the understanding of Sufism, because mystical thought and mystical experience are a common meeting-ground of all creeds, where theological strife and politico-social hostilities are left behind and entirely forgotten. Sufism in all its varieties is a vast and fascinating subject offering a valuable contribution to the metaphisico-religious literature of the world. The studies of Professors Nicholson and Massignon, considerable and valuable as they are, have touched as yet only the fringe of this extensive domain. Ibn-i-Arabi and Suhrawardi offer as yet an unexplored treasure of mystical and metaphysical thought. The doctrine of Al-Ishrāq, in which this treatise forms a link,

is a spiritual philosophy with a mystical theory of knowledge emerging in an ethics which is logically derivable from it. The annotator of this book has tried to trace the link that joins Ibn-i-Arabi and his illuministic message with the Shādhili fraternity to which the author of this treatise belongs. The sufis of the Shādhiliyah fraternity from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century held a very important place in the realm of Islamic mysticism. The Shādhili fraternity founded in the thirteenth century is the strongest Sufi force in Africa where even today it has a great influence in Morocco and Tunis.

The maxims in this book inculcate a very high morality based on the mystical tenets and the exemplary lives of the great sufis.

The book is very well edited; the translation and the notes are flawless. We hope that the Princeton University will continue their efforts in this line and fill the gaps in the study of Islamic philosophy.

IQBAL'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY. By K. G. Saiyidain (published by M. Ashraf, Lahore).

FOR several centuries no poet or thinker among the Mussalmans has stirred the imagination and touched the heart of the Muslim world to the extent to which the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal has done. He was pre-eminently a poet, but in him emotion is so wedded to thought that taking philosophy in its widest connotation of interpreting the nature of Being and examining the foundations of life in order to determine the place of man in this Cosmos, he was surely a philosopher too of the highest order. Although he chose poetry as his medium of expression, which necessarily restricts the capacity of dialectical exposition, the subject-matter as well as his outlook on life is philosophical in the sense in which most of the symbolical, mythical and poetic dialogues of Plato are philosophical. All great theories of Education are ultimately based on different types of philosophies. One must have a view of Reality and of Man before offering

a teaching for the regulation or the orientation of life. It is the ultimate objectives which determine the theory and practice of Education.

Mr. Saiyidain's book appears under the title of *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy*, but one thinks after the perusal of the book that the adjective *educational* might very well have been dropped. Chapter headings like *The Dualism of the Real and the Ideal*, *Revolt against Intellectualism*, *Creative Evolution*, etc., are epistemological or metaphysical and have no direct bearing on the theory or practice of Education. All the same, the main aspects of Iqbal's outlook on life have been presented with force and conviction. The book is written in English but seems to be primarily meant for those who know Persian and Urdu, because the ample quotations though choice and apt, have been inserted without any attempt at either a free or a literal rendering. This omission makes the book less lucid and instructive for those not conversant with these languages. The book is written in good English but it appears that the printer's proofs have not been carefully revised. There is a large number of misprints, and misplaced marks of punctuation obscure the meaning in various places. In spite of these minor defects and to some extent a misleading title, the subject-matter is well arranged and the fundamentals of Iqbal's thought are well presented.

K. A. H.

REVUE DES ETUDES ISLAMIQUES;

Année 1938, *Cashiers II-III*—Paul Geuthner, Paris; 173 pages. Subscription 100 Francs per annum.

AMONG the articles in this issue of the Quarterly are two very important contributions, namely, one on a review of certain aspects of Sassanian art and the second a study of Indonesian Islam, besides notes on the Iranian Press, short articles, etc. The contribution on Sassanian art contains a general criticism on the exhibition of the art of Iran and Baghdad held in the Paris Bibliotheque Nationale last summer, which the present reviewer was privileged to visit when he

was in Europe as the representative of India at the International Congress of Historical Sciences last summer. The exhibition was rich, among other things, in book-illustrations from the *Maqāmāt* of Harīrī and Kalilah wa Damnah, going back to XIII, XIV and XV centuries, coins of pre-Muslim and very early Muslim Persia and Mesopotamia, including one struck by 'Abd'el-Malik b Merwān, silks, glassware and other most valuable objects of art. In the article before us, the author, M. Sauvaget, discusses at length a certain aspect of Persian art, namely the 'Iwān' and deals with the history of this architectural type illustrating what he has to say with drawings of groundplans of 'Iwāns.' The most interesting portion of the 'Revue,' however, is the extremely informative article on Indonesian Islam by M. Bousquet in which the learned author has dealt with practically all aspects of the subject. He passes in review not only Islam as it spread over the islands by the triple agency of Indian, Arabian and Egyptian influence, but goes deep into the present state of Islamic culture in the East Indian Archipelago, including 'Orthodox Islam,' 'Mysticism in Islam,' 'pre-Islamic survivals' and 'Islamic Law in relation with Javanese customs,' the whole work going into 30 sections and 126 pages with a number of illustrations and a complete bibliography of more than 10 pages. We may not agree with certain observations of the learned author (who has, by the way, expressed his indebtedness to Snouk-Hurgronje a number of times), but although there is a wealth of literature in the Dutch language on the subject, this so-called Introduction is certainly the most comprehensive short account of the Muslims of Dutch Indies that I know of.

H. K. SHERWANI.

POLITICS IN PRE-MUGHAL TIMES.

By Dr. Ishwara Topa. Foreward by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

THE work before us is the result of the mature effort of a serious student of Indian History. Dr. Topa has

broken new ground in the study of the Indo-Turkish kings and has succeeded in delineating the political conditions, which effected the development of fundamentals of statecraft and the political institutions of the period.

It is a pity that no attempt has so far been made to appreciate the *leit motif* in the formation of the political psychology of the Mediæval rulers of India. The author has shown with the help of documentary evidence that Turkish kings were not negligent of the welfare of their subjects or the cultural values of life. He has strongly repudiated the surprising allegation of some prejudiced historians that Mahmud Ghazni's raids were inspired by a desire of propagating Islam at the point of the sword. On the contrary the author conclusively proves that "the political impact of Mahmud against India was in no way a disconnected and erratic phenomenon, but it was in fact due to the non-fulfilment of political conditions of a peace treaty between the Sultans of Ghazni and Raja Jaipal of Hind." (p. 33).

Dr. Topa has given a keen analysis of the forces which coloured the psychology of the different pre-Mughal monarchs of India. He has succeeded in deciphering the laws of the forces of personality "in order to comprehend the significance of the working of their mind and their reaction leading to the solution of political problems." The author has ably traced the imperceptible change and gradual adaptations of the early Turkish rulers to their new Indian environment.

The book consists of nine chapters :—

- (1) Arab Raids on the Frontier of India.
- (2) From Raids to Kingship.
- (3) Babhan's conception of Kingship and Government.
- (4) Kingship in Transition of Kaiqubad.
- (5) Kingship and Its Problems in the time of Jalaluddin Khilji.
- (6) Problems of Politics, Government and Kingship in the time of Alauddin Khilji.
- (7) Politics in the Crucible and the Kingship of Ghiasuddin Tughluq Shah.
- (8) New Ventures in Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Muhammad Tughluq Shah.
- (9) Islamization of Kingship and Statecraft in the reign of Firoz Shah Tughluq.

THE CRISIS IN INDIAN CIVILISATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES. By H. Goetz, Ph.D. (Published by the University of Calcutta).

THIS brochure contains two lectures of Herr Goetz in which he has attempted to trace the development of Indo-Muslim civilisation during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. According to Herr Goetz this was the period when the synthesis of Muslim and indigenous elements of culture took final shape. Hence the importance of this period of Indian History. This period is not so barren in cultural achievements as is generally believed. Herr Goetz has brought together in this brochure much which is of great value for the historian of Indian culture and art. The treatment of the subject is thorough, learned and interesting, though the style is decidedly concentrated.

Y. H.

INDIAN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING. By Karl Khandalawala. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 28.

THE author of this interesting and lavishly illustrated volume is the well-known critic of Art Mr. Khandalawala and it has been nicely printed by Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. It treats in a comprehensive way the whole field of Indian sculpture and painting but deals with the Mughal period rather cursorily. Scholars may differ with the author in regarding Mohenjo Daro civilization as Indian, while the question of Persian and Mughal influence on the Rajput and other miniatures is also an extremely controvertial one and many critics of Art will not agree with the author in his views. Coming to modern painting, we suggest that reference to Abdul Rahman Chughtai, M. R. Mazumdar and other contemporary artists was essential. We have however to appreciate the vast study that has been made by the author of the subject and his selection of illustrations

is most enviable. We heartily congratulate Mr. Khandalawala upon bringing out this excellent work, which will certainly awaken an interest in the cultural wealth of the country. No praise can be too high for the Printers and Publishers, Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., for setting up a landmark in Indian printing.

M. A.

ISLAMI TIB (Urdu). By *Ibn-i-Mazhar Qadhi Mu'inud Din Rabar Faruqi.*
Azam Steam Press, Hyderabad, Deccan.

IN this interesting treatise the writer has traced the development of the Unani system of medicine under the patronage of Muslim kings and nobility

during the Middle Ages in historical order, appropriately concluding the narrative with an account of the Asafiah dynasty's fostering care shown to this useful mediæval science. Quite a number of entertaining anecdotes and some remarkable feats of Unani physicians' skill are related. Historical references do not appear to be entirely satisfactory and the writer is curiously secretive in mentioning names of libraries where he claims to have seen several unique and rare manuscripts dealing with the subject. We have no doubt the author's labour will be appreciated by all the supporters of the Unani system.

H.

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AN ISLAMIC SAINT OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY A. H.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF TAQIY AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD b. ABI'L-HUSAIN
AL-YŪNĪNĪ BY HIS SON THE HISTORIAN QUTB AL-DĪN MŪSĀ AL-
YŪNĪNĪ.

OF the historian from whose work the following narrative is translated there is a brief notice in the biographical dictionary of the eighth century,¹ which is not substantially amplified in the later *Shajarāt al-dhahab*.² From these we learn that he was born in Damascus in Ṣafar, 640 (August, 1242 A.D.) and died in Baalbek in Shawwāl, 726 (September, 1326). He was Shaikh of Baalbek after his brother 'Alī, who was murdered in 701. His father was on friendly terms with the well-known historian Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī, who mentions a conversation he had with him in Baalbek in the year 645.³ Indeed in an anecdote recorded below Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī deals with his friend's intellectual property on the Greek principle that the goods of friends are common. The son Mūsā compiled an abridgment of this person's historical work, and composed a continuation of it, beginning with the year 654 and carried down in MSS. at present known to 701. He follows his predecessor's practice of furnishing a brief survey of the events of a year, followed by obituary notices of eminent personages whose death occurred within it. A great deal of historical information is given in these biographies, some of which are of foreigners, e.g., the Mongols, Hulagu and his general Ketbogha, and the unfortunate crusader, Louis IX of France. It is noteworthy that he calls the Pope "Caliph" of the Franks, just as European historians call the Caliph "Pope" of the Muslims.

The biographies often run into many pages, but much the longest in the volume covering the years 658 to 673, of which I am preparing an edition for the Islamic Research Association of Bombay, is that of the author's father. As a Saint he held for eighteen years the rank of *Qutb* "the pivot of the universe,"⁴ a title on which the mystic Ibn 'Arabī dilates,⁵ without, however, making it clear by what process the title is conferred. He was also sufficiently distinguished as a *Hāfiẓ* or memorizer of Traditions to be given a place in Dhahabī's *Tadhkirah*.⁶ He seems to have been generally known as "the Shaikh the Jurist," being expert in the Hanbalite system. His son's biography of him illustrates several features of the contemporary Islamic Culture, and is partly a record of his own experience, partly based on statements by acquaintances, and partly on published biographies, one of them by "a man of Jerusalem," whose name is not

1. *Al-Durar al-kāminah*, Hyderabad 1350, iv. 382.

2. Cairo, 1351, vi. 73.

3. *Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Chicago facsimile), p. 473, line 21.

4. Nicholson's *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, pp. 147, 229.

5. *Futūhāt Makkīyah*, sect. 270.

6. Ed. Hyderabad. iv. 231.

given. His miracles are neither as numerous nor as impressive as those recorded of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gilānī, and indeed his reputation as a thaumaturge seems to have occasioned him some embarrassment. Since his son insists on his refusal of handsome gifts, mentions no offices which he held, yet emphasizes his acquisition of wealth, some indication of the source of the last would have been welcome; probably it was his legal profession, as he was generally known as "the Faqīh," and we learn incidentally that he had made a speciality of the complicated Law of Inheritance.

Though Qutb al-dīn's narrative is somewhat prolix, further details of his father's life are supplied by the historian Dhahabī,¹ himself a disciple of the former. The reason for their omission can be conjectured.

His father, we learn, was a worker in marble in Baalbek and Damascus, but went away leaving the son Muḥammad with his mother. He was brought up by the shaikh 'Abdallāh. His mother lived in the region of al-Kushk (the Palace?). For a time he went with the sons of a neighbouring Emir to the Mosque, where he learned certain prayers, but presently was put into the shop of an arrow-maker, where he earned five dirhems a month. Going to pay respects to a teacher of Qur'ān-reading he was urged by the latter to devote himself to the Qur'ān, and when he excused himself on the ground that he was employed in a shop, the teacher promised him five dinars a month in lieu of the five dirhems if he would take his advice. When he had got through the Qur'ān the shaikh 'Abdallāh procured a writing-master for him, who was to have 300 (dirhems?) if his pupil could write like himself. When this accomplishment had been attained, the writing-master offered 300 for a copy, to be made by the pupil, of a story-book, the first leaf being copied by himself. So the shaikh had not to pay the sum which he had promised. When the shaikh al-Kindī saw the lad's script, he contrasted it with his fortune at the time, the words for script (*khatt*) and fortune (*ḥazz*) being easily confused in writing.

Dhahabī in his *Tadhkirah* gives him the title Taqīy al-dīn, but not in his History, neither is this mentioned in the following biography. The use of such titles, by whomsoever bestowed, was at this time so wide-spread that so distinguished a man can scarcely have failed to have a handle of the sort to his name. Since Dhahabī was acquainted with the family, he may be trusted for this detail.

1. *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, vol. xi, (Bodleian MS.).

THE BIOGRAPHY OF MUḤAMMAD b. AḤMAD AL-YŪNĪNĪ BY HIS SON THE HISTORIAN QUTB AL-DĪN MŪSĀ

MY father, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Isā b. Abi'l-Rijāl Abū 'Abdallāh b. Abi'l-Ḥusain al-Yūnīnī, R.I.P., was born 6 Rajab, 572 (Jan. 7, 1177 A.D.) in the village Yūnīn,¹ a dependency of Baalbek. An Imām and a Ḥāfiẓ, he was unrivalled in his knowledge of Tradition in its various branches, having heard from Abū Ṭāhir Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Khushū'i, Abū 'Alī Ḥanbal b. 'Abdallāh al-Mukabbir, Abu'l-Yumn Zaid b. al-Ḥasan al-Kindī,² and others innumerable; he taught many traditions, and was a famous Ḥāfiẓ, combining learning with piety. His death was at Baalbek, 9 Ramaḍān, 658, (Aug. 28, 1260) and he was buried the same day in the tomb of the shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī outside Baalbek. He was an associate of that shaikh, profited by his association with him, and obtained from him knowledge of the Path. He was among the most intimate of his associates, indeed preferred by him to all others. He was invested with the Cloak³ by the shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Baṭāihī,⁴ for luck, he being his shaikh's shaikh. He was in constant attendance on the shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī abroad and at home, except when he was ordered by the shaikh to go and stay at some place, which he would do. During this companionship he would lead prayer for the shaikh, answer his questions, make him his model in all matters connected with the Code, and defer to his opinion till the shaikh 'Abdallāh died.⁵

He studied jurisprudence with the shaikh Muwaffaq al-dīn 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī⁶ and others, and Tradition with the Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Ghanī⁷ and others: the Ḥāfiẓ esteemed him highly, and when asked a question in his presence would say to him: What say you of such and

1. Yāqūt gives the name as Yūnān, and Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban*, etc., p. 412 mentions among the villages attached to Baalbek Youai, but in the Index Yonai. If the latter is right, it favours Yāqūt's form, regarded as a dual; but a native of the place is likely to have known best. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī calls both him and his shaikh Yūnānī.

2. These persons figure very frequently in the historian's biographies as the leading teachers of the time. Something is said of each of them in *Shajarāt al-Dhahab*. Al-Khushū'i, 510-598, called the *Musnid* of Syria, was licenced by Ḥarīrī among others. Ḥanbal's death date is 604; he is called Ruṣāfi for teaching in the Mosque of the Ruṣāfah of Baghdad; but he also taught in Damascus. Zaid al-Kindī, 520-613, is styled shaikh of the Ḥanafīyah, the Qur'ān-readers, and grammarians of Syria and *Musnid* of the time.

3. The *Khirqah*.

4. Three shaikhs with this *nisbah* are mentioned among 'Abd al-Qādir's disciples, but their names are different.

5. This was in 617 (*Shajarāt*, v. 73).

6. Ob. 620; notice of him in *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, ed. Cairo, vi. 256, where he is called Shaikh al-Islām.

7. Doubtless Taqīy al-dīn Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī, 541-600. A highly eulogistic notice of him in *Shajarāt al-Dhahab*, iv. 345.

such a matter?—If he replied, the Ḥāfiẓ would say to the questioner That is precisely the answer.

He surpassed the most eminent Ḥuffāẓ¹ of his time and many of the earlier ones in the science of Tradition: he knew by heart *The Combination of the two Ṣaḥiḥ*² to the “ and ”s, and would charge his memory afresh with it: likewise the *Ṣaḥiḥ* of Muslim, most of the *Musnad* of Aḥmad the Imām, and other books of Tradition. The qāḍī of qāḍīs Shams al-dīn ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Aṭā al-Ḥanafī³ stated that when the *Musnad* of the Imām Aḥmad was read out to him he kept marking the traditions, and being asked when the reading was finished about this, he said: These are traditions which I have not got by heart, and I mark them in order to commit them to memory.—We counted them, and they were sufficient to fill a small volume.

When he was asked whether a tradition were authentic or not, he would reply straight off. He studied the Arabic language and grammar with the shaikh Tāj al-dīn al-Kindī, and attached himself to him: the shaikh Tāj al-dīn preferred him to all other pupils of his, among them kings. He heard from Tāj al-dīn all that the shaikh himself had heard, and wrote a script employed by a noted caligrapher; few of his contemporaries wrote a better hand, but only in his youth: when he grew old, his hand became weak. Countless persons studied with him the sciences connected with the Code, Tradition, the Arabic language, and Ṣūfism; having heard things innumerable, he lectured for a long time and vast numbers of people heard him and profited by him.

Further, he obtained such worldly prosperity as no one else to our knowledge enjoyed, for kings would come to his door and wait there till permission was given them to enter, and when they did so, they treated him with extraordinary respect, obeying his counsels. I was told how al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffir al-dīn Shāh Arman Mūsā son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil⁴ (God’s mercy on both of them!) used to bring him his shoes, and one day when he performed the minor ablution and wanted something to tread on, this Mūsā removed his turban and spread it out for him, swearing that it was ceremonially clean, and adjuring him to tread on it, which he did. The late al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl⁵ used to act in the same way with him. When my late father went to Damascus at the end of the year 655, this person’s sons presented themselves to him, bearing a licence⁶ and saying: Among the instructions which our father gave us

1. Plural of Ḥāfiẓ, one who memorized in this case Tradition.

2. Work by Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥumaidī, ob. 488, compiled from the collections of Bukhārī and Muslim; described at length in *Kaṣf al-Zunūn*.

3. Ob. 673; account of him in *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, vii. 246. A longer notice in Yūnīnī’s history, where we learn that he was a pupil of the historian’s father, who started him on his career.

4. Ayyūbid, 578 (or 576)-635; reigned first at Edessa, afterwards at Damascus. Notice of him in *Nujūm* vi. 300.

5. Ayyūbid, for a time ruler of Damascus, ob. 648 according to *Shajarāt*.

6. Apparently that which had been given to Ismā‘īl.

is that we should seek you out and don the Ṣūfī cloak at your hands, as he did, and that it should be written for us on this licence,¹ (or words to that effect). So he took the promise from them and invested them with the Cloak.

When al-Malik al-Kāmil² came to Damascus at the time when it belonged to al-Malik al-Ashraf,³ he demanded of the latter that he should arrange a meeting for him with my father. Al-Ashraf sent a note to Baalbek requesting my father to come, which he did ; he was lodged in the Palace of Happiness,⁴ because al-Ashraf had taken his abode there on the arrival of al-Malik al-Kāmil, whom he lodged in the Citadel. My father's arrival was notified by al-Ashraf to al-Kāmil, who came down and met him in his quarters at the Palace of Happiness. Al-Kāmil treated him with the utmost courtesy, and they discussed various topics, among them that of execution with a heavy object. Al-Malik al-Kāmil cited in support of his view the tradition of the man whose head the Prophet crushed between two stones,⁵ and how the Prophet asked the victim who had done this to her, etc. He omitted the words "and he (the culprit) confessed," and argued that the Prophet was satisfied with the sole assertion of the victim. My father observed that the tradition contained the words "and he confessed," to be found in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.⁶ Al-Kāmil said "Oh, but I have made an abridgment of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*," and ordered a copy of the book to be sought. One was produced in five volumes : al-Malik al-Kāmil, al-Malik al-Ashraf, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ,⁷ and, I fancy 'Imād al-dīn b. Mūsak,⁸ each took a volume ; my father took the remaining one, and the moment he opened the volume the tradition appeared. It was as he had said, and he pointed it out to al-Malik al-Kāmil and the company. They marvelled thereat, and he was magnified in the eyes of al-Malik al-Kāmil, who determined to take him to Egypt. Al-Malik al-Ashraf, guessing this, immediately despatched him back to Baalbek : al-Malik al-Kāmil had sent him a quantity of gold, but he had declined to accept it, stating that he had as much as he wanted. When he departed, the former asked about him, but was told by al-Malik al-Ashraf that he was travelling and would not consent to quit Syria.

1. The licence was apparently to wear the *Khirqah*.

2. 576-635. Ruler of Egypt 615 to 635.

3. 626-635.

4. An official residence in Damascus. Yūnīnī mentions a torture-chamber there. In *Mir'āt al-Zamān* p. 474.4 it is said to have been the dwelling of Farrukh Shah (ob. 579), governor of Damascus.

5. The tradition is given by Bukhārī, lxviii. 24, according to whom a Jew having robbed a woman had crushed her head. She when dying had pointed out the culprit, whom the Prophet put to death in this way.

6. Cairo, 1290, ii. 27, line 5.

7. Probably Ismā'il b. al-'Adil, who succeeded al-Ashraf as ruler of Damascus.

8. According to Yūnīnī, in his biography of this man's son, one of al-Malik al-Ashraf's intimate associates.

Al-Malik al-Ashraf narrated to my father as follows : When (he said) we were defeated in Asia Minor, and left the country,¹ al-Malik al-Kāmil said to me, your name having been mentioned : Just see how God gave him the victory over us at our assembly out of our own books !—I said to him : He has God's guidance.—He agreed.

Al-Malik al-Amjad² used to visit him repeatedly and hold much converse with him, having firm belief in him ; likewise did Asad al-dīn Shīrgūh.³

Between al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-dīn and his uncle al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'il there was notoriously bitter hostility.⁴ When the country came out of the possession of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'il, being seized by al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb, the latter made an attack on my father and stopped his stipends. It so happened that Ayyūb came to Baalbek, and a number of my father's friends assembled at his house, and asked him to ride out to meet Ayyūb : for, they said, he is a violent man, and if you fail to go out to meet him, he will imagine that this is due to your dislike of him on account of his uncle, and you will be liable to suffer injury from him : even if the injury does not fall on you, it may fall on your friends.—My father followed their advice and rode out to meet him. So soon as he saw my father he came forward to greet him most cordially, kept him near himself, and talked familiarly with him, giving his attention to no one else till he parted from him.

The late Emir Nāṣir al-dīn Muḥammad b. al-Tibnīnī stated that when Ayyūb did part from my father he started thanking, eulogizing, and paying him all sorts of compliments. I (said the Emir) observed to Ayyūb : Sir, is he not a friend of your uncle al-Malik al-Šāliḥ ?—"Never mind that matter" was his reply ; and he ordered that all the clothing, allowances, etc., which he had stopped for the past period should be transmitted to him, and continued them for the future.

When my father went down to Damascus at the end of the year 655, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Šalāḥ al-dīn Yūsuf⁵ went out to visit him in the Hermitage of Šhaikh 'Alī al-Qurashī,⁶ and when he entered treated him with the utmost courtesy and reverence, asking him to state his wants.

My father indeed disliked associating with these magnates, and had no partiality for it. Among his experiences with al-Malik al-Ashraf

1. The reference is to an attempted invasion in 631, *Nujūm*, vi. 282.

2. Bahrām Shāh, ruler of Baalbek.

3. Al-Malik al-Mujāhid, ruler of Ḥimṣ, ob. 637.

4. The former, whose name was Ayyūb, became ruler of Egypt at the end of 637 ; the latter, Ismā'il obtained possession of Damascus in the second month of the same year. In the following year Damascus was wrested from Ismā'il by Ayyūb.

5. 627-659, son of al-Malik al-'Azīz and great-grandson of Saladin. Ruler of Ḥalab, took possession of Damascus 648.

6. Ob. 621. His hermitage was at the foot of Mt. Qasiun. Notice of him in *Shajarāt*, v. 95, where he is credited with the assertion that four saints were as active in their graves as the living, 'Abd al-Qādir Gilānī, Ma'rūf Karkhī, 'Uqail Manbijī, and Ḥayāt Ḥarrānī.

was that when he was with the latter he would present to him numerous petitions from people and demand that these should be granted, which al-Ashraf would do. One day he happened to be with al-Ashraf when he had a great number of petitions, which al-Ashraf started reading : after reading some he grew too tired to finish them. My father said to him : I will make my atonement for associating with you your granting these people's requests. If you grant them, well and good ; if not, I will associate with you no more.—Al-Ashraf apologized, placated him, finished reading the petitions, and granted all the requests which they contained.

The length of time during which he associated with the monarchs and received visits from them was forty-three years. Prior to this he had occasionally met them, but their practice of frequenting his dwelling dates from the time mentioned. He used to regard this as one of the miracles of his shaikh, the shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī. For this shaikh had a wife who had a daughter by another husband. He bade her marry her daughter to Muḥammad (the author's father). Sir, (she replied) he is a poor man who possesses nothing, and I desire my daughter to be happy.—Marry her (he rejoined), for I see her in possession of a fine house with a pool of water, and your daughter with him in a saloon, with kings coming to serve him, and a competence in perpetuity.—She married her daughter to him, the first of his wives.¹

He told me how once al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ called on him when he was staying in the palace of al-Qāḍi al-Fāḍil² in Damascus ; he happened to be in the retiring-room, and being told of the visitor, said : Let him come in by himself.—The visitor did so and sat in the saloon. Something rendered it necessary for my father to plunge into the pool, so coming out of the apartment he told his visitor to turn his back, which he did. My father then plunged into the pool, where he washed himself clean, after which he interviewed his visitor.

These monarchs would offer him worldly goods in quantities, but he would only accept a sufficiency, and would say : I claim no more from the treasury than the amount which I get thence. Al-Malik al-Ashraf offered him possession of the village Yūnīn and drew up a deed to that effect, which he handed to the late Muḥyi'l-dīn Yūsuf b. al-Jauzī,³ who was with him as the Caliph's envoy, in order that he might get the Caliph's signature to the deed. Hearing of this, my father asked for the deed and tore it up. Being reproved for this by al-Malik al-Ashraf, he said : I have a competence and will not take more than that from the treasury.

My late father would accept no present from any emir or vizier or any one else, except food or the like, a gift of which he would take from anyone whose wealth he had ascertained to have been lawfully acquired.

1. As this mystic according to *Shajarāt*. v. 74 lived for a whole year on three dirhems, his interest in such worldly matters is surprising.

2. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 529-596, vizier of Saladin. Notice of him in Ibn Khallikan, transl. de Slane, ii, 111. According to *Shajarāt*. iv. 325 he executed some building in Damascus.

3. Ob. 656 ; *Shajarāt*, v. 286.

On the other hand he frequently sent a modest present of food or something similar to the monarchs, which they would regard as bringing good luck and health. His late servant Shams al-dīn¹ Muḥammad b. Dāwūd told me the following story : The shaikh (he said) sent me with a present in a box to al-Malik al-Kāmil. The box contained dried milk-porridge. When I presented it, the stuff had already been put on a dish, and al-Malik al-Kāmil began to eat it in its dry state, so that grains were scattered over his beard and clothes. The Ṣāḥib² Falak al-dīn b. al-Mīrī was present and said : Let the shaikh know that for years the Sultan has abstained from milk and everything made with it, and now we see him eating this porridge, believing that the shaikh's gift brings a blessing !

As for the chief emirs, viziers, and viceroys, they would treat him with many times as much of the reverence which has been described, obeying his orders and respecting his friends and followers to an indescribable degree.

When the holy shoe which had belonged to the Prophet³ was brought to al-Malik al-Ashraf and reached him in Damascus, he wanted to send it to my father, that he might pay his respects to it and receive a blessing therefrom. Presently, however, he said : We have been longing for the shaikh, and the better course will be for us to send and inform him about it, that he may come and visit this holy relic and behold it.—So he wrote to him to that effect. Now my grandmother was still living, and she said to my father : I should have liked to visit this holy relic, do you do so on my account.⁴—When my father came to Damascus and visited the relic, he repeated to al-Malik al-Ashraf what his mother had said. The monarch thereupon despatched the relic to Baalbek for her benefit : she visited it and accomplished her desire in the matter.

Now this relic had a history which brought about its transmission to al-Malik al-Ashraf. Its owner Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd⁵ used to travel about with it to the kings, who would give him sums of money. One year he foraged on al-Malik al-Ashraf, who rewarded him handsomely. He said to the man : I should like you to give me a fragment of this relic, the size of a chickpea, to be put in my graveclothes when I die.—The man agreed and was promised 30,000 dirhems, it being settled that on the following day the men of learning and the shaikhs be summoned, and the amount desired be cut in their presence. Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd was delighted with the prospect, only when night came al-Malik al-Ashraf changed his mind. He sent to inform Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, who was annoyed, as he expected to lose the sum which had been promised him. When it was morning, he

1. Titles compounded with *dīn* seem to have been exceedingly common at this time.

2. The import of this title is somewhat obscure. References are given by Massé, transl. of Ibn al-Ṣairafī, p. 79. It may mean head of a bureau.

3. This is sometimes called *al-athar* "the relic" by those who write of Damascus.

4. So that the merit would accrue to her.

5. The relic was said to be an heirloom in his family, of whom one was *qāḍī* and preacher in Damascus, ob. 546 (Qalānisi, ed. Amedroz, p. 317).

presented himself and asked the reason which had caused the change. Al-Ashraf said : I reflected that if I were to take this amount off the holy relic, the other kings would follow my example, and this would lead to the destruction of the holy relic, of which I should be the cause. So I have abandoned the project for the sake of Allah. As for the sum which I promised you, you can take it, as I do not retract that.—The man was in ecstasies, took the sum, and travelled eastwards ; he was overtaken by death, I fancy in Ḥarrān, having before his decease bequeathed the relic to al-Malik al-Ashraf. It had come into his possession by reason of his good intention, and to house it he built the School of Tradition which is near the Citadel, where it is visited on Monday and Wednesday afternoons.

When my late father was brought into the company of contemporary men of learning, such as the Shaikh Taqīy al-dīn b. 'Izz al-dīn, the shaikh Sharaf al-dīn b. Ṣalāḥ al-dīn, the qāḍī of qāḍīs Shams al-dīn b. Sanīy al-daulah, the qāḍī of qāḍīs Shams al-dīn al-Khawwī, the shaikh Abū 'Amr b. al-Ḥājib, the shaikh al-Ḥasīrī,¹ and others of that period ; they treated him with profound respect, not one of them taking precedence over him in place or speech : they deferred to his opinions, and the same was the case with the chief ascetics of his time ; they would stand in his presence, and obey his orders. I was told by more than one notable faqīr how once when the shaikh 'Uthmān al-'Adwī² came to Damascus, my father being there at the time, Amīn al-daulah, vizier of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ,³ paid my father a visit with the request that he would provide entertainment for the shaikh 'Uthmān and the faqīrs who were with him. My father agreed, and made careful preparations for a meal, to which he invited the shaikhs of the place. When my father and the shaikh 'Uthmān took their places and the table was laid, my father began to eat, but the shaikh 'Uthmān would not. Amīn al-daulah spoke to the shaikh about this, but my father said : Our object is the blessing which the shaikh 'Uthmān brings, so let him be left to his own choice in the matter of eating. When the company went away, one of the faqīrs said to the shaikh 'Uthmān : Sir, there is no one whom you can take as your pattern in affairs of this world and the next except the shaikh ;⁴ you saw him eat, so why did you refuse to do so ?—By Allah (he replied) when the table was laid I observed him, and he was a blazing fire ; nothing came to his mouth but became brilliant light. Not myself possessing this consummation, I abstained.

1. Of these Abū 'Amr b. al-Ḥājib, 570-646, is noticed in *Nuḡūm*, vi. 360 ; his name was 'Uthmān b. 'Umar. Shams al-dīn b. Sanīy al-daulah is noticed in *Shajarāt*, v. 177: his name was Yaḥyā and his death-date 635. According to the same v. 183 al-Khawwī should be written al-Khuwayyī: his name was Aḥmad b. Khalīl, ob. 637. Al-Ḥasīrī's name was Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad, ob. 636 (*ibid.* v. 182).

2. Apparently a well-known figure at the time, as he is mentioned several times in this biography. Ob. 650 according to *Shajarāt*, v. 253, where there are a few words about him.

3. Ismā'īl, mentioned above. Notices of this vizier, said to have been a Samaritan, converted to Islam in *Nuḡūm*, vii. 21, and *Shajarāt*, v. 241. (See below). He died 648.

4. The writer's father.

I was told the following by the late qāḍī Tāj al-dīn 'Abd al-Khāliq.¹ In the days (he said) of al-Malik al-Amjad there came to Baalbek a man of the clerical profession, claiming to be a descendant or relative of Shāwar, ²vizier of al-'Āḍid in Egypt. Al-Malik al-Amjad appointed him manager of estates of persons who had died without heirs at Baalbek. Al-Malik al-Amjad happened to be away when an individual died who had cousins. The clerk seized the inheritance. The shaikh³ sent for him and said to him: This man has heirs, whom I know to be his cousins, who have the right to his inheritance, which you cannot dispute.—The clerk replied: The Sultan ordered me to seize the property of anyone who died, so I am not going to give up this property.—The shaikh was angry and said to him: Be off, and may Allah amputate your hand and the Sultan's with you.—The clerk went off and made for the place where al-Malik al-Amjad was and complained to him, saying: I only obeyed your order and you see that I do not violate it.—Al-Malik al-Amjad however reproved him, and being no longer able to stay at Baalbek, the man went to Damascus. When he had stayed there for a time it was discovered that he had forged a rescript, for which his hand was amputated. As for al-Malik al-Amjad, after he was dispossessed of Baalbek⁴ he took up his residence at the Palace of Happiness, which belonged to him. One of his slaves struck his hand with a sword, amputating it, and also dealt him another wound of which he died after two days.⁵ R.I.P.

A similar narrative is the following. My maternal uncle Tāj al-dīn Ya'qūb b. Sanīy al-daulah came on a visit to Baalbek in the days of al-Malik al-Nāṣir⁶ and lodged in the house of his cousin Sharaf al-dīn Khidr. My father was very generous to my mother's relatives. It so happened that my father went to see the visitor with me. When he entered, my uncle rose, kissed his hand and sat on the ground before him. There was a mad faqīr named 'Alī there of whom my uncle had a high opinion. When my father entered, the faqīr sat on the bench, and in came Shams al-dīn Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, my father's servant, bringing with him a roast head. The table was spread, and the faqīr summoned to eat. The man put his hand to his nose and said Ugh, ugh, repeatedly. When my father heard this, he shouted at the man, saying: Be off, may Allah cut off your nose!—The faqīr left the house at once, making for the Zabadānī

1. Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām, ob. 696; notice of him in *Shajarāt* v. 435. This would not be the latest date in Yūnīnī's work.

2. Ob. 564. Much about him in Derenbourg's Oumarah.

3. The author's father.

4. In 628 he was ousted by al-Malik al-Ashraf after ruling there fifty years. *Nujūm*, vi. 276.

5. According to *Shajarāt*, v. 127 the slave hit him on the shoulder.

6. His name was Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ghāzī b. Yūsuf b. Ayyūb, 627-659. Yūnīnī has a lengthy biography of him, and mentions Baalbek among his conquests, without giving the date, probably after 648 when he became ruler of Damascus.

road. After sunset he was met at al-Rummānah¹ by a drunken soldier, who struck him with his sword, cutting off his entire nose. He returned the next day in this plight, was deranged in mind and got no good out of life till he died.

When the Tartars invaded Syria at the beginning of 658, and rumours about them were rife, my late father said to the shaikh Maḥmūd son of the shaikh Sulṭān,² who had interviews with certain men of Mount Lebanon, to whom his father had introduced him: Greet these people and ask them about this enemy, and what will be the consequence to those who have to do with them.—He asked them and presently came to my father who said to him: What was their reply?—He answered: Tell him, they said, Does he ask us about such a matter? We have no knowledge but such as he can well dispense with.

I heard the late shaikh Maḥmūd say more than once that his master the Shaikh the Jurist³ did not die till he had been a *Qutb* for twelve years or more; (the doubt about the period is mine). Sharaf al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Aṭā was of the Ḥanbalite School, and was exceedingly fond of my father; so much so that he left his home and migrated to Baalbek owing to his attachment to him. His son, the qāḍī of qāḍīs Shams al-dīn 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī⁴ was taught the Qur'ān by my father, and when he had finished, his father said to mine: Sir, let him read the *Muqni'* or the abridgment of al-Khiraqī.⁵ My father said: Let us read in al-Qudūri⁶ and study Abū Ḥanīfah's system, for he will become a master therein.—He studied it, and became a master, as my father had foretold. My father spoke similarly to a number of others, of the Shāfi'i School and others, and his forecasts were verified.⁷

I had decided, he said, to travel to Ḥarrān to study the Law of Inheritance with a teacher whose knowledge of the subject was, I had heard, unique and profound. I had meant to start the following day, when a letter (or, he said, a message) arrived from the Shaikh 'Abdallāh⁸ that I was to go to Jerusalem. This annoyed me, and I was thinking of carrying out my original plan, when I looked for an oracle in the Qur'ān, and my eye hit on the text (xxxvi. 21) *And follow him who asks you for no fee, and they are the guided.* This shaikh (I said) asks me for no fee, and without

1. Zabadānī is located by Yāqūt between Baalbek and Damascus. The village Rummānah is not mentioned by him or by Dimishqī. Zebdani has preserved its name (Cuiet).

2. The shaikh Sulṭān is noticed in *Shajarāt*, v. 211, as an ascetic of Baalbek, whose gates were opened for him at night, it would seem miraculously. He died 641. His son Maḥmūd was also a saint.

3. The name by which the subject of the biography was known.

4. Ob. 673; Yūnīnī devotes a lengthy obituary notice to him.

5. Both treatises on Ḥanbalite law; the first by 'Abdallāh al-Maqdisī, ob. 620; the author of the latter, 'Umar b. al-Ḥusain, ob. 334.

6. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, ob. 428. His handbook of Ḥanefite law is still popular.

7. The Ḥanbalites being less tolerant than the others, this was worth recording, though meant as an illustration of the shaikh's miraculous powers.

8. The saint 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī.

doubt is "guided." So I travelled to Jerusalem as he had bidden me. A number of the people of the place came to me to study the Laws of Inheritance and other subjects, and for a time I gave them instruction. There was beside me a man whom I did not know, and after a time I asked from what country he came. He replied that he was from Ḥarrān. I proceeded to ask him about the person whom I had intended to visit there, and found that he was the identical man. Good gracious, I said, here am I instructing in the Laws of Inheritance in your presence and you say nothing to me!—You have made no mistake, he replied, only you make a long détour, neglecting what is nearer.—I attached myself to him and assimilated all his knowledge till I fancied that I had become more expert in the subject than he. I then asked the reason of his coming to Jerusalem, and he stated that a relative of his had died in Jerusalem, having merchandise in his possession, which the Jerusalem bureau had seized, and which he had come to get released. Now the governor in control of Jerusalem and its dependencies was the late Jamāl al-dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Shīth,¹ who was an intimate friend of mine, inseparable from me. When he came I spoke to him about the man's affair, and he handed the entire property over to him. The man started home to his city, not even spending that night in Jerusalem.—This Jamāl al-dīn was much attached to my father and had been an associate of the Shaikh 'Abdallāh.

My father told me the following story. I had been staying (he said) some time in Jerusalem, and there was there a faqīr who served me. Suddenly an individual appeared bringing ten dirhems, and began to apologize and ask pardon. I asked him to explain himself. He said: The Ṣāḥib Jamāl al-dīn ordered me to give this person who serves you ten dirhems for expenses each day since you came. Each day that he comes he receives them in the morning. To-day he came and I had no dirhems. He quarreled with me and said he would complain to Jamāl al-dīn about me.—I said to him: Make your mind easy, you are not to suffer harm. If the man comes again and demands anything of you, you are not to give it, and tell him that those are my orders.—So he took the ten dirhems and went off, and soon the faqīr presented himself, and I said nothing to him. He went back to the other person and asked him for the dirhems; that person told him that he had spoken to me and been ordered by me to give him nothing. The faqīr immediately departed from Jerusalem and this was the last heard of him. Presently Jamāl al-dīn appeared and asked me whom I now ordered to take the allowance. I said: You have been sufficiently generous, and I swear by Allah that I shall not accept anything more.—He was vexed, but I soothed him till he acquiesced in stopping the grant.

My father had a cousin named Idrīs who was misshapen and of contemptible figure, and had no means of subsistence except what my father gave him. One day when my father was riding with al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ

1. Ob. 625. Notice of him in *Shajarāt*, v. 117, where he is said to have been vizier to al-Malik al-Mu'azzam (Ayyūbid of Damascus, 615-624).

Ismā'il outside the town, he met this cousin entering the town from the village Yūnīn. Seeing them, the cousin quitted the road and went some distance away; my father sent for him, greeted him warmly, and asked how he was. He then said to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ: This is my cousin; were it not for the nobility of learning and piety, I should be like him.—Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ marvelled at this, and thought the more highly of my father.

In my youth (said my father) I suffered from pleurisy and migraine, which were exceedingly painful. Two faqīrs visited me and asked me what my complaint was. I told them. One of the two said to the other: Do you choose one of the two ailments, and I the other.—Then he said: I will relieve him of his pleurisy.—His companion said: And I will take upon myself the migraine.—Each of them was immediately stricken with the ailment which he had chosen, whereas I became perfectly well. The victim of the pleurisy survived a few days and then died (R.I.P.), whereas the victim of the migraine after a time was cured.

I was told by 'Imād al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Uḍāh a story to the following effect: One day (he said) I was ministering to my lord the shaikh in the Damascus Mosque, when an individual brought him dirhems near three hundred in number due to him from an orchard which he possessed in Damascus. I took them and put them under a corner of the praying-mat, when a blind man passed along the court of the Mosque. The shaikh said to me: Take these dirhems and give them to this man.—I took them, went and handed them over to the blind man, placing them in his garment. The man blessed me, supposing that they were coppers; I told him they were dirhems, and he was so overwhelmed with delight that he nearly dropped them. I told him that they had been sent by the Shaikh the Jurist. He uttered a blessing and went away.

On another occasion someone gave the shaikh a piece of woollen cloth of a rare kind; I asked his permission to make it up, and cut it out, stitched it with great care, and brought it to him in the Damascus Mosque; he put it on, said a prayer of two inclinations, and then seated himself with the garment upon his shoulders. The same blind man was passing along the Mosque. Thereupon he¹ said to me: 'Imād, take this *farajīyah* and give it to that man.—I did so.—Again (he said) on another day I was with him and the blind man was passing by; he bade me give him an article which had been put aside, and I did so.—I kept wondering why he favoured the blind man in this way, and once, finding him expansive, asked him the reason. He said: Once I had come from the Ṣāliḥīyah height and was entering the city² by the Farādīs Gate, when I felt a natural want, so I went into the lavatory that is between the two gates by the Azahārīyah,³ did what I wanted, and then took up a handful of water from the basin. After using it I examined the basin and noticed

1. The author's father.

2. Damascus.

3. Probably the name of a *madrasah*.

that it contained the droppings of mice, and that the water was not running. I felt horrified : now this man who was not then blind was living in al-Mujāhidīyah¹ and quite suddenly he opened the door of the lavatory where I was, and handed me a large ewer full of water from the river. I was delighted, cleansed myself with the water, and when I came out handed him the ewer. At that time I had nothing that I could give him : now I never see him but if I have with me anything that I can bestow upon him, I bestow it by way of recompense for what he did.

‘Imād al-dīn said : I marvelled at his generous actions and his giving such rewards for so small a matter.

My father indeed liberally rewarded to the utmost of his power anyone who did him the smallest service, holding that he was merely giving the person his due. I heard him narrate how the shaikh ‘Abdallāh came to Damascus and stayed in al-Rubwah.² Al-Malik al-‘Ādil³ was absent from Damascus at the time, his viceroy being al-Mu‘tamid.⁴ The wives, daughters, and sisters of al-Malik al-‘Ādil paid constant visits to the shaikh, too many, indeed, and al-Mu‘tamid, being unable to stop them, was afraid of this matter reaching the ears of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, who might disapprove of his permitting it. He being my friend⁵ and one of the shaikh’s intimate associates, came and told me the facts of the case, asking me to persuade the shaikh to depart. I promised to do so. The shaikh was in the lavatory at the time. Al-Mu‘tamid rose, mounted his horse, and went into the town : the shaikh came out, performed the ablution preliminary to prayer and performed a prayer of two inclinations. He then put on his shoes and said Come away : he started on his travels without my having talked to him at all about what al-Mu‘tamid had said.

Now it was the custom of al-Mu‘tamid to send the shaikh every year a cloak (*farajīyah*) of sable to perform his prayers in winter ; fancying that the shaikh’s departure was owing to what he had said, he wrote to me asking me to soothe the shaikh’s mind towards him, also sending the usual cloak. I presented it to the shaikh, saying : Sir, Mubārīz al-dīn al-Mu‘tamid kisses your hand and sends you this cloak.—Muḥammad, he said, if anyone does me a kindness once in his life and injures me for the rest of it, I only regard him as a benefactor. Now this al-Mu‘tamid has been serving me throughout his life and only once made a mistake.—He let me understand that he bore al-Mu‘tamid no ill-will, etc.

The late Shams al-dīn Muḥammad b. Dāwūd⁶ told me a story to the following effect : I found (he said) Ibn al-Shihāb⁷ by the river in Baalbek

1. Name of a *Khangah* (hostel) in Damascus built by Mujāhid al-dīn Ibrāhīm, ob. 654 (*Shajarāt*, v. 264).

2. At the foot of a mountain, one parasang from Damascus, supposed to be meant in *Sūrah* xxiii., 52 (*Yāqūt*).

3. His name was Abu Bakr with *laqab* Saif al-dīn. Ruled in Damascus 592-615. A long account of him in *Nujūm*, vi. 160 foll.

4. His name was Ibrāhīm with *laqab* Mubārīz al-dīn. He was cashiered in 617 (*Nujūm*, vi. 248).

5. i.e., the author’s father’s.

6. His father’s servant. See above.

7. i.e., son of someone with title Shihāb al-dīn.

abusing the shaikh violently. Going up to the Citadel I found al-Malik al-Amjad at the dining-room window, and he, seeing me from a distance, sent for me. I told him about it, and he sent his footmen to fetch Ibn al-Shihāb and cast him into the dungeon till the next morning, when he would deal summarily with the man, and publicly expose him. They fetched him when the gate of the Citadel was locked and imprisoned him. I told the Shaikh of this, and he was angry with me, disapproving what I had done; he despatched the couriers attached to the gate to al-Malik al-Amjad with the request that the man be released and suffer no harm: on this he insisted. I with the others was sorry for this, and we showed our annoyance, and began to enumerate what the man had done on previous occasions, maintaining that he deserved exemplary punishment. You are right, he said: only the man has an old mother who has never harmed me, and if anything of the sort which you say were to be done to him, she would be grieved. For this reason I forego his getting his deserts.

The late shaikh Jamāl al-dīn b. al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Maqdisī¹ presented himself before al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf al-dīn 'Isā,² son of al-Malik al-'Ādil, in whose hand there was a volume containing traditions not attributed to transmitters. Al-Mu'azzam said to him: I should like these traditions to be provided with references to the collections of Genuine Tradition, with specification of the cases in which the collections agree, and of those in which some authors have what others have not; and I want this done quickly.—Jamāl al-dīn said: This will require some time and searching from one end of a book to the other; the least time which it will take is two months.—Al-Mu'azzam thought this period too long, and while they were talking in came the shaikh Shams al-dīn Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī.³ He said to al-Malik al-Mu'azzam: Will you give me this book? You shall get what you want in ten days.—Al-Mu'azzam gave it to him, and he at once mounted his horse, came to Baalbek, interviewed my father, and said to him: I want you to furnish the references to these traditions.—My father took the book from him, furnished the references required by al-Malik al-Mu'azzam in three days and inserted in the beautifully written volume in his own script some words which he noticed had fallen out. When he had finished, the book was taken by the shaikh Shams al-dīn, who returned to Damascus and brought it to al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, who was greatly pleased and praised the shaikh Shams al-dīn and his attainments. When the shaikh Jamāl al-dīn b. al-Ḥāfiẓ paid another visit to al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, the latter informed him how the shaikh Shams al-dīn had furnished the references to those traditions in a short time: which surprised him, since Tradition was not the shaikh Shams al-dīn's

1. Al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Maqdisī is probably 'Abd al-Ghanī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid with *laqab* Taqīy al-dīn, 541-600; see above.

2. Ayyubid, ruler of Damascus, 615-624. Notice of him in *Nujūm*, vi. 267, where much is said of his learning.

3. Author of the historical work *Mir'āt al-Zamān*.

speciality. Turning over the pages he found the insertions in my father's script. The person, he said, who furnished the references to these traditions is the shaikh al-Yūnīnī the Jurist.—And how did he do it? asked al-Mu'azzam.—Oh, said Jamāl al-dīn, he knows all these traditions by heart and the places where they are to be found; he would not find the task impossible, and this is his handwriting.—I should like to meet him, said al-Mu'azzam.—He will not consent to come here, said the other.

Indeed my late father would take nothing from any trust-fund, would accept nothing from anyone, nor did he in his whole life receive alms or anything of the sort. When he had ascertained that a donor's wealth had been lawfully acquired, he would accept a gift from him, but would give something in return.

I was told by my late brother Abu'l-Husain 'Alī that he had been informed by his father before his death that he was a descendant of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq son of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (God's favour be on both!).¹ He only informed him of this that he might know that the acceptance of Alms was unlawful for him² and the consequences of this.³ My father used not to speak openly of this descent, but mentioned it to his son in particular before his death for this purpose (but God knows best). I came across a paper in my brother's writing recording this descent, and containing the following pedigree: Muḥammad (the author's father) b. Abi'l-Husain Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Isā b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Husain b. Ishāq b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. Zain al-'Abidīn 'Alī b. al-Husain (the martyr of Kerbela) b. 'Alī al-Murtaḍā, Prince of Believers (God's favour be on all of them!) b. Abī Ṭālib 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf.

He is mentioned by the Ḥāfiẓ 'Izz al-dīn 'Umar b. al-Ḥājib al-Amīnī in his Dictionary⁴ as follows:

"Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Husain b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Isā b. Abi'l-Rijāl shaikh, jurist, and ascetic with *kunyah* Abū 'Abdallāh was by origin and birth of the village Yūnīn (one belonging to Baalbek), was reared to adolescence in honourable and peaceful surroundings, and became the companion of the shaikh and ascetic 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī, who, I fancy, was a relative of his. He became this shaikh's disciple, was known as his associate, became his favourite servant, and to him accrued this shaikh's lights and blessing. He imitated his character, read and studied Law, Tradition, and other subjects, till he became an authority, learned, with his memory stored, trustworthy, ascetic, virtuous, and dignified. He became

1. The sixth and fifth Imāms of the Shī'a, 80-148, and 38-94 respectively.

2. Copious references for traditions to this effect are given by Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *zakat*.

3. Probably extension of the rule to other gifts.

4. This person is mentioned by H. Kh. as a continuator of Ibn 'Asākir's *History of Damascus*, which is a biographical Dictionary.

the leader of the community and the treader of the Path ;¹ he saw no contemporary equalling himself in perfection and ability. He combined knowledge of the Code with that of the Reality.

He had fine white hair, correct pronunciation, handsome face and figure, charming qualities, graceful movement and repose. He was extremely popular in that region, commended for his services and works, of wide celebrity, and a benefactor of those who applied to him. He was one of those who are favoured and honoured by kings owing to the excellence of their attainments and conduct. He was beautiful both in figure and character, useful to his fellows, free from affectation, generous of soul, beaming of countenance. Among the books which he knew by heart was Humaidi's *Combination of the two Ṣaḥīḥ*, with others, and he had a fine handwriting (though a different account of this is given).

He proceeds : The late shaikh the Jurist told me as follows : I waited a long time (he said) wanting to ask our shaikh the learned authority Muwaffaq al-dīn b. Qudāmah² about the anthropomorphism and ascription of a body to the Deity ascribed to the Ḥanbalites— was it a mere slander, or did some of them hold these views, in consequence of which the slander was extended to all of them : or was it a doctrine which their shaikhs concealed and only revealed to those whom they trusted ?—until I climbed mount Qasiun with him, the road being empty, with him in front and myself behind, when I said : Now I shall ask him about what is on my mind. Sir, I said,—no more than that. He turned to me and said : Assimilation [of God to man] is absurd.—Why ? I asked. Because, he replied, it is a condition of assimilation that you must see an object before you can assimilate it. Now who has seen God and assimilated Him to us afterwards ?³

He also (says this writer) told me the following : I was (he said) in the room of my shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī when his aunt's son Humaid b. Barq was asking him a question. My wife (he said) is enceinte ; if she gives birth to a son, what name shall I give him ?—Call one of them (he replied) Sulaimān and the other Dāwūd.—His wife gave birth to twins and he gave them the names which the shaikh had chosen.

1. i.e., a Ṣūfī system.

2. His name was 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāmah, 541-620, called Shaikh al-Islām in the *Nujūm*, vi. 256 ; see above.

3. This does not seem to be a reply to the question asked. Since Ibn al-Jauzī wrote a book in refutation of the doctrine, it follows that not all Ḥanbalites held it. He mentions however in his work (*Daf' Shubah al-tashbih*, Cairo, 1345, p. 5) several Ḥanbalites who accepted the doctrine.

He proceeds : He¹ recited to us the following verses by himself :

Take, O Lord of men, a healing word :
 Word of healing take, O Lord of men.
 In God's gate, O ardent lover, shelter seek :
 Shelter, ardent lover, seek, God's gate within.
 When the youthful days of man are on decline :
 On decline the youthful days of man are when.²

He also (says the same writer) told me that he had committed to memory the whole of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (and indeed repeated it) in four months, and that he was in the habit of doing the like with *The Combination of the two Ṣaḥīḥ* and the greater part of the *Musnad* of the Imām Aḥmad ; and that at one sitting he could commit to memory more than seventy traditions."

(*This finishes my extracts from al-Amīnī's Dictionary.*)

The shaikh 'Izz al-dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ma'qil al-Azdī al-Muhallabī in his *Raudah* cites some verses describing Baalbek which he (the author's father) had composed in his youth :

How fair a spot is the town of Baalbek with its soft breeze and delightful water !

With its singing birds, swaying trees, and spreading shades !

Its air is pure, its wind fragrant, and its water banishing the ill effects of food.

Its viands are tasty, so too are its waters, its soil and its air.

Healthy are the bodies of its men, and its fruits produce strength and sagacity.

I came across a volume composed by a man of Jerusalem in which he had put together notices of the great shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī, with an account of some of his associates, among them my father. Some of what he recorded is contained in what has preceded, which there is no occasion for me to repeat. The following is an abridgment of some matter not mentioned as yet in these pages.

Among them (the associates of the great shaikh 'Abdallāh), he says, was the shaikh Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Ḥusain the Jurist. He was a learned, erudite leader, holding the title *Quṭb* for eighteen years ; he was the finest man of his time both in figure and character.

Account of his commencement : it is said that he was in the presence of the shaikh 'Abdallāh when the latter told him he was to be a jurist, and sent him to the shaikh Muwaffaq al-dīn,³ with whom he read jurisprudence, whereas he read Tradition with the authoritative Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd

1. The author's father.

2. The order of the original is here reproduced.

3. Ibn Qudāmāh ; see above.

al-Ghanī, and the holy Qur'ān with the shaikh 'Imād al-dīn Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī.¹ God granted to him to combine Tradition with jurisprudence and he could repeat *The Combination between the two Ṣaḥīḥ*. God besides gave him the mystic state in his boyhood. Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī son of the Imām Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Dā'im² who for many years was his servant stated that the shaikh the jurist practised devotional exercises which he would not postpone from their proper time even if a king came to see him.

A SELECTION OF HIS MIRACLES

ABU'L-'ABBAṢ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd³ states that once when there was a company with the shaikh the jurist the subject of theft was mentioned. The shaikh said : I once stole. My mother had put thirteen dirhems in a niche, and I was tempted to take them one by one till I had taken the lot. Presently my mother wanted a dress, and my father said to me: Your mother has got thirteen dirhems in that niche, so take them and buy her a dress with them. I (said the shaikh) was at a loss what to do and kept thinking. Going to the niche I found the wrappage and thirteen dirhems inside ! (or however he put it).

The author says : I was told the following by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Dā'im : I was serving (he said) the shaikh the jurist, when one day there came the shaikh 'Uthmān from Dair Nā'is. The shaikh was with his young folk or somewhere else, and the shaikh 'Uthmān said : I should like the shaikh the jurist to bare his bosom, let me embrace him with mine, and give me the garment he is wearing.—When the shaikh appeared, he took the shaikh 'Uthmān and the faqīrs who were with him and had a meal brought in. When they had finished their food he told the companions of the shaikh 'Uthmān to leave, only (he said) the shaikh 'Uthmān is not to leave just now.—When they had departed he bade the shaikh 'Uthmān rise, and when he had done so, bared his bosom, embraced him, removed the garment which he was wearing, and presented it to the shaikh 'Uthmān, saying : Whenever it gets torn, I will give you another (or words to that effect).

The author proceeds : I was also informed by the same Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī that the shaikh the jurist did not approve of displaying miracles, saying that just as God had enjoined on the prophets the manifestation of their intentional miracles, so He had enjoined on the saints the concealment of those which were wrought in their honour. Once, he said when the miracles wrought in honour of saints were mentioned in his presence, he said : Plague upon you ! What are miracles of this sort ? In

1. 543-614. Long notice of him in *Shajarāt*, v. 57-60.

2. 575-668 ; notice of him in *Shajarāt*, v. 325, 326, where he is designated Musnid, jurist, and traditionalist of Syria, and is said to have written out two thousand volumes.

3. Ob. 700. Short notice of him in *Shajarāt*, v. 455. He was of Jerusalem and his *laqab* was 'Imād al-dīn.

my youth I was with the shaikh 'Abdallāh (meaning in Baalbek), there were people there from Baghdad who performed self-mortification of various sorts, and I could see those who went out from the Damascus Gate and the world in front of me like a rose,¹ and would say to the shaikh : Sir, people are coming to you from Damascus, bringing such-and-such things, and from Hims, and from Egypt.—When what I had foretold came true, those people would say : Sir, we practise self-mortification of all sorts, and see nothing ; while this man sees things ! —He would reply : This does not come by self-mortification, it comes from God (or words to that effect).

He proceeds : I was told (he says) the following by the shaikh Isrā'īl b. Ibrāhīm : To one of the shaikh's associates (he said) there had happened something of which the shaikh disapproved. After a time he received a visit from the shaikh 'Uthmān of Dair Nā'is. When this person presented himself before the shaikh the jurist, he made a rude request to the latter, viz., that he should allow him to set his foot on his face.—What is this idea, Shaikh 'Uthmān ? he asked.—I have asked you, was the reply.—When he had permitted the thing to be done, he said to him : Shaikh 'Uthmān, may God make your blessing to rest on the Muslims ! I want you to put a stop to something.—When he had performed the evening prayer, the shaikh 'Uthmān stared, and shortly after, what the jurist had wanted was accomplished. When he heard of it, he said : Well done, Shaikh 'Uthmān ! and repeated this. One of the company put the following question to the shaikh 'Uthmān : You have no one with you like the shaikh the jurist ; why then did he not manage the affair himself ?—He said : When the Caliph wants anything or issues any order, he does not execute it himself, but orders an attendant to do it (or words to that effect).

He proceeds : The shaikh used to repeat by memory *The Combination of the two Ṣaḥīḥ* and *The Names of the Transmitters*.² Once when one of these names slipped from his memory, he looked up to the sky and recollected it. His servant Ibn Bāqī questioned him, saying : Sir, I notice that when you forget a name you look up to the sky and recollect it.—When I look up to the sky, he replied, I see it written in the air (or however he expressed it).

He proceeds : I was told by the Qur'ān-teacher 'Āmir as follows : The shaikh the jurist was angry with his servant Ibn Bāqī and dismissed him from his service. The man went to Ḥalab and after staying there sometime returned on the day of the Feast when the shaikh was preaching for the occasion by the tomb of the shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī. The shaikh 'Uthmān was present, and Ibn Bāqī requested him and Muḥammad³ son of the shaikh 'Abdallāh to intercede for him with the shaikh the jurist. It was the custom of the last after performing the Feast day service to take the company to his house. When we were inside, Ibn

1. The point of the comparison is not obvious.

2. Probably the work of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, ob. 507.

3. Ob. 654 (*Shajarāt*, v. 254).

Bāqī made a sign to the shaikh Muḥammad, who, looking in the direction of the shaikh the jurist, said : Sir, I should like you to pardon your servant Abū Bakr.—The man was present and we uncovered our heads.—The shaikh the jurist grew red in the face, hung his head, and said : If a man is unlucky, what can I do ? Not a man enters the mosque but I can see his heart as clearly as I see this coat (taking hold of his sleeve).—Then he looked at us and said : Cover your heads ! Who has been doing this that you should do the like ?—The shaikh 'Uthmān did not say a word. I turned to Ibn Bāqī, but failed to see him (or something to this effect).

He proceeds : I was informed by the jurist Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Mausilī al-Shāfi'ī that he had been told the following by the Qur'ān-teacher Naṣr al-Mardawī : I used, he said, to teach Qur'ān-reading in the mosque of the Ḥanbalites at Baalbek ; debts which I had incurred accumulated to the amount of ten dirhems, which greatly distressed me, and the idea occurred to me to go somewhere else and do work so as to acquire this sum. After performing the morning prayer while I was in the western corner of the mosque whereas the shaikh the jurist was in the eastern, when he had performed prayer, he sent for me, and said : Go to so-and-so and take from him ten dirhems (or words to that effect).

He proceeds : I was told by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān the following : I was sent, he said, with a letter from al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'il to the shaikh the jurist. Reaching Baalbek I went to the shaikh and handed him the letter. When he had read a portion of it he looked at me and said : Have no children come to you ?—I left my wife, sir, I said, near her confinement.—He finished reading the letter, and then said : A man in need of a urinal has no ideas.—He went away, performed the ablution preliminary to prayer, and when the Monday afternoon came, and the muedhdhin uttered the words *I testify that Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allah* raised his hands and said : O God, deliver her !—When I returned to my wife I was informed that a little girl had been born to me. I asked When ?, and they told me On the Monday when the muedhdhin was uttering the words *I testify*, etc., (or however they put it).

He proceeds : I was told by the shaikh Ismā'il b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm the following : I was with the shaikh the jurist, he said, when he looked at me and said : May God have mercy on your father and your mother (mentioning them by name).—I was touched by this, and said : Sir, I hear people speaking of faqirs' miracles and now I hear them from you.¹—Just then a man began to hawk beans. The shaikh said to me : Take paper and buy with it beans, put them in your bosom, and whenever I say anything miraculous to you, give me one.—He added : The citation of one tradition of the Prophet is preferable in my judgment to an earthful of miracles (or words to that effect).

He proceeds : We were told by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm b.

1. The miracle consisted in his knowing the names of the man's parents.

'Abd al-Wahhāb the following : Two faqīrs, he said, came to me from Ḥalab, meaning to ask the shaikh about some traditions, and wanting me to obtain permission for them to enter. I solicited it, and he gave permission, being at the time in the hermitage which is to the south of the mosque in Baalbek. When we were inside they saluted and conversed, and the shaikh started telling them the import of the traditions, which he repeated to them.—One of them was affected, and said : " There is no God but Allah !" If the shaikh wanted his whole speech to be miraculous, he could effect it (or words to that effect).

I was also told (he says) by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad¹ that he had been told the following by the shaikh 'Uthmān : I had in my mind, he said, three questions about which I wished to consult the shaikh the jurist, and he gave me the answers before I had asked him (or words to that effect).

The same Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān also told the following story : I had been reading (he said) in the book *Al-Targhīb wal-Tarhīb*² in the section on imploring forgiveness, and presently asked the shaikh the jurist about this matter. He said : Bukhārī records so-and-so, and Muslim so-and-so, and what they agree on is so-and-so. He then repeated the passage in *al-Targhīb*, etc., on the virtue of imploring forgiveness.

He proceeds : The shaikh Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaddād narrated as follows : I was present at a discourse of the shaikh the jurist in the mosque of Damascus. He had been asked about the differences of the four Imāms. He said : The mosque in which we are has four doors, and a man who enters by any one of the four gets inside. The same is the case with the Imāms. Each of them is in the right.

The writer says : I read the following in the biography of the shaikh Muwaffaq al-dīn by the shaikh Diyā' al-dīn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī :³ I heard (he writes) the jurist, Imām, and ascetic Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Ḥusain al-Yūnīnī say : In addition to what I saw of and heard about him (the shaikh Muwaffaq al-dīn) I am not aware that any topic in the Principles of Religion and its Branches ever puzzled me without my seeing him in a dream wherein he solved the difficulty. Once a difficult point in the " Branches " was submitted to me for an opinion ; I saw him in a dream and he told me the reply.

The writer says : I read the following in some book : I heard from the lips of our shaikh the learned jurist and Imām Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Ḥusain b. 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī (may God in His bounty reward him with Paradise !) in his town Baalbek among matter which he traced by a chain

1. 611-688. Notice of him in *Shajarāt*, v. 404, where he is given the *laqab* Fakhr al-dīn, and said to have been a companion of " the shaikh the jurist " who loved him better than his own sons.

2. " Encouragement and Intimidation " by 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhirī, ob. 656. The section referred to is in the edition, Cairo 1326, i. 295.

3. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad 569-643. Notice of him in *Nujūm*, vi. 354. A longer one in *Shajarāt*, v. 224-226, wherein the list of his works is one in which he furnished a lengthy biography of each shaikh who had migrated from Jerusalem to Damascus.

of transmitters to Junaid¹ the following : I had on my mind, he said, a question about monotheism, which I put before a number of learned men, not one of whom gave me satisfaction. Then I saw the Prophet in a dream, asked him about it, and he satisfied me. O Apostle of God, I asked, what is monotheism ?—God, he replied, is different from anything which your thought limits, your knowledge embraces, your sense perceives, or your understanding attains. His servant will be asked on Resurrection day only concerning doubt, polytheism, anthropomorphism, and denial of attributes.—O Apostle of God, I asked, what is Reason ?—Its lowest form, he replied, is abandonment of the world, and its highest abandonment of reflexion on the nature of God.—O Apostle of God, I asked, what is Šūfism ?—Abandonment of pretensions and concealment of concepts, was his reply.

ACCOUNT OF HIS ACQUISITION OF THE DIGNITY OF QUTB

THE writer says : I was told by the shaikh Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm son of the shaikh 'Uthmān at Dair Nā'is the following : I was told, he said, by my father that the shaikh the jurist had been a *qutb* eighteen years, (or however he expressed it).

He says further : We were told by the shaikh Maḥmūd son of the shaikh Sultān at his house in Baalbek as follows : The shaikh the jurist, he said, told me something which he wanted to know. When I enquired about it, I was informed that he had been a *qutb* for twelve years. So when he asked me for the answer I said to him : Can a man who has been a *qutb* twelve years ask me about something which he wants to know ?—He blushed, put on his shoes, left me, and went away (or however he expressed it).

He says further : I was told by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Dā'im as follows : A faqīr, he said, came to us from Baghdad, whose name was 'Abdallāh and who was Imām of the village Zaḥlah.² He informed us that he had been seeing people and hearing tambours and when he asked what was on, had been told that the shaikh the jurist had received the dignity of *qutb*. Only a little time (he said) elapsed, and suddenly there arrived the shaikh 'Uthmān from Dair Nā'is. We said to him : Sir, do not you hear what this faqīr is saying ?—And what is he saying ? he asked.—We told him.—He is right, said the shaikh 'Uthmān, that is why I came (or words to that effect).

He says further : I was told by the shaikh Taqīy al-dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Faḍl al-Wāsiṭī³ the following : I saw, he said, a dream

1. Famous mystic of Baghdad, ob. 297.

2. Not mentioned by Yāqūt or Dimishqī, but described in Bādeker's *Palestine and Syria*, as belonging to the district of Lebanon, and (1912) of 15,000 inhabitants.

3. 602-692. Notice of him in *Shajarāt*, v. 419, 420, where he is called Shaikh al-Islām, the blessing of Syria, and the *qutb* of his time.

about the shaikh the jurist which indicated that he had been given some high office (or however he expressed it).

ACCOUNT OF THE RESPECT SHOWN BY KINGS AND VIZIERS IN HIS PRESENCE

THE writer says : I heard the qādī of qādis Abu'l-Mafākhir Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi'ī say : Al-Malik al-Ashraf asked the shaikh the jurist : Sir, I should like to see one of your miracles.—What is it to be ? asked the shaikh. When the shaikh was about to leave, al-Malik al-Ashraf hastened to bring the shaikh his shoes.—Fellow, said the shaikh, what you wanted has come about. You are al-Malik al-Ashraf [the most noble king] son of al-Malik al-'Ādil [the Just king], whereas I am a man of Yūnīn, and you bring me my shoes !—Al-Malik al-Ashraf hung his head (or words to that effect). He proceeds : I was told the following by Isrā'īl b. Ibrāhīm : I was once, he said, with the shaikh the jurist who had with him his son 'Abd al-Qādir. Suddenly there arrived Amīn al-daulah, vizier of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ.¹ The shaikh did not rise. His son 'Abd al-Qādir said to me : The shaikh is extraordinary, a man of this rank comes to see him and he does not rise !—When Amīn al-daulah had departed, his son said to him : Sir, a man of this vizier's rank comes to see you, and you do not rise for him ?—The shaikh said : Which of the two is the more eminent, this person or al-Malik al-Ashraf ? When the latter came to see me and found me lying on my side he would not ask me to sit up, would remain standing, ask me what he wanted, and go away. He was the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil, whereas this person—who is he ? (or however he expressed it).

The writer continues : I was told the following by the Emīr Saif al-dīn Bektimur al-Sāqī al-'Azīzī.² When the Tartars, he said, invaded Syria, I determined to visit the shaikh the jurist, and when I appeared before him, I told him about the Tartars, and he informed me that they would be defeated. When I was about to bid him farewell I said to him : Sir, I should like you to give me your blessing.—He lifted up his hands and I did the like, and he uttered a prayer that was neither Arabic nor Turkish, and then said to me : You will never see me again.—After the rout of the Tartars³ I returned to Damascus, went up to Baalbek and enquired about the shaikh, but was told that he was dead (or words to that effect).

1. Ismā'īl, ruler of Damascus ; see above. Amīn al-daulah was the title of Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Ghazāl b. Abī Sa'īd. Highly eulogistic notice of him in Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'ah's Dictionary of Physicians, ii, 234-239, where we learn that he accompanied al-Malik al-Šāliḥ to Baalbek in 643. In the same year he was decoyed to Damascus, arrested and sent to Egypt, where he was imprisoned and put to death in 648. He is said to have been a Samaritan, converted to Islam. The notice of him in *Nujūm*, vi, 21 is unfavourable. The interview would seem to have been in Muḥarram 643, since he was arrested 2 Rajab.

2. Mentioned casually by Yūnīnī and in the *Nujūm*, vii, 106 in connexion with the affairs of Ḥalab in 658.

3. At 'Ain Jālūt.

He proceeds : I was told by the shaikh Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā the following : I saw (he said) in a dream the shaikh the jurist and the shaikh 'Abdallāh b. 'Azīz ; in the bosom of the former there were dinars, dirhems, and copper coins, and the like in the bosom of the latter. I touched those in the bosom of the shaikh the jurist and found that they were stamped, whereas when I touched those in the bosom of the shaikh 'Abdallāh I found them unstamped. I asked the shaikh the jurist (dreaming as I was) about this, and he replied : My spiritual state is both outward and inward, whereas that of the shaikh 'Abdallāh is inward.—When I saw him waking I told him what I had seen and he said it was correct (or words to that effect).

He proceeds : I was told by Aḥmad b. 'Abbās that he had been told the following by the shaikh Ibrāhīm son of the shaikh 'Uthmān at Dāir Nā'is : I saw (he said) the Prophet in a dream, and said to him : O Apostle of God, I long for thee !—He said to me : Visit the tomb of the shaikh the jurist !

Abu'l-Fidā Ismā'il b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Farrā'¹ said : I traversed the whole of the Ḥijāz, 'Irāq, and Egypt, and nowhere saw the equal of the shaikh the jurist. Once when I was with him he looked at me and said : Shaikh Ismā'il, I see you at times proclaiming the pilgrimage on my praying-mat at the door of the mosque and at that of my house. I am too feeble to ride, so do you make the pilgrimage on my behalf ; do not go by land, but by the sea route, as you will travel comfortably.—I disobeyed him, made an agreement with some Arabs, offering them a hundred and fifty dirhems ; they took them and departed.—When I came to him he said to me : Did not I tell you not to take the land route ? —Sir, I said, and how did you know ?—Your asking How did you know ? is, he said, more surprising than your disobeying me.—So I made my preparations and took the sea route, and when I landed, I came to a place where there was a spring, palm-trees, and a man of deep brown colour, who, when he saw me, saluted and said : Be of good cheer, you will travel in comfort.—When I returned and went to see the shaikh he asked me about my journey, and then said : How did you feel about the place and the palms and the negro ? The day he parted from you he came and told me that you were comfortable. He was one of the *Abdāl*² (or words to that effect).

He proceeded : Once the shaikh sent me on business to Egypt ; at each station a man came out to wait upon me till I got to Ṣaḥḥ al-Ḥinnā outside Bilbais : there I saw a mosque with a table laid and ewers. I went inside, and a person said to me : This is a place for prayer, not for sitting.

1. According to *Shajarāt*, v. 386b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī, ob. 684. Said to know the " mightiest Name," whereby miracles could be wrought.

2. The word is here used in a sense given by Jurjānī in his " Definitions " : a person who, when he quits a place, leaves there a body of his own shape and similar in operation so that no one can perceive his absence. The numbers of those who possess this power are variously given.

Meanwhile a shaikh came forward and said : Whom do you know ?—I know, I said, the shaikhs of Ṣāliḥīyah, of whom I named some, and the shaikhs of Baalbek, the shaikh the jurist.—The man exclaimed : That is the shaikh from whom I obtained the principles of your religion !—He apologized and entertained me that night. I entered Cairo, transacted my business, returned, and when I went to the shaikh he asked me about my journey. I told him that at each place to which I went someone came out to wait on me. His eyes filled with tears, and he exclaimed : O my God, what is this favour, when I am an ordinary man of Yūnīn !—I said to him : Sir, I should like to see a certain shaikh.—He said : A faqīr was in attendance upon a shaikh and said to him : Sir, I want to see the *quṭb*.—The *quṭb*, he replied, appears at a certain place once a year among his company.—The faqīr travelled to that place and saw the company. They said to him : What is your business ?—I have come, he replied, to see the *quṭb*.—He went away to-day from here, they said.—The man stayed with them for a year and when the night came on which it was the *quṭb*'s practice to appear, they rose up. The faqīr asked them what the matter was. They said : The *quṭb* is coming just now.—So he rose up with them, and just then the *quṭb* arrived and they went to meet him : and lo and behold, he was the faqīr's shaikh !—What, said he to the shaikh, you are he !—Yes, he said ; had I told you that I was the man, you would not have assented (or words to that effect).¹

He proceeds : I heard the shaikh 'Abd al-Dā'im b. Aḥmad say : The shaikh the jurist at the commencement of his career was an ascetic, and at the end of it a "gnostic"² (or words to that effect).

He continues : He is also mentioned by Saif al-dīn Aḥmad b. Majd al-dīn 'Isā son of the shaikh Muwaffaq al-dīn³ on the authority of someone whom he heard at Qasiun. After an account of his birth and other things he says : He (the shaikh the jurist) was erudite, could memorize rapidly, and retained much. I heard him say : I have memorized the greater part of the *Musnad* of the Imām Aḥmad.—He could repeat *The Combination of the two Ṣaḥīḥ* ; he memorized the Sūrat al-An'ām (vi) in a single day, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim in four months, three of the Maqāmahs of Ḥarīrī in half a day (by the afternoon).

(This closes my extracts from the work of a man of Jerusalem.)

I WOULD add that my father contracted six marriages, and had a number of children, of whom many died during his lifetime : when he died, my mother was still with him, whereas his other wives all passed away in

1. The point would seem to be that the shaikh the jurist was the *quṭb*.

2. This word ('ārif) is fully explained in Nicholson's *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*. "One who knows the meaning and reality of a thing they (the Ṣūfis) call gnostic" (p. 382). Probably the meaning here is that he had reached a stage in which ascetic practice was no longer requisite.

3. 605-643. Notice of him in *Shajarāt*, v. 217. "Had he lived longer he would have excelled his contemporaries in learning and conduct."

his lifetime : he parted with none of them, neither had at any time more than one wife. The children who survived him were my brother Abū'l-Ḥusain 'Alī, Khadījah, and Āminah, the mother of all these being Āminah, a Turcoman by race, daughter of al-Hammām. Also Mūsā and Amat al-Rahīm, whose mother was Zain al-'Arab daughter of Naṣr Allah b. Hibat Allah b. al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā b. Ṣadaqah b. al-Khayyāt of the tribe Taghlib, whose (great) grandfather al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥya was known as Sanīy al-daulah. Abu'l-Ḥusain suffered martyrdom on Thursday 11 Ramaḍān 701, having been assaulted and wounded in the head on the morning of Friday 5 Ramaḍān in the mosque of the Ḥanbalites.¹ He was buried at the Saṭḥā Gate. He was a great leader, a learned Imām, a Ḥāfiẓ, a profound student. He was born in Baalbek in Rajab 621.

Khadījah was a saintly woman, very devout and beneficent ; she died in Baalbek in Rajab 680, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī.

My mother Zain al-'Arab died on the morning following the night of Friday 15 Shawwāl 693 at my house in Baalbek, and was buried after the Friday prayer in the cemetery of the Saṭḥā Gate, being over eighty years of age ; she was a saintly and devout woman, who often kept vigil during the night.

[One more of his father's miracles is recorded by him in the obituary of 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aṭā, ob. 673. When a child in Baalbek he fell ill and was at the point of death. His father was on business in Damascus, and was sent for by the mother. Finding his child's condition as described, he went to see the shaikh the jurist, who assured him that the boy was in no danger and would recover. The father in spite of his wife's remonstrance immediately returned to Damascus, and his confidence in the shaikh's word was justified.]

1. There is a eulogistic notice of him in *Shajarāt*, vi. 3. His " martyrdom " is there explained as due to an assault when he was in the Mosque library.

THE FIRST WOMEN CONVERTS IN EARLY ISLAM

THE women of Makkah and al-Madīnah appear to have had considerable influence in the ultimate adoption of Islam by these two communities. It is evident that many women were included amongst the Prophet's earliest converts. In the pre-Islamic period, women occasionally married out of their own tribe and went to live with that of their husband. By doing this, they were bound to adopt the god or gods of the tribe to which they became affiliated.¹ It must, of course, be understood that the adoption of Islam meant a great deal more than merely the acknowledgment of a new god, but it is suggested that, in those cases, in which women did not occupy an important religious position in their own community, they would be prone to have an open mind for any new beliefs which might arise.

Muḥammad's first convert was his wife Khadījah.² She was his senior by fifteen years³ and will have been about fifty-five when Muḥammad first started to preach his new religious principles.⁴ She was, therefore, not a young woman, who might easily have been influenced, nor was she dependent on Muḥammad materially. On the contrary, Khadījah was a member of the tribe of Quraish, having wealth in her own right, and who showed considerable independence of spirit by her marriage to Muḥammad. The information as to her genealogy is found in a tradition given on al-Kalbi's authority,⁵ while the well-known story of her commercial activities has as its source Nafīṣah bint Umayyah, a servant of Khadījah's.⁶

1. J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, p.p. 1-64. F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 74f.

2. Ibn Sa'd, *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. VIII, p. 10. 12, 13.

3. Idem. pp. 8, 24. 10. 4, 8.

4. Muḥammad was about forty years of age at that time. Muir, *The Life of Muhammad*, Edinburgh, 1923, p. 37.

5. b. S. p. 7. 26. Al-Kalbi learned the tradition from his father to whom it had been transmitted through Abū Ṣāliḥ from Ibn 'Abbās.

6. b. S. p. 9. 10. The transmission was then through Umm Sa'd bint Sa'd b. ar-Rabi' (b. S. pp. 261, 350. al-Khazraji, *Khulāṣah*, p. 429.) to 'Umairah bint 'Ubaidallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik and from her to Mūsā b. Shaibah, who taught it to al-Wāqidī. Opinions varied concerning Mūsā's reputation as a traditionist. It is stated that he learned from a traditionist named 'Umairah b. Ka'b b. Mālik (*Khul.* p. 335), but in the Index of Wellhausen, *Muhammad in Medina*, 1882, the name is given as in Ibn Sa'd.

Her conversion probably made a considerable impression on the Quraish and may have been responsible to a certain extent for the early conversion of some of the other members of the tribe. There is a long tradition related by a merchant of Kindah, in which he describes how he came to Makkah to trade and that early in the day, when visiting al-'Abbās, he saw Muḥammad, 'Alī and Khadījah performing their morning prayers with great devotion. This tradition is, however, supported by a weak *isnād*.¹ Khadījah apparently never wavered in her support and belief in Muḥammad and it is even possible that, through her adherence to her husband's faith, she lost her fortune,—perhaps during the period of the boycott,—for there is no reference to Muḥammad or his children having inherited any property from her. This, of course, can only be a surmise in the absence of any evidence in support of this statement.

Apart from Khadījah, there were several other women of the Quraish, closely related to Muḥammad, who were amongst the earliest converts, such as Ṣafīyyah, 'Ātikah and Arwā,² the daughters of 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib, and who were, therefore, the aunts or step-aunts of Muḥammad. A great part of the information referring to them, as in the case of Khadījah, is of a doubtful character;³ but the report of their conversion was possibly authentic, for the list of the members of Muḥammad's family, who were converted at Makkah before the Hijrah, contains only a certain proportion of his paternal uncles, aunts and near relatives. It is evident, therefore, that many members of the Quraish tribe must have retained their pre-Islamic religious beliefs. For instance, the clan of Makhzūm, belonging to Quraish were, for the most part, antagonistic to Muḥammad. Umm Salamah bint Abī Umayyah and her husband Abū Salamah, who both belonged to this clan, were exceptions and were converts of an early date.⁴

Women of the important allied tribes, who occupied a high social standing in the community, were also to be found among the first converts. The statement that Umm al-Faḍl of the Banī 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, wife of al-'Abbās, was the first woman to be converted after Khadījah, is of doubt-

1. b. S. p. 10. 17. 'Asad b. 'Ubaid al-Bajalī is stated to have heard the tradition from Yahyā b. 'Afif, grandson of the Kindah merchant but, according to the *Khulāṣah*, it was a traditionist named 'Asad b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī who learned from Yahyā (*Khul.*, pp. 26, 366). Yahyā b. al-Furāt, from whom Ibn Sa'd learned the tradition, has not been traced.

2. b. S. pp. 27. 23 ; 28. 16 ; 29. 17.

3. The shahādah is introduced in the tradition referring to the conversion of Ṭulaib b. 'Umayr, Arwā's son. Wensinck has pointed out that the creed did not exist in this form at such an early period. (b. S. p. 28. 25. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge, 1932, p. 6). The *isnād* of this tradition is *mursal* and al-Wāqidi's informant, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm at-Taimī was considered unreliable (*Khul.*, p. 336). 'Ātikah is reported to have foreseen the disaster at Badr in a dream, and to have informed her brother al-'Abbās concerning it. (b. S. p. 29. 17.) This *qiṣṣah* is preceded by the information that she became Muslim at Makkah and emigrated to al-Madinah. If she left Makkah at the time of the Hijrah, she could not have possibly informed al-'Abbās of her vision.

4. b. S. p. 60. 20. Ibn Hajar, *Iṣābah* IV/886.

ful authenticity and could possibly be traced to the work of 'Abbāsīd propagandists.¹ Al-Wāqidī mentions the fact that she went to al-Madīnah after the conversion of al-'Abbās,² but, as there was some controversy as to when this latter event took place, this does not help to solve the problem. It is probable that she only became Muslim at a comparatively late date and went to al-Madīnah after the conquest of Makkah.³ The conversion of her step-sister, Asmā' bint 'Umais, is said to have taken place at a very early date, namely, previous to Muḥammad's sojourn in the house of al-Arqam (A.D. 613). The tradition is, however, supported only by an incomplete *isnād*.⁴ The fact that Asmā' and her husband, Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, Muḥammad's cousin, emigrated to Abyssinia two years later, proves that, by that time, they had certainly adopted the Islamic faith.⁵ With reference to their visit to Abyssinia, there is a tradition from ash-Sh'abī to the effect, that Asmā' complained to Muḥammad that some of the community did not consider them as Muhājirīn.⁶ In another version it is said to have been 'Umar, who boasted that they had emigrated before the Abyssinian refugees.⁷ This version also originates with ash-Sha'bī and has a sound *isnād*, but in spite of this, 'Umar's name may have been inserted by pro-'Alid authorities, for Asmā' bint 'Umais is claimed as a Shi'ite authority.⁸ In the biographical notice of Salmā bint 'Umais, it is stated that she became Muslim at the same time as her sister Asmā'.⁹ Her husband, Ḥamzah, a step-uncle of Muḥammad, was an early convert who went to al-Madīnah at the time of the Hijrah but was not accompanied by Salmā or their daughter Umāmah.¹⁰ It is possible, in these circumstances, that she may have not been converted at an early date. Two other

1. The information as to Umm al-Faḍl's early conversion is found in the introductory notice in Ibn Sa'd (b. S. p. 203. 4.), but there is no mention or allusion to this fact in the traditions given in Ibn Ḥanbal.

2. b. S. p. 203. 22.

3. Lammens has rejected the traditions related by her and also those which state that she acted as foster-mother to Fāṭimah's sons. H. Lammens, *Fatima et les Filles de Mahomet*, Rome 1912, pp. 41, 96, Note 2.

4. b. S. p. 205. 17. The *isnād* is *mursal*. The intermediate link, Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, has not been traced, though he may be M. b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Āṣim b. Qatādah, who is mentioned in the Index of Wellhausen, *M.M.*

5. Muir, op. cit. pp. 92, 383.

6. b. S. p. 206. 2, 7. Both *isnāds* are *mursal*. Al-'Ajlāh, the intermediate link in the second reference, was Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh. His name is mentioned in the *Khulāṣah* but there is no biographical notice of him. There was, however, apparently some doubt as to his reputation. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Hyderabad, 1329-1331, VI/764, No. 5221.

7. b. S. p. 205. 22.

8. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, *Muntaha al-Maqal*, Teheran 1302, p. 368. See also I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien* II/9. There is a curious anomaly in the fact that Umm al-Faḍl was the subject of pro-'Abbāsīd traditions, while her step-sister Asmā' is said to be the originator of pro-'Alid traditions.

9. b. S. p. 209. 9.

10. There is no mention of her emigration in her biographical notice, but there is a reference to the quarrel over the guardianship of her daughter Umāmah, or 'Umārah, when 'Alī brought her to al-Madīnah from Makkah, (b. S. p. 113 seq.).

step-sisters of Umm al-Faḍl only adopted Islam after the Hijrah.¹ It is, therefore, difficult to place the exact time of Umm al-Faḍl's conversion, though she may have come into contact with Muḥammad's teachings at an early period through her sister Asmā', before she went to Abyssinia.²

Many of the men, who emigrated to Abyssinia, were accompanied by their wives.³ When it is borne in mind that divorce could be obtained on a very slight pretext, it must be concluded that the wives of these men were sincere supporters of Islam. If the information to be found in Ibn Sa'd about Umm Ḥabībah bint Abī Sufyān is acceptable, she was a more staunch supporter of Islam than her husband 'Ubaidallāh b. Jaḥsh. She was the daughter of Abū Sufyān, one of Muḥammad's most formidable opponents; but, in spite of this fact, she emigrated to Abyssinia with her husband and, when the latter apostatized and became a Christian, she remained faithful to Islam.⁴

There were also a certain number of women belonging to tribes allied to the Quraish,—occupying no great social position,—who did not emigrate to Abyssinia and yet were said to have been early converts. For instance, both Umm Qais bint Muḥsan and Judhāmāh bint Jandal of 'Asad are said to have become Muslim at Makkah at an early date.⁵ Finally, there were a number of *maulas* and slaves, who suffered persecution on account of their faith, as, for instance, Sumayyah, the *maula* of Abū Hudhaifah,⁶ who was killed by Abū Jahl, and was said to have been the first martyr.⁷ The story, that Umāimah bint Ruqaiqah, a niece of Khadijah, suffered for the cause of God and was sold as a slave and then liberated by Abū Bakr is not supported by an *isnad*.⁸

Some mention must be made of the case of Qailah bint Makramah, who was married to a man of the Banī Janāb, a sept of Tamīm.⁹ Her husband died and her brother-in-law seized the daughters. Qailah, apparently destitute, attached herself to a deputation of the Banī Bakr b. Wā'il, who went to visit Muḥammad. It does not state that she became

1. b. S. p. 204. 25, p. 205. 2. They were Lubābah as-Ṣaghīrā and Huzailah, whose mother was Fakhitah bint 'Āmir.

2. It must be remembered that Asmā's husband, Ja'far, was 'Alī's brother and son of Muḥammad's protector Abū Ṭālib.

3. Muir, op. cit. p. 86.

4. b. S. p. 68. 7. The information is also found in an extremely long tradition (b. S. p. 68. 18) of which one link in the *isnād*, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Zuhair, has not been traced, except that he is mentioned in the index of Wellhausen M.M. The statement that 'Ubaidallāh apostatized is probably true.

5. b. S. pp. 176, 177.

6. Sumayyah was the mother of 'Ammār b. Yasār, an early believer, who suffered for his belief in Islam. (F. Buhl, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 170).

7. b. S. p. 193. 11, 16. The *isnād* supporting the latter reference is satisfactory.

8. b. S. p. 186, 24.

9. Caetani calls them a sept of the Banī Tamīm, but his only reference is the above anecdote concerning Qailah. Caetani, *Annali* year 9. 85, 91. v. also Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1847-8, Tables of Tribes, Table XI., where one finds the following genealogy: Djenāb b. Chahīna b. Otarid b. Auf b. Cab b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manat b. Tamīm (sic).

Muslim, but merely that she prayed with Muḥammad.¹ The information is given without *isnād*, though there is a reference to the *ḥadith* of 'Abdallāh b. Ḥassān al-'Anbarī, on whose authority a very much longer version is given in the *Iṣābah*,² which apparently was accepted and transmitted to al-Bukharī, Abū Dā'ūd, at-Tirmidhī and others. There is a possibility that she may have come to Makkah before the Hijrah, for it is said that these events took place in the beginning of Islam. The fact, that Muḥammad is known to have been in communication with the chief of the Banī Ḥanīfah of Bakr, Haudhah b. 'Alī, supports this statement.³

The list of early women converts at Makkah is a long one, from which the above-mentioned women have been selected with the object of demonstrating that the new religion found its adherents amongst all classes, from the highest to the lowest.

In al-Madīnah the women appear to have accepted the new faith readily. The first converts are to be found among the deputations sent to 'Aqabah. Before considering their conversion, a brief discussion is necessary concerning the two women who were said to have become Muslim at al-Madīnah before the Hijrah. Hawwā' bint Zaid, wife of the poet Qais b. al-Khatīm, is reported to have been converted while Muḥammad was still at Makkah. Her biographical notice contains the information that Qais went to Makkah where he met Muḥammad, who spoke to him of his wife's conversion and tried to persuade him to follow her example.⁴ The whole narrative is given without *isnād* and its style places it in the category of the *qiṣṣah* rather than that of genuine traditions. It is extremely doubtful that Qais ever met Muḥammad,⁵ though he was said to have been strongly influenced by the religious conceptions of the Jews and Christians.⁶ His wife, Hawwā', may, therefore, have held certain monotheistic beliefs before the Hijrah which provided the basis for the above *qiṣṣah*. This idea finds further support in the fact that, though Hawwā' is mentioned among the first women who made the bond with Muḥammad, there is no reference to her early conversion. Finally, there is some confusion as to her genealogy, so there must have been some doubt

1. b. S. p. 228.

2. *Iṣābah* IV/753. 'Abdallāh is said to have heard the story from Safiyyah and Ḥabībah, the step-daughters of Qailah. The following statement that Qailah was the grandmother of their father must be an error. Both 'Abdallāh and Qailah are mentioned in the *Khulāṣah*, (pp. 165, 426).

3. Buhl, p. 333. This must have been at an early date, for Haudhah's widow, Dubā'ah bint 'Āmir was married twice after his death, after which Muḥammad asked her hand in marriage through her son of the second marriage. (b. S. p. 109. 22).

4. b. S. p. 237. 4.

5. Kowalski states that the accounts of a meeting between Muḥammad and Qais are forgeries. T. Kowalski, *Der Diwan des Kais b. al-Khatīm*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 28. Qais is said to have been killed before the Hijrah. *Uṣd* V/431.

6. Buhl, op. cit. p. 203. He never mentions the goddesses Manāt or al-Lāt in his poetry.

regarding her identity.¹ The other case is that of Umm Sulaim, the mother of Anas b. Mālik, Muḥammad's servant. It does not expressly state that she was a believer before Muḥammad's arrival at al-Madīnah, but there is a tradition in which it is said that her first husband, Mālik b. an-Nadīr, went away and, on his return, he found that his wife had become an adherent of Muḥammad and that she had taught Anas, their son, the *shahādah*. The narrative then proceeds that Mālik was killed before Anas was weaned.² Taking into consideration the late age at which children were sometimes weaned, the fact that Anas was ten years old at the time of the Hijrah indicates that Mālik's death must have occurred some time before this event.³ It was, therefore, quite impossible for Umm Sulaim to have taught Anas the *shahādah* at this early date⁴ and highly improbable that she even knew of Muḥammad's teachings.

The first two Madīnian women to become Muslim were probably Umm 'Umārah and Umm Manī', who were present at 'Aqabah with their respective husbands, both of whom were numbered among the seven *naqībs*.⁵ Again, there is no actual statement that they adopted Islam at that time, but the fact that they made a bond of some description with Muḥammad entitles one to suppose this to have been the case. The tradition is supported by an *isnād* which is not very satisfactory and is composed of members of Umm 'Umārah's clan.⁶ The same supposition, regarding their acceptance of Islam, must be made as to the first women who made the bond with Muḥammad at al-Madīnah. In one tradition, this distinction is said to have belonged to Asmā' bint Yazīd alone,⁷ while in a second, the names of nine other women are given as sharing this privilege.⁸

1. It is to be noted that she is called Ḥawwā' bint Yazīd (b. S. p. 6. 19), while in her biographical notice she is called Ḥawwā' bint Zaid b. Sakan. Brockelmann in his notes (b. S. p. 33.) points out that in the *Iṣābah* she is called Ḥawwā' bint Yazīd b. Sinān (IV/527), while in the *Uṣd* she is made into three different persons,—the first being the same name as in the *Iṣābah*, the second is given as Ḥawwā' al-'Anṣāriyyah, Umm Bajīd, the third is given as Ḥawwā' bint Zaid b. Sakan. (*Uṣd* V/431.)

2. b. S. p. 311. 11. Umm Sulaim is reported to have converted her second husband, Abū Ṭalḥah, before she consented to marry him. This may have occurred after the Hijrah. According to the *isnād*, the tradition was transmitted to Ishāq b. 'Abdallah b. Abī Ṭalḥah from his grandmother, Umm Sulaim; as Ishāq died in 132 A.H. it seems that the name of Anas b. Mālik has probably been omitted, especially as Ishāq was said to have learned from him. (*Khul.*, p. 24.)

3. b. S. p. 125. 7.

4. See *supra* p. 291, note 3.

5. Umm 'Umarah was Nasibah bint Ka'b of the Banī Māzin b. an-Najjār. She proved herself a strong supporter of Muḥammad (b. S. pp. 301f). Umm Manī' bint 'Amr b. 'Adī of the Banī Salamah. Her husband was Khadij b. Salamah, who was present at 'Aqabah (b. S. p. 298).

6. b. S. p. 5. 13. The names in the *isnād* seem to have been confused when compared with other *isnāds* (cf. pp. 153. 4, 301. 13., 303. 4.), nor do they appear in the various books used for reference. The name of Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad (b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah) is in the Index of Wellhausen M.M.

7. b. S. p. 6. 9. Usāmah b. Zaid (probably b. Aslam) was criticized on account of his memory, and there were varied opinions concerning Dā'ūd b. al-Husain (*Khul.*, pp. 22, 93).

8. b. S. p. 6. 17. *Isnād mursal*. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il b. Abī Ḥabībah was considered unreliable and some authorities said his traditions should be rejected (*Khul.*, p. 13).

It must be mentioned that in both cases there is weakness in the *isnāds*. It is probable that they made the bond with Muḥammad on his arrival at al-Madīnah, and that the form of this bond corresponded to that which is found in Surah 60/12, of which the first article is an undertaking to adopt a monotheistic religion, namely, Islam. An interesting fact is that all these women belonged to the tribe of 'Aus, with the exception of the mother of Sa'd b. Mu'adh, a Khazrajite woman, married into 'Aus,¹ and that they included among their number such women as Asmā' bint Yazīd and Lailā bint Khaṭīm, who, according to various traditions, were keen supporters of Muḥammad.²

There are longer or shorter biographical notices in Ibn Sa'd of approximately three hundred and fifty women of the tribes of 'Aus and Khazraj who became Muslim and, for the most part, made the bond with Muḥammad.³ These conversions were probably spread over the decade following the Hijrah. There were also a number of women of the Bedouin tribes who were converted at al-Madīnah. These women were, in some cases, most likely married to Madīnians, though possibly not always resident there, while others, no doubt, were converted when their clans became allied to Muḥammad. Ibn Sa'd placed the biographies of these women in a large category in which there are also to be found the names of the tribal women, who were converted at Makkah before the Hijrah and who became Muslim after the surrender of Makkah.⁴ The category includes such women as Umayyah bint Qais al-Ghifāriyyah,⁵ Umm Sunbulah al-Mālikiyyah, a clan of the Khuzā'ah,⁶ Umm Šubayyah bint Qais al-Juhaniyyah,⁷ Umm al-Ḥakam bint Wadā' al-Khuzā'iyyah,⁸ Umm

1. Umm 'Āmir (Asmā') bint Yazīd b. al-Sakan and Ḥawwā bint Yazīd (see *supra*, p. 294) belonged to the Banī 'Abdal-'Ashhal. Lailā bint Khaṭīm belonged to the Banī Zafar, while Lailā, Miriam and Tamīmah daughters of Abū Sufyān, ash-Shammās bint Abī 'Āmir ar-Rāhib and her daughter Jamīlah bint Thābit and the latter's niece Ṭaibah bint an-Nu'mān, all belonged to the Banī 'Amr b. 'Auf. The one exception was Kabshah bint Rāfi' b. 'Ubaid, mother of Sa'd b. Mu'adh, who belonged to the Banī al-Ḥārith b. Khazraj and was married to Mu'adh b. an-Nu'mān of 'Abdal-'Ashhal of 'Aus.

2. See *infra* p. 305. Lailā was one of the women who wished to bestow herself on Muḥammad, but her offer was refused by him at the request of her clan (b. S. pp. 107. 18., 246. 18). She, her daughters and her grand-daughters all made the bond with Muḥammad.

3. It is of interest to note that Hind bint al-Muqawwim b. 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib, a cousin of Muḥammad's, who was married to a Madinian, does not appear to have become Muslim. It is possible, however, that she may have died before the Hijrah (b. S. p. 33).

4. b. S. p. 202f. Brockelmann's translation (Index, p. X.) of this heading is a little misleading, for it seems to indicate that this category was made up of the women who emigrated at the time of the Hijrah, while actually it includes those women who came to Muḥammad before and after this time, as well as then.

5. b. S. p. 214. See Buhl, op. cit. p. 305.

6. b. S. p. 215. See Buhl, op. cit. p. 285, Note 72, p. 304.

7. b. S. p. 216. See Buhl, op. cit. p. 305. 2.

8. b. S. p. 225. See Buhl, op. cit. p. 285, Note 72, p. 304.

Muslim al-Ashja'iyyah,¹ Sarrā' bint Nabhān al-Ghanawīyyah² and Khulaidah bint Qais of the Banī Dahmān.³

It is of interest to note that the Jewish women, Ṣafīyyah bint Ḥuyayy and Raiḥānah bint Zaid, who were taken captive and who subsequently were married to Muḥammad, are said to have readily accepted Islam.⁴ The tenets of the new religion which Ṣafīyyah and Raiḥānah adopted, did not differ considerably from the Jewish faith renounced by them and, therefore, the change in their religious beliefs will not have been of such a revolutionary character as that of the other Arab women. The conversion of the Coptic girl Māriyah is mentioned only once.⁵

Finally, there were a certain number of tribal women who accepted Islam on account of the political relations between Muḥammad and their tribes. For instance, 'Abdar-Raḥmān b. 'Auf was sent to the Kalb to persuade them to become Muslim and to ask the hand of the daughter of their chief in marriage. They accepted the invitation and 'Abdar-Raḥmān married Tumādir bint al-'Asbagh and returned to al-Madīnah with her.⁶ There is practically no reference to Islam in the biographical notices of those tribal women who offered themselves or were offered in marriage to Muḥammad. It is probable that nominally they accepted Islam, for in the case of Qutailah bint Qais, sister of al-'Ash'ath b. Qais, it is said that she and her brother returned to their own district on the news of Muḥammad's death and that they both apostatized together with other members of their tribe.⁷ The circumstances of the conversion of Umm Sharīk, a Dausite woman, are given in a long tradition of doubtful authenticity.⁸

1. b. S. p. 225. See Buhl, op. cit. p. 305.

2. b. S. p. 227. Ghani' b. A'sor (sic), a sub-tribe of Qais. (F. Wüstenfeld, Genealogische Tabellen, Göttingen, 1852-3, D. 9). They lived in the vicinity of al-Madīnah and are said to have fought with Muḥammad at Badr. (Caetani, *Annali* year 10. 89, Note 2).

3. b. S. p. 229. The Banī Dahmān were a clan of the Banī Naṣr of the Ḥawāzin (Caussin de Perceval, 1/313). Khulaidah was married to al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr of the Banī Salamah of Khazraj. He was one of the *naqibs* who went to 'Aqabah but died before the Hijrah. As he had another wife at al-Madīnah, it is possible that Khulaidah was not resident at al-Madīnah at the time of the Hijrah but only came later.

4. Information as to Ṣafīyyah's acceptance of Islam is contained in a long tradition supported by a three-fold *isnād* and in another tradition with a *mursal isnād* (b. S. pp. 86. 13., 90. 15). The latter contains the name of Usāmah b. Zaid. b. Aslam. See *supra*, p. 295, note 7. In the case of Raiḥānah, all the three traditions referring to her conversion, are supported by *isnāds* in which one link is not traced and which are *mursal* (b. S. pp. 92. 27, 93. 11., 94. 7). The three traditionists are 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥakam, Ṣāliḥ b. Ja'far and 'Umar b. Salamah. There is a traditionist 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh in the index of Well. M.M.

5. b. S. p. 153. 9. *Isnād mursal*. See *supra*, p. 295, note 6.

6. b. S. p. 218. 20. According to some authorities Ibn Abī 'Aun, one of the intermediate links, sometimes made errors (*Khul.*, p. 209).

7. b. S. p. 105. 18, 21. The former version was transmitted by al-Kalbī. See *supra* p. 290. note 5.

8. b. S. p. 111. 7. A *mursal isnād* originating with Munīr b. 'Abdallāh ad-Dausī, who according to Ibn Ḥajar, was unknown except in one tradition which is not the above one, *Lisan* VI/103. It is to be noted that al-Walid b. Muslim, to whom he transmitted the tradition, was said to be *mudallis* and to have introduced in his work traditions that were not known to others (*Khul.*, p. 358).

It appears that her husband, Abū'l-'Akr, became a Muslim and emigrated to al-Madīnah with Abū Hurairah and that, at a later date, his wife came to join him, but that she was maltreated by members of her husband's family on the journey. It is stated that they left her exposed to the sun for three days with nothing to drink, in an attempt to make her give up her belief in Islam, whereupon a leathern bucket of water descended from heaven on to her chest and she was able to quench her thirst.¹

It must be understood that with their adoption of Islam, women had to accustom themselves to many changes in their religious and social life as also to many innovations. This would be especially true of the Makkan women, who had not experienced the influence of a monotheistic religion to the extent that the Madīnian women had. Their influence in the pre-Islamic period can have been by no means negligible, for there were women called *kāhināt*, who acted as soothsayers, uttering their prophecies in the form of incantations.² A *kāhināh* was sometimes attached to one of the sanctuaries and fulfilled the function of a priestess, in which case she was called a *rabbat-bait*.³ Sarrā' bint Nabhān, a tribal woman, afterwards converted to Islam,⁴ was said to have been such a priestess.⁵ This appellation is said to have been used by the Prophet when referring to Khadijah.⁶ Little reliance can be placed on its application to Khadijah, and it is possible that *rabbat-bait* had lost its strict meaning by the beginning of the seventh century and only indicated a woman of high social standing. It is of interest to note that at the time of the surrender of Makkah, the keys of the Ka'bah were in the charge of a woman.⁷ Women also took part in the pilgrimage.⁸ They were well versed in the practice of magical rites which, no doubt, gave them considerable influence in the community.

1. Other miraculous tales are told of her and it was also said that she bestowed herself on Muḥammad (b. S. p. 111.2, p. 112.1, 15, 23). There was apparently some confusion as to her identity as some authorities said she belonged to the Banī 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy and others said she was a Madīnian.

2. Buhl, op. cit. p. 82, note 223.

3. Lammens says "Où il ne peut être question d'une maîtresse de maison-l'expression ne présente guère de sens dans l'ancienne société saracène—mais d'une *kahina* attachée à un bait." He gives the following references. Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan* 195; *Aghani* XXI/60.8. The latter reference is to a woman of Hudhail, Jazilah, who performed a sacrifice. H. Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beyrout, 1928, p. 152.

4. See *supra* p. 297, note 2.

5. b. S. p. 227.11. She is given this appellation in the *isnād* of this tradition which was transmitted by Rabi'ah b. 'Abdar-Rahmān and which was said to be reliable. There is, however, another tradition in which she states that she was a *rabbat-bait* in the Age of Ignorance (b. S. p. 227.20.); but which was transmitted by an untraced woman of her own tribe who was evidently considered unreliable (*Lisān* I/148. No. 473). Both in the *Iṣābah* and the *Usd*, she is given the appellation of *rabbat-bait*.

6. b. S. p. 39.8. There were varied opinions as to Muḥammad b. 'Amr (b. 'Alqamah), who figures in the *isnād* (*Khul.*, p. 292).

7. Ed. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig, 1859, vol. II, p. 185.

8. *Idem* pp. 118, 121.

The next point to be examined is the question whether the women continued in early Islam to participate in the religious life of the community. There is evidence in the traditions, that Muḥammad fully intended that they should do so with certain reservations; one was that women, who were in a state of impurity, should not be permitted to participate in the religious rites, while the other was the partial withdrawal of his wives from the communal religious life, owing to their subsequent seclusion.

Although at a later date, the legists decided that women were not eligible to fulfil the office of *Imām*,¹ this does not appear to have been so during Muḥammad's lifetime. It is stated in a tradition, found both in Ibn Sa'd and in Ibn Ḥanbal, that Umm Waraqah acted as *Imām* to the people of her *dār*.² She is said to have carried out this duty at Muḥammad's request and continued to do so until she was murdered by her slaves during 'Umar's Caliphate. The term *ahl*, used in the *matn*, would signify that the prayer meeting was attended by both men and women. It must be pointed out however that this is a unique case of a woman acting as *Imām* apparently to both men and women. After Muḥammad's death, 'Ā'ishah³ and Umm Salamah⁴ led the prayers for the women. It is difficult to say whether the congregation was formed of all the women of the community or merely of Muḥammad's widows, their attendants, and women living close by. Nā'ilah, the wife or widow of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, was included in the congregation, but she appears to have lived

1. "L'Imām ne peut être du sex féminin, . . . si une femme ou un hermaphrodite sert d'Imām, la prière des hommes ou des hermaphrodites dirigés est vicée." Māwerdī, *Les Statuts Gouvernementaux*, trans. E. Fugnan, Alger 1915, p. 13.

2. b. S. p. 335. 16. b. Ḥ. p. 405. 12. Both versions have the same *isnād*, being transmitted from Umm Waraqah through al-Walid b. 'Abdallah b. Jamī' and his grandmother to al-Faḍl b. Dukain. In Ibn Ḥanbal the *matn* is composed of only an extract of that in Ibn Sa'd and the rest of the *matn* is found as a separate tradition transmitted by 'Abdar-Rahmān b. Khilād al-'Anṣarī, a reliable authority (*Khul.*, p. 192). In the *Isābah*, the grandmother of al-Walid is named Lailā bint Mālik, of whom I can find no information; it is also stated that a link is missing between her and Umm Waraqah. 'Abdallāh b. Dā'ūd suggests that she learned the tradition from her father or her mother (*Isābah* IV/981). It is implied in a note on the notice of Umm Waraqah in the *Khulāsah* that there has been derangement of words in her traditions, (*Khul.*, p. 430); this may allude to the variations in the above-mentioned *matns*.

3. b. S. p. 355. 4. 7. In the first case the information originates with Nā'ilah bint al-Farāṣisah al-Ḥanifiyyah and in the second with Raitah al-Ḥanifiyyah. It is curious to note that there is no reference to the fact that Nā'ilah was the wife of 'Uthmān. According to Lammens, she belonged to the tribe of Kalb and was a Christian, becoming Muslim only at the time of her marriage (H. Lammens, *Calife Omayyade Mo'awia Ier.*, Beyrouth, 1906-8, pp. 293, 311). As the Banī Ḥanīf were a tribe of Muḍar and Kalb was a Yamanite tribe, one can only suggest that the appellation Ḥanifiyyah alluded to her Christian faith, that is, that it was derived from the term *ḥanīf*. The same may apply to Raitah al-Ḥanifiyyah, of whom, unfortunately, there is no information. I have concluded that the traditions refer to events after Muḥammad's death, because both these women are to be found in the category of those who did not relate from Muḥammad but from the latter's wives and also on account of Nā'ilah's late conversion.

4. b. S. p. 356. 7. This is a singleton tradition originating with a woman called Hujairah, of whom I can find no information.

close to the *masjid*¹ and, therefore, must have been a near neighbour of Muḥammad's wives, whose huts bordered on the *masjid*.² It must be remembered that Muḥammad's widows lived more or less in seclusion after his death; it would, therefore, seem more probable that the congregation was formed only of the women of their *entourage*. Further evidence, which points to this conclusion, is the fact that 'Umar appointed a separate *Imām* for the women, namely, Sulaimān b. Ḥathmah.³ This appointment may have been restricted to the month of Ramaḍān and even then only to 'Umar's Caliphate. Had 'Ā'ishah acted as *Imām* to the women of the whole community continually, it seems improbable that this appointment would have been given to Sulaimān.

It is stated in a singleton tradition in Ibn Sa'd that a grand-daughter of 'Umar's, Umm 'Uthmān bint 'Ubaidallāh, prayed over the body of Sukainah bint al-Ḥusain, as the governor of al-Madīnah was not available at the time. Apart from the fact that the *isnād* is not satisfactory, this would appear to be a unique case.⁴

The next question to claim some attention is, whether Muḥammad permitted the women to be present at the prayers in the *masjid* or not. In the Qur'ān there is no indication whatsoever that he wished to deprive them of this right. On the contrary, he frequently addressed both men and women of the community, which implies that they were both present to receive his ordinances.⁵ There is a tradition to the effect that Umm Salamah mentioned to Muḥammad that he did not address the women but that afterwards a revelation was addressed to both the men and women.⁶ Direct and indirect evidence is present in these traditions to show that Muḥammad fully recognised their right to be present in the *masjid* with a few exceptions.⁷ For instance, Muḥammad is stated to have instructed the women, who were present at the prayers, not to lift their heads until

1. W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, London, 1924, p. 228f.

2. b. S. p. 117. 22. seq.

3. This information is to be found in the biographical notice of Sulaimān b. Ḥathmah (b. S. V/16). The first tradition states that Sulaimān acted as *Imām* to the women in Ramaḍān during the Caliphate of 'Umar. There are two versions, one of which has a reliable *isnād* and the other having one doubtful link, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (*Khul.*, p. 336). Another tradition states that 'Uthmān reunited the men and women for one recitation, but in this case I cannot trace the original authority and Ibn Abi Sabrah was accused of supplementing traditions (*Khul.*, p. 382).

4. b. S. p. 349. 11. The *isnād* is said to originate with Khalaf az-Zuhri and to have been transmitted through Abū as-Sā'ib al-Kalbi, but it appears to have been mutilated and its correct form may have been :—al-Kalbi, Hishām b. Muḥammad b. as-Sā'ib—az-Zuhri—Abū Sā'ib (al-Madīni).

5. The form of address is often found in the masculine, but that it frequently was meant to include the women, is seen from such references as Surahs 24/12, 33/35, 58/73, 48/5, 57/12.

6. b. S. p. 144. 11. b. Ḥ, pp. 301. 22., 305. 15, 19. These versions originate with Umm Salamah and *isnāds* are generally satisfactory, b. S. pp. 144. 15, 145. 5. Two *mursal* versions from Ikrimah and Qatādah.

7. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* "Masjid," p. 326. This article appears to deal with a later period than that discussed above, the references being also from later works.

the *Imām* lifted his,¹ and it is also said that when he had completed the prayers, he tarried a while so that the women could pass out before the men.² There are four traditions transmitted from 'Ā'ishah; the first states that the women of the community performed the morning prayer with Muḥammad and that they were muffled in their robes so that no one recognised them;³ in the second, Muḥammad is reported to have said that no good came from the assembling of women except in the *masjid* or at the bier of anyone who was killed;⁴ while in the third 'Ā'ishah stated that had Muḥammad seen of the women what she saw, he would surely have prevented them from going to the *masjid*, as the Banī Isrā'īl prevented their women from doing so.⁵ There is a somewhat similar tradition transmitted also by 'Umarah bint 'Abdar-Raḥmān, which appears to be a combination of the latter tradition with another, which states that Muḥammad had said that the handmaidens of God should not be prevented from going to the *masjid*, provided they went unperfumed. In this case 'Ā'ishah is reported to have remarked that had Muḥammad seen them at that time, he would have prevented them from going.⁶ It is probable that the term handmaiden was applied here to both the free women and the slaves within the Muslim community. The tradition itself may have been circulated, together with many others, at a later date, when the question of a woman's right to attend the prayers had become a debatable subject.⁷ These are all references to the Muslim women in general, but there are other traditions referring to individual women, who were present in the *masjid* and in no case is there any indication that their presence was an exception to the rule. Umm Ṣubayyah al-Juhāniyyah stated that she stood behind the women at the back of the *masjid*, listening to the Friday address and Muḥammad reciting Sūrat Qāf.⁸ If this tradition is to be relied on it appears that the women from the beginning were separated from the men. Umm Hishām b. Hārithah b. an-Nu'mān is also said to have

1. b. Ḥ. p. 349. 1.

2. b. Ḥ. p. 310. 15. Hind bint al-Hārith, who transmitted from Umm Salamah, belonged to the tribe of Farās (*Khul.*, p. 427., b. S. p. 354).

3. b. Ḥ. pp. 37. 22., 178. 27. The last version was transmitted through 'Umarah bint 'Abdar-Raḥmān, a famous transmitter of traditions belonging to the generation of the " Followers " (b. S. p. 353., *Khul.*, p. 425).

4. b. Ḥ. pp. 66. 25., 154. 26. In the latter version there is some criticism of Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad (*Khul.*, p. 62); while Ibn Luhai'ah through whom both versions were transmitted was criticised by several authorities (*Khul.*, p. 179).

5. b. Ḥ. pp. 91. 11, 193. 15. Both versions transmitted through 'Umarah bint 'Abdar-Raḥmān.

6. b. Ḥ. p. 69. 27.

7. See *Infra* p. 303.

8. b. S. p. 217. 4. Sālim, Abū an-Nu'mān is said to have been the *maula* of Umm Ṣubayyah, but he is also called the *maula* of Umm Ḥabibah (*Khul.*, pp. 111, 429, note 6).

learned Sūrat Qāf from hearing Muḥammad recite it at the Friday service,¹ which provides evidence as to the veracity of Umm Ṣubayyah's statement. Juwairiyah bint al-Ḥārith, Muḥammad's wife, is reported to have prayed in the *maṣjid* from daybreak to midday, and must, therefore, have been present during the prayers.² At the time of an eclipse of the sun Muḥammad held a prayer-meeting at which there were at least two women present, for Asmā' bint Abī Bakr tells of the long stance made by a woman there.³

There are several indirect references to women being present in the *maṣjid*, as, for instance, in the tradition referring to the question as to where al-Furai'ah bint Mālik was to live, whilst performing her 'iddah. It is mentioned that Muḥammad called her over to him when she went to the *maṣjid*, or *hujrah*, and instructed her what to do.⁴

There were, however, two occasions on which Muḥammad is said to have expressed the opinion, that the best place for a woman to say her prayers was in her own home. This view is found in a short tradition from Umm Salamah, but both versions are supported by unsatisfactory *isnāds*.⁵ Taking into consideration this latter fact together with the evidence of the other above-mentioned traditions, this statement of Umm Salamah's can hardly be accepted as authentic, even though a similar opinion is found in another tradition.⁶ On one occasion, however, the Prophet actually appears to have ordered a woman to pray in her own home. Umm Ḥamid as-Sā'idīyah⁷ expressed a wish to pray with him. Muḥammad replied that the best place for her prayers was her own hut (*bait*) failing that her enclosure, failing that her compound, failing that her

1. b. Ḥ. pp. 436. 2., 463. 15., 17. b. S. p. 324. 15. In all these cases the *matn* is combined with a tradition referring to Muḥammad's baking oven. In the second reference Ibn Ḥanbal learned the tradition from Muḥammad b. Ja'far, who was probably al-Hudhaili, stepson of Shu'bah, through whom this version was transmitted (*Khul.*, p. 282.), though Ibn Ḥanbal also learned from a traditionist M. b. Ja'far al-Mada'ini, a pupil of Shu'bah's.

2. b. Ḥ. p. 325. 1. p. 429. 23. The tradition was transmitted through Shu'bah from Muḥammad b. 'Abdar-Rahmān, who was said to have been a *maula* belonging to Ṭalhah. This may be an error in transmission or printing for M. b. 'A. b. Ṭalhah al-Jumahī (*Khul.*, p. 297). Shu'bah passed the tradition on to Ḥajjāj, who was probably Ibn Nuṣair. There was some criticism of this traditionist in reference to his teaching of Shu'bah's tradition (*Khul.*, p. 62). Muḥammad b. Ja'far also transmitted the tradition, see *supra* note 1.

3. b. Ḥ. p. 349. 9. p. 351. 22. In the first reference the complete *isnād* is given at the end of the *matn*. Maṣṣūr b. 'Abdar-Rahmān, from whom Ibn Juraij learned the tradition, was considered reliable except by one authority (*Khul.*, p. 332).

4. b. Ḥ. pp. 370. 15., 420. 21. b. S. p. 268. 2. This information is omitted in a shorter version given by Ibn Sa'd.

5. b. Ḥ. p. 301. 6. p. 297. 2. Both versions were transmitted through as-Sā'ib, a *maula* of Umm Salamah, whom I cannot trace. There were varied opinions concerning the next link Dāraj (*Khul.*, p. 95). There was some criticism of Ibn Luhai'ah, who figures in the first *isnād* and considerable criticism of Rushdāin b. Sa'd in the second *isnād* (*Khul.*, pp. 179. 100).

6. b. Ḥ. vol. 2., p. 67. See *infra* p. 303, note 6.

7. Umm Ḥamid's name was Kabshah, or Kubaishah, bint 'Abd 'Amr of the Banī Sā'idah b. Ka'b b. Khazraj. (b. S. p. 272. 18).

clan's *masjid*, which, in its turn, was preferable to his *masjid*.¹ The *isnād* is reliable and in this case the tradition is probably genuine. The explanation for Muḥammad's instructions probably lies in the fact that Umm Ḥamīd was an old woman² and, therefore, unable to walk any great distance. The tradition terminates with the remark that a *masjid* was built for her in the corner of her hut.

The statement is also found that there was to be no Friday service for the women. This information is included in a tradition from Umm 'Āṭiyah which refers to the fact, that when the Prophet came to al-Madīnah, he sent 'Umar round to the homes of the women of the 'Anṣār to make the bond with them. The tradition then breaks off, to be continued by Umm 'Āṭiyah, who stated "we were ordered" to do certain things but were prohibited from other things, which included the Friday service.³ Though it does not definitely state that 'Umar was the originator of these orders, this probably was so. The second part of the tradition appears to be an addition, reflecting the spirit of 'Umar's government, for neither he nor his grandsons Salām and Bilāl seem to have favoured the attendance of women in the *masjid*. Evidence of their attitude is found in the above-mentioned appointment of a special *Imām* for the women by 'Umar, and also in certain other traditions in the *Musnad*.⁴ These are, for the most part, different versions of Muḥammad's statement that women,—or handmaidens—should not be prevented from going to the *masjid*—or from worshipping God, and in most cases originate with Ibn 'Umar.⁵ In one version, however, from Salām, it is stated that Muḥammad said that a man should prevent his wife from going to the *masjid* and that 'Umar stopped his wife from going.⁶ In an addition to another version Bilāl declared that they would prevent their women from going.⁷ From the contents of the other *matns*, it is clear that Salām and Bilāl wished to restrict the right of women to be present at the prayers and that their father, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, did not approve of their attitude on this question.⁸

1. b. Ḥ. p. 371. 5.

2. The *isnād* supplies evidence of this being so. The tradition was transmitted from Umm Ḥamīd through her nephew, 'Abdallāh b. Suwaid al-'Anṣārī, to Dā'ūd b. Qais. The latter died in 160 A.H. and 'Abdallāh is mentioned as a "Companion." He must, therefore, have been quite an old man when Muḥammad was at al-Madīnah. His paternal aunt, Umm Ḥamīd, will probably have been still older, though it must be noted that her husband, Abū Ḥamīd, only died in the reign of Mu'āwiyah (*Khul.*, p. 385).

3. b. S. p. 2. 28. b. Ḥ. 409. 5. In the latter reference the wording of the *matn* has been reversed and *qālat* is omitted.

4. See *supra* p. 300.

5. b. Ḥ. vol. II, pp. 9, 16, 36, 45, 57, etc.

6. *Idem* p. 7. The *isnād* is a reliable one.

7. *Idem* p. 90.

8. *Idem* pp. 43, 127, 140. 67. In the latter reference it states "do not hinder your wives from going to the *masjid* but their homes are better for them."

As Muḥammad ordered the women not to pray during their periods of indisposition, it must be taken for granted that their presence in the *masjid* at that time was not desirable.¹ There is a curious tradition which may have had its origin in the belief that women at certain periods were impure and hence spread a malevolent influence around them. It was said that a prayer could not be interrupted except by a dog, an ass and a woman—in one case, it adds an infidel. One version, which was taught in Syria,² gives Muḥammad as the original authority but the other two versions, which were taught in Irāq and al-Madīnah, do not mention his name.³ Moreover, the allusion to 'Ā'ishah's indignation that women should be included in this category, indicates that the tradition was circulated after Muḥammad's death, but possibly during her lifetime.

It is of interest to note that women of the community appear to have assisted in the redaction of the Qur'ān. Umm Waraqah, who acted as Imām to her people, is also said to have made a collection of the Qur'ān.⁴ This does not signify that she made a written collection of Muḥammad's revelations, but that she memorized certain portions of his teachings.⁵ With this knowledge she may have assisted with the first compilation of the Qur'ān for it was only in the Caliphate of 'Umar that she was murdered by her slaves. Abū Yūnus, a *maula* belonging to 'Ā'ishah, related that she ordered him to make a copy of the Qur'ān (*muṣḥaf*), and that, when he reached Sūrat 2/238 referring to the times for prayer, she dictated the verse herself to him.⁶ Some controversy may have occurred over this particular verse and it is also possible that Abū Yūnus may have made his copy before 'Uthmān ordered the recension of the Qur'ān. It is evident that 'Ā'ishah had carefully memorised the teachings of Muḥammad. She possibly had greater opportunity to do this than the other women of the community for she is reported to have said that Muḥammad used to recite the Qur'ān to her.⁷ Addressing the wives of the Prophet the Qur'ān advises them: "And recollect what is rehearsed to you in your houses of the Book of God

1. b. Ḥ. p. 420. 8. p. 464. 5. b. S. p. 178. 15, etc.

2. b. Ḥ. p. 84. 26.

3. b. Ḥ. p. 42. 18. Ibn Ḥanbal considered Abū Mu'āwiyah ad-Ḍarīr reliable in his traditions from al-'A'mash from whom he learned on this occasion (*Khul.*, p. 284.) b. H. p. 54. 26 'Ubaidallāh b. 'Amr al-Madanī, one of the seven *fuqaha*, was said to be confused in his traditions from al-Qāsim and 'Ā'ishah (*Khul.*, p. 213) which appears to have been true, cf. b. Ḥ. p. 216.

4. b. S. p. 335. 12. b. H. p. 405. 12. See *supra* p. 299.

5. Nöldeke Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, Leipzig, 1909-1919, II/6.

6. b. Ḥ. pp. 73. 13., 178. 10.

7. b. H. p. 148. 17. It is stated in the notice of Manṣūr b. 'Abdar-Raḥmān al-Ḥajābī that he learned from his mother Ṣafīyyah bint Shaibah (*Khul.*, p. 332. cf. *Iṣābah* IV/670 No. 648.), but this information is omitted in Ṣafīyyah's notice (*Khul.*, p. 424.) b. Ḥ. p. 92. 3. This version was transmitted from 'Ā'ishah through Muslim b. Makhrāq, her *maula*, to Ziyād b. Nu'aim, who appears only to be mentioned in Muslim's notice (*Khul.*, p. 321). The next link al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd may have been al-Ḥaḍramī, who died in 130 A.H. (*Khul.*, p. 59). He taught the tradition to Ibn Luhai'ah. See *supra* p. 301. note 4.

and of the wisdom."¹ In an interpretative tradition referring to this verse, it states that the wives were to remember the supererogatory prayers, which they overheard Muḥammad saying in their homes by night and day.² The *isnād* is not satisfactory. It seems more probable that Muḥammad meant that they were to memorize his teachings, which they heard in the *maṣjid* or in their homes, and those revelations, which took place in 'Ā'ishah's home.

'Umar is said to have entrusted a copy of the Qur'ān to his daughter Ḥafṣah.³ If this was a recension made by 'Umar for the use of the community in general, reference would have been made to it.⁴ Nöldeke, however, suggests that if Ḥafṣah was able to read, she may have had this collection made for herself.⁵ This suggestion is probably correct, in view of the fact that 'Ā'ishah also appears to have had a copy made for herself.

It is possible that other women of the community, such as Umm Hishām bint Ḥārithah and Umm Ṣubayyah, who were present at Muḥammad's recitations in the *maṣjid*, used their knowledge of his teachings to assist in the redaction of the Qur'ān.⁶ In the *Khulāṣah* it is mentioned that Asmā' bint Yazīd was the *khaṭibah* for the women.⁷ There is no reference to this fact in the traditions, and it is, therefore, difficult to know what it signified. It must be surmised that she had a reputation for being well-versed in Muḥammad's teachings, and that she was the medium through which they were passed on to many of the early women converts.

In conclusion, it is quite apparent that Muḥammad intended the women to participate in the religious communal life and that during his lifetime they did so. After his death, their gradual withdrawal from taking an active part in the religious services was, no doubt, a logical result of their adoption of a life of seclusion.

G. H. STERN.

1. Qur'ān 33/33.

2. b. S. p. 144. 6. Al-Wāqidi learned the tradition from 'Abd-as-Salām b. Mūsā b. Jubair, whose traditions were rejected. (Lisān IV/18. No. 44.) His father, from whom he learned, may have been al-'Anṣārī, a reliable traditionist (*Khul.*, p. 334). The original authority, Abū Umāmah b. Sahl, is mentioned in the *Khulāṣah* without comment (p. 399, see also Wellhausen M.M., Index).

3. Muir, Muhammad, Introduction XXI.

4. Nöldeke states that one view held by Muslims was that this was a private collection and not one that was considered the property of the community. Nöldeke, op. cit. II/19.

5. Idem p. 22.

6. See *supra* p. 302.

7. *Khul.*, p. 420.

MAḤMUD GAWAN'S EARLY LIFE AND HIS RELATIONS WITH GĪLĀN

IT was in the year 856/1453 that a merchant, 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd by name, already past the proverbial limit of forty years, sick of this world of jealousy and intrigue, a voluntary exile from the country of his birth and youth, landed at Dābōl¹ on the western coast of India in order to seek fortune in trade and commerce at Delhi, the cultural capital of India. But the will of God was otherwise, and although Maḥmūd was later honoured with the honorific title of Maliku't-tujjār, 'the Prince of Merchants,' it was in other walks of life that he made his mark, becoming perhaps the only minister of the Deccan with a world reputation,² and the mainstay of the Bahmani Kingdom.

Khwājah 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd b. Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad b. Khwājah Kamāl el-Gilānī was born at Qāwān, or in its more familiar form Gāwān, in the kingdom of Gīlān on the southern shores of the Caspian

1. Dābōl, modern Dabhol, in the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay Presidency. It was one of the chief Indian ports in the fifteenth century, and the seat of a province of the 'Ādil Shāhī Kingdom. It is now only a small town of 5000 inhabitants—*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX.

2. We have letters exchanged between the Khwājah and such persons as Sultan Muḥammad II, the conqueror of Constantinople, Sultan Abū Sa'id of the line of Tīmūr, and the kings of 'Irāq, and Egypt included in the collection of Maḥmūd's letters, the *Riāḍu'l-Inshā*, referred to here as *Riāḍ*. The copy I have used is that of the famous Ḥabībganj library kindly lent to me by the owner Nawāb Sadr Yār Jang Bahadur, and is numbered 50/136. It may be noted that the name of the collection is not *Riāḍu'l-Adab* but *Riāḍu'l-Inshā*. There is another collection in which are included letters exchanged between Maḥmūd and Muḥammad II, viz., the collection of the letters of the Sultans Muḥammad II and Bāyezid II (B.M. Or., 61; Cat. of Pers. MSS. of the B.M., 394), themselves a part of Nishānji Ahmad Farīdūn's *Munsh'ātu's-Salaṭīn*. It is remarkable that the letter in the *Munsh*. (p. 44 b.) is absolutely identical with *Riāḍ*, 144, p. 215-217, which goes to prove the authenticity of the letters in the *Riāḍ*. 'Abdu'r-Razzaq's *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dain*, vol. II., B.M. Or. 1291, includes the Khwājah among the world-famed *alumni* of the Kingdom of Gīlān. The *Maṭla'* was completed in 875 (30-6-1470-19-6-1471), i.e., in the Khwājah's lifetime. Another contemporary of the Khwājah, Sakhāwī, includes him among the luminaries of the ninth century A.H. in his *al-Dau'al-lāmi' liahl'al-qarni't-tāsi'* (Qudsī Press, Cairo, 1355), vol. X, 144-45. *Sakh.* lived, 1-3-831/30-1-1427—28-8-902/13-1-1496. Thus even in his lifetime Maḥmūd had acquired a world-wide reputation.

Sea in 813/1410-11.¹ The Khwājah's family was one of the most aristocratic of Gilān, his ancestors having held high office and one of them having actually become ruler of Resht² with the right of having his name mentioned in Friday sermons, and his descendants are said to have maintained their autonomy right up to the reign of Shah Tahmasp Safvi³ when the kingdom of Gilān was swallowed up by the regenerated Persian Empire. The Khwājah says that even in his youth he had "the firing ambition of seeing himself attain progress and high eminence in life,"⁴ but although he had been brought up in an atmosphere of political rivalry he was averse to shouldering the burden of ministership even in the petty state of Gilān.⁵

The Khwājah himself describes the reasons why he left Gilān. There were too men holding very high office there, namely Hājī Muḥammad and Shaikh 'Alī, the former being a minister of state and the latter the commander-in chief of the State forces. Both of them had been *protégés* of the Khwājah's family and at least one of them, the minister, had been brought up by the Khwājah himself. Evidently on the death of his father,

1. Maḥmūd was born in 813/6-5-1410—24-4-1411. This is clear from the contemporary Sakh., op. cit. Ferishtah says that he was 78 at the time of his death on 5th. Safar 886/5-4-1481, so according to this he must have been born in 808/1405. This date is followed by 'Azīz Mirzā, *Shirāṭu'l-Maḥmūd*, 3rd. ed., Budaun, 1927, by Sir Wolseley Haig, C.H.I., III, 420, and by Wajāhat Ḥusain, *Maḥmūd Gāwān*, J.R.S.B., Vol. I, 1935, No. 2, 81. Haig only uses the Christian date and says that the Khwājah was 78 on 5-4-1481. Ferishtah wrote in 1051/1641, i.e., nearly 150 years after the Khwājah's death, while Sakhāwī was a contemporary, and thus his knowledge is more direct. No doubt *Fer.* incorporated an earlier life written by Sayid 'Abdu'l-Karīm Hamadāni (not 'Sindi' as mentioned by Briggs, II, 511), but we do not know the worth of this work at all. Under these circumstances I am strongly inclined to favour 813. Sakh. also gives the Khwājah's genealogy without, however, the first names of the father and the son; the name 'Imādu'd-dīn occurs in *Fer.*, while the father's first name, Jalālu'd-dīn is mentioned in *Maṭla'* leaf 80. Sir Denison Ross, ed. of 'Abdu'llāh b. 'Umar el-Mekki's *Zafaru'l-wāliḥ* ('an Arabic History of Gujarat'), I, London, 1910, quotes Sakh. on the Khwājah but wrongly spells Gilān as Kīdānī. Burhānu'l-Ma'āthir, Delhi, 1936, p. 89, calls him Najmu'd-dīn, but I am not aware if this name has been mentioned elsewhere. The Burhān. was written in 1000/1591.

2. Resht, a city on the Caspian Sea. *Fer.* has it from Hājī Muḥammad Qandhārī that one of Maḥmūd's ancestors was the King of Resht, but there seems no doubt that if any of his ancestors did rule Resht it was as an autonomous governor rather than as an independent king. If there is any doubt on this point it should be removed by the statement of the Khwājah himself who says quite candidly in the introduction to the *Riāḍ* that his ancestors were the wazīrs of kings. As a matter of fact Gilān was conquered by Hulāgū in 1227 and formed into two small principalities separated by the Sufēd Rūd with capitals at Resht and Lahenjān, and remained independent till 1527 when it was annexed to the Persian Empire *Encycl. of Isl.*, art. on Gilān. This division is corroborated in *Maṭla'* which also mentions that there was an inseparable bond of friendship between the rulers of the two parts to the extent that the laws of one kingdom were accepted in the other. He also says that the capital of 'Alāu'd-dīn, for whom Maḥmūd has a number of letters in the *Riāḍ*, was Fōmen, now a tiny village about twenty miles south-west of Resht.

3. 1524-1576. It was this Tahmāsp who was the Emperor Humāyūn's host during his wanderings.

4. *Riāḍ*, Intr., p. 6.

5. *Fer.*; *Riāḍ*, Intr., p. 6.

and taking advantage of his natural aversion to join petty intrigue in order to attain political power, the two men began to undermine the status and authority of the family which had been their haven, to the utter disgust of the Khwājah and his widowed mother.¹ As a matter of fact it was at the instance of the old lady²—she must have been very old then—that 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd and his elder brother Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad both left Gīlān. Shihābu'd-dīn³ went to Mecca, but it appears that Maḥmūd did not accompany him, for in a letter to his brother he expresses his deep longing to visit "the high sill of the Holy Mecca."⁴ During his wanderings the Khwājah, already a middle-aged man with the prestige of family service to his credit, was offered ministerships by the kings of Khurāsān and 'Irāq, but it was only natural that having scorned ministerial honours in his own country he should do likewise when offered them elsewhere.⁵

We next find him at Cairo in 843/1439 where he met the *savant* Shaikh el-'Asqalānī, treading thence to Damascus.⁶ It was at these two places that he had occasion to make a study of the sciences which helped to make him a great *litterateur* and one who was sure to make a mark in every society in which he happened to move. In the meantime the intrigues against his house continued at Gīlān, his property was sequestered,⁷ and even Shamsu'd-dīn's son Muḥammad who had been left at home, had to leave.⁸ It shows the stern resolve and will-power of the man that, having passed middle age he should choose a new career for himself, and we find him landing at Dābōl in 856/1453.⁹ He had heard of many saints and holy men then residing in the Deccan, specially of Shah Muḥibbu'llāh son of Shah Ni'matu'llāh Kirmānī,¹⁰ and it was with the object of sitting

1. *Riāḍ.*, xi, 34, to 'Alī el-Yezdī. The Khwājah is perfectly clear that he has nothing to say against the royal dynasty of the King, whom he regards as his patron as well as the patron of his family. But he says that the powers of the King "have been taken away in their entirety by a *coterie* of oligarchs the chief among whom are Ḥājī Muhammad and Shaikh 'Alī."

2. *Fer.*

3. Shihābu'd-dīn's name occurs in a number of letters as 'Amīdu'l-mulk, eg., *Riāḍ.* lviii, 111 b. He is mentioned as Shihābu'd-dīn in xi, 34.

4. *Riāḍ.*, xiv., 42 b.

5. *Fer.*

6. *Sakh.*, op. cit.

7. This has been concluded from *Riāḍ.* xxii; 59, where the Khwājah asserts that everybody is well aware that all that Tajū'd-dīn son of Najmu'd-dīn had was really the Khwājah's property.

8. *Riāḍ.*, xi, 36 b.

9. *Fer.* says that Khwājah was 43 when he landed in India so he must have arrived in 856/1452-1453.

10. Ahmad Shāh Wali Bahmanī had invited the saint Shah Ni'matu'llāh Kirmānī to come to the Deccan but he made excuses and sent his grandson Mir Nuru'llāh who was created Maliku'l-Mashāikh by the Bahmanī king. When Shāh Ni'matu'llāh died in 834/1431, his son, Shah Khalīlu'llāh came to the Deccan with his family. His son Shāh Muḥibbu'llāh rose to distinction as the son-in-law of 'Alāu'd-dīn II and as a military commander, gaining the honorific epithet of *Ghāẓi*. The family played rather a notorious part in Humāyūn Shāh's reign. *Fer.*

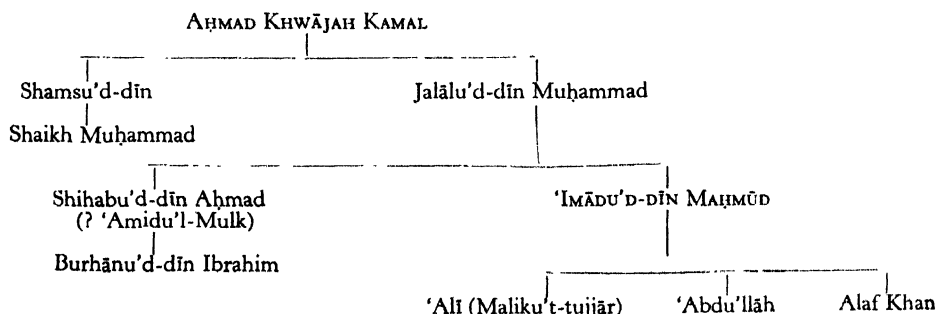
at his feet that he wended his way to Bidar,¹ the metropolis of the Deccan, where 'Alāu'd-dīn Shāh Bahmanī was then reigning, intending to proceed to Delhi later, which, however, he never reached.

Before proceeding further it would be well here to say something more of his family and of his continued interest in the land of his birth. He had four sons. The eldest was Khwājah 'Abdu'llāh, and two others were 'Alī, surnamed Maliku't-tujjār and the youngest Alaf Khan.² There are letters to every one of these in Maḥmūd's collection of letters, the *Riāḍu'l-Inshā*, from which it appears that while the eldest was already settled down in life, Alaf Khan was still very young. It so happened that once envoys arrived from Gilān in order to take the Khwājah's cousin Shaikh Muḥammad with them, but the Khwājah was averse to sending him as the reins of government of Gilān were still in the hands of Hājī Muḥammad and Syed 'Alī, who had been the real cause of his own self-imposed exile.³ He regarded these two officials as the cause of all the ills of Gilān and predicts that they would set different parts of the land against each other. This was quite possible in a country which had the elements of disunion inherent in it, for ever since it became independent it had really been made up of two distinct states, although as one authority has it, there was a bond of friendship uniting the two arts to the extent that the orders of the rulers of one were accepted in the territory of the other.⁴

In spite of these disappointments and heart-burnings he still had an affection for the land of his birth and wanted to maintain some kind of relations with it if possible. It was with this purpose that he sent his son

1. *Sakh.* seems to think that the capital of the Bahmanīs was at Gulbarga, and says that Maḥmūd became the favourite of "Humāyūn Shāh of Gulbarga." Of course Gulbarga was 'owned' by the Bahmanīs, but the capital of the Kingdom had been removed to Bidar in 831/1427 and the great fort at Bidar completed in 836/1432.

2. The Khwājah's House as depicted by his letters and by other authorities of which mention has been made, would be as follows :



We find in *Riāḍ.* letters to his brother and nephew as well as to his sons ; there is a letter, cxix, 190, in which he conveys his condolence to his son on the death of the latter's mother, his wife, and it is worded in such a way that it is clear the lady was not with him but in Gilān when she died.

3. *Riāḍ.* xi, 34.

4. *Maṭla'.* *op. cit.*

'Abd'allāh to Gīlān and wrote letters to the Sultan asking him to take him under his protection. Evidently the party inimical to Maḥmūd's interests were putting stumbling-blocks in 'Abd'allāh's way, for instead of writing to the king just once or twice he had to repeat the identical request a number of times.¹ 'Abd'allāh, however, took to drinking and other bad habits, and the father had to write not only to the king but also to 'some of the Ministers' who were sympathetic to his cause, and even to the ladies of the Royal House, asking them, to see that he was brought back to his senses and made a useful member of society.² But somehow all this was of no avail, and we read of the arrival of 'Abd'allāh at Dābōl and the conferment of a robe of honour on him by the Bahmanī King, the Khwājah's master.³

The next son we meet is 'Alī, surnamed Maliku't-tujjār, evidently after Maḥmūd had been raised to the dignity of Khwāja-i Jahān, after the former incumbent of that title had been executed in 870/1465 a couple of years after the accession of Muhammad Shāh II. There are two letters addressed to 'Alī in the whole of Riāḍu'l-Inshā, but one of these is full of the most erudite and thoughtful philosophy of the conduct of man who wishes to succeed in life.⁴ The letter reminds us of the advice given to the author of the Qābūs Nāmeḥ to his son if he wanted to attain excellence in different walks of life.⁵ It shows that the Khwājah had some regard for his son 'Alī and thought that if he were to tread the right path he might attain high eminence and perhaps succeed him in honours as he did in his dignity as Maliku't-tujjār. But such is the punctilious care he has for the good of his son that he does not shut his eyes to the faults in 'Alī's character and while enumerating his high qualities and worth he says that all these are of little avail as the one quality of conceit (خود بینی) is enough to spoil his whole career.⁶ All we know, however, is that this Maliku't-tujjār was in the service of the Bahmanīs and was actually once sent on an expedition against Vijiānagar 'in order to conquer the forts belonging to that state.'⁷

The last son we meet is Alaf Khan whom the father rebukes for his lack of application to learning. It shows Maḥmūd's high standard in matters pertaining to the dissemination of knowledge, a standard which produced the world-famed *Medresseh* and the fine library at Bīdar, that the object of this reprimand should be a boy of just fifteen. Here it might be worth while to give the translation of a small portion of the letter in

1. Thus Riāḍ., vi, 20 b; vii, 24; lxi, 113 b; 117; etc.

2. Riāḍ., xc, 148; xciii, 153; the letter to the ladies of the Royal House is cxxvi, 196 b.

3. Riāḍ., xxxii, 70 b.

4. Riāḍ., xxxv, 74; the letter is quoted *in extenso* in *Şiraṭ.*, by Az. Mir. It will be dealt with fully later in connection with Maḥmūd's thought.

5. Vide Sherwani, 'Some Precursors of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Ṭūsī,' *Islamic Culture*, 1934, p. 15.

6. Riāḍ., cxi, 151

7. Ibid. lxxxvi, 141 b.

question, in order to understand the Khwājah's psychological process :

"God be praised that a person who calls himself the son of this humble writer should not be able to express himself in the best style or to write in an excellent hand. You should be absolutely certain that without attaining the highest accomplishments a man would have to descend to the deepest valleys of obscurity and forgetfulness and the demons of spiritual death would subdue the forces of whatever life there is in him. A son should be such that the marks of goodness and prosperity should be patent on the forehead of all his deeds and words, not one who would give preference to ignorance and playfulness regarding science and knowledge, not one who is not able to put down his thoughts accurately by the point of his pen."¹

Apart from the letters which the Khwājah wrote to his sons there are many letters written to his brother Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad who is sometimes addressed as 'Amīdu'l-mulk and to his nephew Burhānu'd-dīn Ibrahīm, and there is a letter 'to one of his relations' expressing his regret on the death of his cousin (ابن عمه) Saifu'l-mulk. He seems to have been very fond of his brother, who has a goodly number of letters to his credit, one of which was sent to him at Mecca after the death of Maḥmūd's patroness,² the dowager Queen, Makhdūma-i Jahān which occurred in 877/1472. It is not known whether he had been at Mecca all the time since he left Gilān or whether he had returned after performing the pilgrimage and gone back to Mecca, but it is certain that he came to India direct from the Holy Land, for there is an intimate letter from Maḥmūd to him expressing his great delight on having an opportunity of meeting a dear brother whom he had not met for ever so long.³

Apart from the letters addressed to his relations at Gilān there are quite a goodly number of letters in the *Riāḍ* addressed to the Sultans of Gilān, especially to Sultan 'Alāu'd-dīn,⁴ on many subjects. In these letters he takes great pains to make protestations of his homage and his great fidelity to the successors of the rulers who had been the patrons and well-wishers of his own forebears, and writes to 'a wazir' that the intrigues in Gilān were not the making of kings but of low-born persons.⁵ But when the Sultan asks him to come and serve his erstwhile country he only replies that with all the kindness shown to him by the Bahmanī rulers, especially Humayūn Shāh, he is in duty bound to serve the country of his adoption till his last breath. Here are his own words :

"After I had left my home and was far from all my relations and

1. *Riāḍ*, lxxi, 128.

2. *Ibid.*, lviii, 111 b.

3. *Ibid.*, lxxiii, 130. Wajahat Ḥusain, *Mah. Gaw.*, *op. cit.* thinks that his brother was at Mecca all the time but I have not been able to find any evidence.

4. *Vide Maḥla*, *op. cit.*, which says that a complete genealogy of 'Alāu'd-dīn would be found in the book entitled *Durratu't-tāj*, but unfortunately I have not been able to lay my hands on this book.

5. There are more than ten letters addressed to this Sultan of Gilān. The particular letter referred to is addressed to 'certain of nobles,' *Riāḍ*, cix, 172 b. Death of 'Alāu'd-dīn of Gilān, cxxiv, 208.

friends God led me into the service of the Kings of the line of Bahman, and the application of the ointment of their kindness entirely cured the wound of leaving all that I thought was mine. The time came when the late-lamented Sultan, Humayūn Shāh—may his Hereafter be better than his worldly life—went to the Beyond, and his son Nizām Shāh—may his rule last for ever and ever—ascended the throne. As the pigeon of my life had the collar-mark of the kindness of Humayūn Shāh engraved on it, it is now incumbent on me to serve the kingdom as long as my head is on my shoulders¹ and life is in my body, and till then I mean to keep to the path of servitude and the road of extreme loyalty.”²

In the letters he wrote to the Sultan of Gilān from the battlefields, as well as in some other letters, he recounts all the great work the Bahmanīs were doing to pacify the land and make it law-abiding, and takes the opportunity to enumerate the deeds of bravery and chivalry shown by the Bahmanī armics in the field.³

On the death of ‘Alāu’d-din of Gilān things do not seem to have been taking a happy shape. He left a number of sons, and, as is the case in lands without a set order of succession, there were fears of internecine feuds much as the Khwājah had predicted. He is true to his salt and writes ‘to one of the potentates’ meaning the successor of ‘Alāu’d-dīn, that he should see that there is complete unity of purpose between him and his brothers “as the tree of mutual opposition does not bear any fruit except that of regret and repentance.”⁴ It is characteristic of him that he should write to the new ruler as he would to one younger than himself, and the vein of these letters is totally different to those he penned to Sultan ‘Alāu’d-dīn. While admonishing the new king as to how he should behave as a ruler, he says that it is incumbent on the princes to study how their ancestors fulfilled their duty with respect to the lands under their charge, to have the benefit of the advice of the learned and the wise in the country, to send only the best of their subjects to foreign potentates, as ambassadors and to employ the best men in the Civil Service. Further he says that the basis of the right to rule is the continued progress of the land, and a ruler who indulges in excess in hunting and drinking and wastes his time in kindred matters has no business to remain a king.⁵ Wise thought, such as would make the government of any country a model for its neighbours and make for continued progress and strength both within and without. The Khwājah himself took great pains to convert words into deeds and tried his best to make the Bahmanī Sultanate one of the most respected states of India even in far-off lands.

H. K. SHERWANI.

1. This sentence is almost prophetic !

2. *Riāḍ*, xxi., 54 b.

3. There are many letters from the battlefields to the Sultan of Gilān in which Maḥmūd gives minute details of the campaign, e.g., xiii, 38 b ; xxxviii, 82, and many others.

4. *Riāḍ*, cxxxv, 209.

5. *Ibid.*, cxxxvi, 209 b.

THE PATHAN TOMBS OF SARHIND

SARHIND, near Ambāla, has been one of the most important towns of India from the reign of Fīrōz Shāh Tughlaq (A.D. 1351-1388) who made it head of a district in 1360 to its final destruction by the Sikhs in 1763. It has played a conspicuous role in the history of the early Mughals: Bābur passed through the town on his way for Pānipat in A.D. 1525, and Humāyūn defeated Sikandar Shāh Sūr there in 1555 and thus regained possession of India. Under Bahādur Shāh I the wife and the children of Guru Govind Singh had, however, been executed by order of the Governor of Sarhind, and since that time the city had attracted the wrath of the Sikhs. 1709, 1713, 1758 it was plundered by their bands, and 1763 completely razed to the ground.

At present only the garden palace of the Moghul emperors ("‘Amm Khāss"), the mosque of Sadhna Qasai and the mansion (Jahāzgarh) of a Mughal grandee, Salābat Beg, survive. There is still a small town in the midst of the enormous city area where bricks, potsherds and occasional foundations betray the past existence of far-stretched rich quarters. The place is still visited for pilgrimages, Sikhs come to the Gurdwāra erected in memory of Guru Govind Singh's family, Muslims to the shrine of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddad, Alf-i-Sānī, Fārūqī (971-1034 H.) where not only his descendants and Naqshbandī disciples but also Shāh Zamān of Afghanistan and his family have been found their rest in the precincts of the dargah.

But Sarhind possesses some other monuments of great archæological interest. During his visits to the place in 1838 and again in 1863 General Alexander Cunningham,¹ the father of Indian archæology, had discovered a group of tombs near the village of Mīr-Mīrān-kā-Dera, 1½ miles outside the old town. Probably they have been spared the fate of the rest of the city by the Sikhs because they were already outside the walls. Cunningham had not been able to get reliable informations on their history. Local tradition in his time still connected two tombs, popularly known as "Ustād" and "Shagird," with the names of a certain Sayyid Khān Pathān and of a Khōja Khān. Another little tomb was ascribed to a certain Pīrbandī Naqshwala ("Painter"), probably a misunderstanding

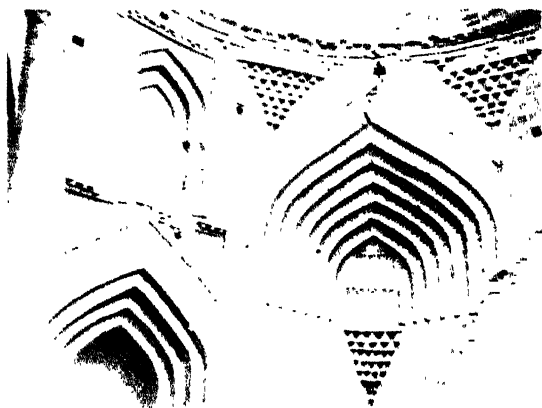
1. Archæological Survey Report, II, 1871, pp. 205-12.—Extract in Murray's Handbook of India, Burma and Ceylon, 1933, p. 340 f.

for Pīr Naqshbandī-walla, the faqir order connected with the shrine of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddad. It had aroused the special enthusiasm of Cunningham ; it was an octagonal building on open arches, surmounted by the usual pear-shaped dome of the Mughal period ; its body was profusely covered with floral paintings, the dome was covered with encaustic tiles arranged in thin ribs, marked by dark blue lines, and the intervals were filled by coloured tiles, laid in herring-bone fashion, from yellowish green at the top to dark green at the bottom. Other tombs were connected with a daughter of Sikandar "Zū'l-qarnain," wife of a local saint Mīr-Mīrān, and with two ladies, Hāj-un-Nisā and Tāj-un-Nisā. In 1888/9 Chas. J. Rodgers,¹ archæological surveyor of the Punjab, visited Sarhind again. Inside the mausoleum at Mīr-Mīrān-kā-Dera he found an inscription telling us that Subhān, daughter of Sultan Bahlōl Lōdī died on Friday, the 11th Safar 901 H. and that this tomb was erected in the time of Sikandar Lōdī, king of the world, the next year 902 or 1497/8 A.D. ; it is the only inscription which gives us any clue as to the real history of these buildings, at the same time blowing up all the nonsense of popular tradition round the place.

Since that time the tombs had again fallen into oblivion. During my research tour an opportunity for another detailed study of the ruins was offered me during several visits to Sarhind in October 1938, thanks to the kind assistance offered us by the government of H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala. Unfortunately it was even with the help of several local officers and of a friendly mullā from the shrine of Shaikh Mujaddad not always possible with certainty to identify the different buildings which we found amidst the fields with the popular traditions and with the descriptions left by General Cunningham and Mr. Rodgers. The beautiful tomb of Pīr Naqshbandī-wala has in the meantime completely disappeared, Mr. Rodgers had already seen only some poor fragments and was told that the monument had for its bricks been blown up with gunpowder. Also the mosque had further decayed. But the earlier mausolea are still in an excellent state of preservation, and proved to be very interesting as they belong to a little-known period of Indo-Muhammedan art, representing not only a hitherto unknown local school of the Punjab, but also the missing link between the late Tughlaq, the Lōdī and the early Mughal architectural styles of Northern India ; besides, the mausoleum of Khōja Khān (Khwaja Khan?) is decorated with remains of rich wall paintings, which must be reckoned amongst the earliest Muslim wall paintings in India if not the earliest at all.

With the exception of the mausoleum of Subhān, daughter of Sultan Bahlōl Lōdī (1451-89), at Mīr-Mīrān-kā-Dera, all these monuments have been built in red bricks ; the plaster on the exterior wall has fallen down except in the painted porches of Khōja Khān's tomb and on a somewhat later small, octagonal tomb almost at its side with charming, but not so

1. Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archæological Survey for 1888-89, Calcutta 1891.



1. Corner vault in one of the late Tughlaq tombs



2. Big tomb of the early 15th century



3. Mausoleum of Princess Subhān, daughter of Sultan Bahādur Lodi, A. D. 1497-8



4. Tomb of Sayyid Khān Pathān, beginning of 16th century



5. Wall paintings in the Tomb of Khōṭa Khān, same period

interesting wall paintings. The oldest buildings are two small mausolea erected in the later part of the 14th century, probably the same as those formerly brought in connection with the legendary two ladies Hāj-un-Nisā Begam and Tāj-u-Nisā Begam. In fact, nobody on the spot was certain where to locate the burial places of those ladies. Both are of the same type as Fīrōz Shāh's mausoleum at the Hauz Khāss, Delhi, though the exterior decoration of one of them more resembles the tomb of Tughlaq Shāh near Tughlaqābād. But the dome is slightly pointed and the sloping of the walls, already considerably less marked in Fīrōz Shāh's mausoleum, has been still further reduced. And the monumental entrance with its pronounced buttresses indicates the coming transition to the style of the 15th century. On the other hand there is also an undeniable connection with certain Persian buildings of the time of the last Il-Khān rulers of Persia or with some smaller Mameluke tombs in Egypt. The interior contains an extraordinarily high sarcophagus constructed of bricks not much dissimilar to that of Sultan Iltutmish (Altamsh) at Delhi, and a *mihrab* with a decorative little window over it. The *mihrab* with its beautiful spandril medallions of cut-plaster and the corner vaults leading from the quadrangular groundplan to the octagon of the drum and finally to the round of the cupola are framed by superposed projecting keel arches complemented by a primitive stalactite motive formed by the projecting corners of simple bricks. Only the small window over the *mihrab* possesses an archaic form of the pointed horse-shoe arch so characteristic for the Lōdī and Sūr buildings. In the tomb with the less elaborate exterior the wall fillings consist of a simple but charming *jali* work of brick stars composed of innumerable little moulds.

Quite near to these two tombs is another two-storeyed mausoleum which must be of the early 15th century, and contemporary with the last Bahmanī mausolea at Gulbarga (A. D. 1347-1428), which, too, developed from Tughlaq architecture. To a certain extent it might well be compared with the "Robber's Tomb" at Gulbarga which represents the intermediary stage of a development leading first to the mausolea at Ashtur near Bīdar, then to the tomb of Ibrāhīm Qulī Qutb Shāh at Golconda and the later tradition of the Deccan. But our tomb has still the sloping walls, and at the four corners the massive roof pavilions round the central dome which are so characteristic for the architecture of Gulbarga. On the other hand none of the Sarhind mausolea has those two storeys of blind niches to be found in all the earlier Deccani buildings. Like in the just discussed early tombs the middle of each front is occupied by a monumental porch between two strong buttresses, with an entrance of ca. half the size of the big decorative cusped arch, a last survival of the Khaljī tradition. The brick walls are decorated with friezes of separate blue encaustic tiles filling the battlements of the friezes which crown every storey, the drum of the dome and the pavilions as well as the buttresses on both sides of the central porches; these separate blue tiles are a common feature in the architecture of Māndū, Jaunpur and of the Sūr Sultans as well as in the Lōdī tombs at Delhi. The interior rests on a system of decorative arches

and niches very similar but more elaborate than that described in the two early tombs; the big arches in the walls are of the Lōdī pointed horse-shoe type, whereas the arches of the smaller niches already show those concave points or those bizarre curves and cusps over a very small neck which we can later on find also at Māndū, in the Great Mosque of Gulbarga and finally in those arches of the Rajput buildings at Datia, Orchhā and Bhāngarh which must be regarded as the prototypes of the Mughal cusped arches of Shāhjahān's time.

The next building in the chronological order is the tomb of Subhān, daughter of Sultan Bahlōl Lōdī erected in 1497/8 A.D. It is built in a dark grey stone taken from a former Hindu temple, as it was not seldom the habit of Sultan Sikandar (1489-1517); part of the battlement frieze still shows the old Hindu decorations cleverly adapted to their new purpose and one of the waterspouts of the roof, with its *makara* head, is the former sacrificial discharge of a Hindu shrine. In spite of its solid workmanship of the friezes of single blue tiles, and of the dados which once must have covered its now barefoot of tuff-stone, it is a rather heavy building, which can compare neither with the above-described mausoleum nor with the Lōdī tombs at Delhi. These latter show much more resemblance with that first building of the early 15th century, though the arrangement of the blind wall niches is nearer to the Deccani tradition, and though the central porches are still more pronounced and the heavy roof towers replaced by small makhbaras.

The two latest of these buildings are the mausolea of "Ustād-u-Shagird," more exactly of Sayyid Khān Pathān and Khōja Khān, according to the tradition still alive in the time of General Cunningham. All the fronts of their main bodies show the high and deep central porches and the four smaller flanking porches, so characteristic for the Timurid buildings of 15th century Turkestan and for the early Mughal architecture of India. But their domes have the characteristic curve of the Lōdī tombs in Delhi and their roof pavilions preserve still the heavy forms of the early 15th century. It is, therefore, rather difficult to fix the exact date of these buildings. Were they erected during the last decades of Lōdī rule? It would not be impossible that the style of 15th century Turkestan got a foothold in the Punjab already before the invasion of Bābur. This would easily explain the side of Lōdī and Mughal conceptions. Or were they erected in the first years of Mughal rule in India? Is it possible that some of Humāyūn's followers who had been killed in the battle against Sikandar Sūr near Sarhind, have found their last rest in these mausolea? In this case the cupolas and the roof pavilions must be a local survival of the Lōdī tradition. This might well be possible, as the tomb of Fateh Jung at Alwar, erected in A.D. 1547, still preserves the same dome, inclusive the charming lantern on its top, which we find on the tomb of Sayyid Khān Pathān. But at Alwar the two main storeys and the smaller third one with their open galleries make you rather think at the architectural style of the Deccan, and the whole conception of the

structure has already undergone such a considerable development that some time must have elapsed between its erection and that of the Lōdī tombs at Delhi and Sarhind. The most probable theory, therefore, is that our two Sarhind tombs are somewhat older, of the time of the first beginnings of Mughal rule under Bābur who had passed through Sarhind in A.D. 1525.

Now the smaller of these two buildings still contains vestiges of fine wall paintings of which I could take some photos under great difficulties because of many hives of poisonous bees which swarmed out as soon as we came near the building. These wall paintings fill a number of flat-arched niches immediately under the network of the semi-cupola of the porch. They show cypresses and other trees between flowers, clouds in the delicate style of the late Timurid period. But there are certain archaic features in these paintings which must go back to an earlier Muslim tradition. For all these plants rise from little hillocks or heaps of earth designed in such a way as is else to be found only in the *Jāmī'-ut-Tawārikh* of Rashīd-ud-dīn, written and illustrated at Tabriz in A.D. 1306-14 and now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London.¹ We still know practically nothing about the pictorial art under the early Muslim and Pathān rulers of India. It may be that certain features of this early Il-Khānī art had survived in some local Punjab school up to the 16th century and thus found a place in the less important parts of our paintings which as a whole were the work of some Mughal artist in the service of Bābur (or Humāyūn ?). Thus they are the earliest Mughal paintings in India. Whether they are the earliest Muslim paintings, this will depend on some chronological considerations. At present we know only two works of Muslim pictorial art in India which might be contemporary or somewhat earlier. We may, of course, discard the portrait of Muhammed bin Tughlaq published by Havell;² it is a late Deccani work. But there is the portrait of Fīrōz Shāh of Bengal (A.D. 1533) in Paris.³ The other are the two portraits in "Gadā Shāh's House" at Māndū.⁴ Do they represent the dictator Medinī Rāi and his wife, in the reign of Sultan Mahmūd II (1510-26)? The theory rests only on the popular name of "Gadā Shāh's House" and on the equation of Gadā Shāh = Medinī Rāi. Both rest on very weak foundations. The other interpretation is that the pictures represent Bāz Bahādur (1555-61) and his famous beloved Rupmatī. This is far more probable from the stylistic as well as from the archæological point of view. As both pictures are pure portraits, but the Sarhind wall paintings purely floral designs, a stylistic comparison is impossible the more as it would account for the differences of local styles. In case our wall paintings were executed under Humāyūn, they are later

1. E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, XIIth-XVIIIth century, London, 1929.

2. *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, London, 1907.

3. F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, 1912, II, pl. 176.

4. Yazdani, *Mandu*, 1929.

than Fīrōz Shāh's portrait and somewhat earlier than the Māndū paintings. But if they are really of the time of Bābur—which is at present merely most probable—they are the earliest Muslim paintings still existing in India.

H. GOETZ.

DIWAN-I-BI-KHUDĪ

EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT

DURING the year 1340 F. (1931 A.C.) Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, O.B.E., purchased two important manuscripts for the Hyderabad Museum. One of them is the well-known Mathnavi of Maulana Rūm, which has been reproduced in facsimile with an introduction by Mr. G. Yazdani. The other is the Dīwān-i-Bi-Khudī (Hyderabad Museum No. 1670).

It is proposed to describe the latter manuscript in this article. This manuscript measures 7" × 4" and contains seventy-three pages. The paper is of greenish colour and is sprinkled with gold. The text is written in a space measuring 4.7" × 2.6", which is enclosed by a border line about 1/16th of an inch in breadth. Gold was filled in the border line after the text was written. This is evident from the fact that at several places gold could not be put in because it would have covered some letters of the text. The covers of the book do not appear to be original. The manuscript seems to have suffered considerably at some time. But at a subsequent date when the book was rebound, the margins were trimmed and some pages were very carefully treated. Page thirteen (Plate I-a) is a very good example of this. The right hand margin in this page seems to have been obtained by cutting a page which might have been originally at the beginning or at the end of the manuscript. It contains impressions of two old seals which have unfortunately become unintelligible. Between the impressions of the seals is the figure 200 which may denote the price at which the manuscript was once sold. To the left of the figure is an endorsement which being cut does not yield any meaning. Below is another figure which may be read as ۱۴ or 14; but the correctness of the reading cannot be guaranteed. The first page was very much damaged and at the time of repairs it was dexterously treated. But probably the then owner of the manuscript was not satisfied with it. So he got it copied in the same style as that of the original; but either because it could not be illuminated like the original or for some other reason, both the pages have been incorporated in the volume, thus resulting in a repetition of the first four verses. As the margin of the original page must have become damaged a small slip from some other page of the book has been cut and substituted for that portion. This slip on its reverse contains an endorsement which is unfortunately cut. The only matter that can be made out is اشعار یخودی meaning verses by Bi-Khudī.

The only evidence which is chronologically or historically important is contained in the colophon, which runs as follows :—(Plate I-b).

TEXT

تمام شد دیوان بخودی در کتابخانه پادشاه جمجاه ملایک سپاه المویده من عند الله
ابوالمنظر سلطان محمد قطب شاه بتاریخ دوازدهم ماه ربیع الاول بخط بنده درگاه نعمت الله
در دار السلطنة حیدرآباد مرقوم گردید ۱۰۲۴
تتمت تمام شد

TRANSLATION

(The copying of) The *Dīwān-i-Bi-Khudī* was completed in the library of the King whose position is high like that of Jamshīd who has angels as his soldiers and who is helped by God, Abul Muẓaffar Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, on the twelfth of Rabi' I in the hand of the slave of his Court Ni'matullāh, written at Hyderabad which is the seat of the Government; and in the year 1024 H. (1615 A.D.), finished and completed. (12th Rabi I 1024 H., Saturday 1st April 1615 A.D.)

From the colophon it is evident that the manuscript was originally copied for the library of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh of Golconda (1020-1035 H./1612-1626 A.D.). The king had inherited literary tastes and love of books from his father. Manuscripts that were copied for his library are not wanting, though scattered now. Some of them have found their way into the Asafiā Library, Hyderabad and into the India Office Library. Hyderabad Museum possesses a few highly illuminated pages (Museum No. 1107 a-k :) containing Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's Urdu odes, which were written out by his court calligraphers, Zainuddīn 'Alī and Muḥammad Riza.

The writer of the present manuscript, Ni'matullāh, was a court calligrapher, as is apparent from the epithet بنده درگاه slave of the court. I have not been able to find any reference to this calligrapher in contemporary inscriptions or manuscripts. But judging from the manuscript (Plates I & II) he can be safely classed among the masters of Nasta'liq script and seems to have followed the style of Mir 'Imād in joining various letters with each other.

Unfortunately very little is known about Bi-Khudī himself. From the command which he had upon the language it can be inferred that he may have been a Persian. But there is nothing else to support this. The fact that the manuscript was copied at Hyderabad and that no other copy of it is known to have existed leads to the assumption that the poet may have lived within the territories of the Quṭb Shāhs.

The manuscript contains ninety-eight odes written on seventy-three pages. At least one leaf from the book is missing. This fact can be evidenced from the first two couplets on page 58, which are the remnants of a missing ode. The odes generally contain either five or seven couplets. The only exception is on pages 13 and 35, which contain eight and four couplets respectively, and no less than fourteen odes contain six couplets only. This fact shows that the poet was not a strict observer of the general rule regarding the composition of the ode, that it should contain an odd number of couplets numbering between five and eleven.

The chief importance of Bi-Khudi lies in the fact that he was a great Sūfī. The work with which we are dealing now is exclusively mystical. As with other Persian poets, who fall under this category, his poetry is rather erotic in expression, but essentially symbolic in meaning. He is a strong exponent of the Religion of Love which enables man to reach the Divine through love and self-abandonment. The following couplet is a glowing illustration of the poet's ideal :—

TEXT

دولت عشق تو یارب بر سرم بایند باد گر چه عمر من ازود در محنت و زاری گذشت

TRANSLATION

The wealth of Thy love may ever remain upon my head, though I may have through it to spend my life in misery and weeping.

There can be nothing more expressive of self-resignation than the following verse :—

TEXT

من از سود و زیان هر دو عالم فارغم لیکن ز سودای تو در خود یکسر مو کم نمی خواهم

TRANSLATION

Although I have abandoned all interest in loss or gain in both the Worlds, yet I cannot afford to be a hair less in my madness after you.

The close attachment to love and disassociation from everything else have been vehemently asserted in the following couplet :—

TEXT

بدر عاشقی با خود کسی بدم نمی خواهم بغم خود کرده ام خود را دمی بینغم نمی خواهم

TRANSLATION

In my love-sickness I need no companion ; I have become love-minded and cannot be without it for a moment.

This Religion of Love has no dogma or code. But Bi-Khudī describes certain features of it : To him there is no heart which does not feel the pang of Love :—

TEXT

تنہا نہ ہمیں بردل ما داغ غمی نیست از دست غمت هیچ دل بی المی نیست

TRANSLATION

I am not the only person whose heart has been stamped with Thy Love. There is no heart which does not ache with it.

Bi-Khudī like several other mystics believes that the Divine Love can be visualised only when earthly love has already been experienced :—

TEXT

از باشنی عشق حقیقی ہم آگسی اورا کہ ذوق لذت عشق مجاز نیست

TRANSLATION

How can he visualise the Divine Love, who has not experienced earthly love ?

There are several couplets in his Diwan which imply that the lover should not withdraw his attention from the Beloved even for a moment. The following is one of them :—

TEXT

اگر در عاشقی خواهی کہ رہ یا بی بہ مقصودی مباحث اسے بیخودی غافل دمی از مستجوی او

TRANSLATION

If you desire to be guided in the path of love and to reach your destination, be not indifferent for a moment in your search for Him.

Bi-Khudī believes that love is its own advertisement :—

TEXT

غم ہنسان من بر ہمہ گشت عیان گر بہ من درد دل خویش نگفتم بکے

TRANSLATION

The secret pang of my heart has become known to everybody, although I never told anybody about it.

۱۳
برای سبب جان و مال خود متوجه
پایه چوبی و سنگی

کون کن آدم جانم تو آرم از دست
کز غزل خانیتا نیست جلی افراس

نہر چشہ کوئی چوٹی کوٹیکھاٹا۔۔۔ بدین آن سوی مردم کا

چند شمس و دو روز و سنان چنان
که در کمر خست بیا هم

11

یہ ہر حال میں برائی نہ ہو

پس منکر از ادیب
مست از جان و دل و دلبسته

میرزا حسن درودش

عبدالمطلب بن عبدالمطلب

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پیش از این در این کتاب

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10

چندی نیست هیچ کار در دشت
مردی که سرخ را نشناخته بود

الفصل

نگار از قوس تو دهان شسته
جان افسانه در تنگ کشت

نورین که تو صورتی ز آفتاب
آید و من در خون کاشته

نگار از قوس تو دهان شسته
آید و من در خون کاشته

نگار از قوس تو دهان شسته
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آید و من در خون کاشته

نگار از قوس تو دهان شسته
آید و من در خون کاشته

فصل

خوشتر آن کم از دلی برای
سدهای و فتنه بگشاید

نارین من در خون دلی کم
که تو چرخ بین بختی برای

برق آیم از شوق آفتاب
دلی تو هست که صبر برای

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افصل

خوشتر آن کم از دلی برای
سدهای و فتنه بگشاید

نارین من در خون دلی کم
که تو چرخ بین بختی برای

ADINA BEG KHAN THE LAST MUGHAL VICEROY OF THE PUNJAB

Introduction :—During the 18th century in India many opportunities presented themselves to tact and ambition for carving out independent principalities. The great Empire of the Mughals had fallen into a gradual process of decay after a glorious career of nearly two centuries. The Mughal Emperors were losing their power and prestige with headlong precipitation ; while their unworthy ministers and supporters unscrupulously indulged in the popular sport of murder, emperor-blinding, treachery and rapine, and were always ready to sacrifice the interests of the empire for their own selfish ends.

The Mughal Viceroys of provinces were generally sunk in sloth and sensuality. They had no fear of the interference of the central government and were thus free from restraint. Hence there was no check on the progress of misrule.

This confusion was further aggravated by a series of foreign invasions from the north-west, under Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, leaving nothing in their wake but the smoke of burning homesteads, ravished humanity and the reek of innocent blood. Besides, there was the Maratha invasion of the Punjab and the utter lawlessness caused by the Sikhs. Thus the Punjab witnessed four periods of confused tumult or four ' Gardis,' viz., Nadir Gardi, Shah Gardi, Maratha Gardi and Sikh Gardi, or Sikha Shahi as it is known up to the present day.

Such a chaotic state was the great harvest-time of fame for persons of real worth. It offered a great prize to able and ambitious minds. Men rose from a state of obscurity into the full meridian blaze of historical renown. Adina Beg Khan was one of such personalities. He was a common man, of low birth, absolutely unlettered, but endowed with a masterful ambition and a persevering temper.

He was first employed, even before his teens, in the humble capacity of a servant in the households of Mughal officers, and cut his path to power through toilsome and patient labour and sheer force of personal character, with the result that he ultimately raised himself to the high position of the Punjab viceroyalty, and played an important part in the closing scenes of the Muslim rule in the Punjab. He rose to this eminence step by step, not by favour of any man, certainly not by subserviency either to the ruling authorities or to popular ideas, but simply by the operation of that

natural law which in troubled times brings the strongest mind, be it where it may, to the post of highest command.

Adina Beg's career is full of instruction to every student who wishes to observe human capacity and individual possibility under abnormal conditions and in the absence of great talents or genius. Except for his sickening intrigues which seldom repaid him, his character is a remarkable study.

No work on this subject is known to exist in any language except a short Persian manuscript of 12 folios of small size. This work is extremely rough, imperfect and defective. Many of its dates and even some events are wrongly stated or recounted. But it supplies us with good material about the important stages of development in the life of this man. I have gleaned whatever material is available from a large number of Persian works, mostly unpublished, and Marathi, Gurmukhi, Urdu and English records.

EARLY CAREER

Adina Beg Khan was an Arain by caste. His father's name was Chunnu. He was born at Sharaqpur situated 18 miles below Lahore on the right bank of the Ravi. Extreme poverty of the family compelled Adina Beg Khan, very early in life, to seek service in the houses of Mughal officers in order to earn his own living. Thus he was brought up in the capacity of a household servant. He spent most of his time at Jalalabad, Khanpur and Bajwara, all situated in the Jullundur Doab. This was the beginning of his life-long association with this part of the Punjab.

There was a sturdiness of character and a love of enterprise in him, which made him discontented with his position. His spirit yearned for something higher and better that could bring him richer rewards. When he grew up to manhood, he showed an inclination towards a life of strenuous action. Constant association with the Mughal officers created in his mind a strong desire for military life. He, therefore, gave up his position of household servant, and recruited himself in the army as a soldier. He was, however, soon disillusioned of the lure of his new career by its poor prospects. Moreover, he was not by nature and temperament one to remain contented with his position. He always regarded it as a stepping-stone to a higher post. Consequently, he gave up this post, and took up the more lucrative one of revenue collector of the village of Kang in Sultanpur district of the Jullundur Doab.

He displayed great energy, courage and force of character in the performance of his new duties. High-spirited and adventurous as he was, he was bound to achieve success. His ability and tact won him many friends, one of whom was Lala Sri Niwas of the Dhir caste, a rich banker of Sultanpur. The Lala was a very influential man, and in a few years he obtained for Adina Beg Khan the revenue contract of five or six villages

in the territory of Kang. The following year all the villages of Kang circle passed into his charge.¹

DISTRICT OFFICER OF SULTANPUR

Adina Beg Khan was now becoming a man of mark. The times were such that the most commonplace plebeian had scope for the loftiest ambition in the political field. His foot was now on the ladder of promotion. The appointment to this post stimulated his energies and rekindled his ambition. The circle of Kang was a unit of Sultanpur district. Adina Beg Khan deposited his revenue in the treasury of Sultanpur. The district officer was so much struck by Adina Beg's honesty, loyalty and ability that he often deputed him to Lahore as in charge of the revenues of his district. It was an excellent opportunity for a person of Adina Beg's ambition to exert influence in the court of Lahore. The result was that the cashiers and clerks of the provincial treasury office became attached to him.

As luck would have it the district officer of Sultanpur died. Adina Beg Khan at once went to Lahore, and through the treasury officer, sought an interview with the Viceroy, Khan Bahadur Zakariya Khan. The latter demanded security for his good behaviour. It was immediately provided by Lala Sri Niwas of Sultanpur, and Adina Beg Khan was appointed to the post of district officer of Sultanpur.

Adina Beg Khan did not forget the instrument of his progress and showed his gratitude by appointing Lala Sri Niwas his immediate assistant, while his elder brother Bhwani Das, was given the post of superintendent of his office.²

ADINA BEG KHAN APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF THE JULLUNDUR DOAB, c. 1739

Shortly afterwards Nadir Shah invaded India. At this time the country was thrown into great confusion, of which full advantage was taken by the lawless people, and particularly by the Sikhs. Born in the country, of which they had a perfect knowledge, endowed with an astuteness and intrepidity which were equal to any emergency, they made the best of these disturbances.

On the retirement of the Persian invader, the Khan Bahadur came to know that the Sikhs were still carrying on their depredations, and that they were the principal source of danger to the peace and prosperity of the province. He, therefore, organised moving columns of light cavalry

1. *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 50 B ; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 107a-b.

2. *Ibid.* 51 a.

and immediately put them in motion in pursuit of the Sikhs, who were consequently expelled from the Bari Doab with heavy losses.

The Sikhs then moved on to the Jullundur Doab. Zakariya Khan had realised the seriousness of the Sikh menace. He knew that the Jullundur Doab was mostly peopled by Jats who had sympathies with the Sikhs. He was, therefore, in search of a capable Governor for this territory. It was brought to his notice that the district of Sultanpur which was situated on the main road running from Lahore to Delhi, had been ruined like many other places by Nadir Shah's troops, who had also taken a number of men and women of the place as captives, and that Adina Beg Khan had succeeded in maintaining order at this time, had given relief to the people and secured the release of many prisoners by ransom. The Viceroy also knew that Adina Beg Khan was active, energetic, and of vigorous nature, and had personal knowledge of the Doab. As a consequence he was promoted to the high rank of Governor of the Jullundur Doab, and was ordered to punish the Sikhs.

Adina Beg succeeded in restoring peace and order in the Doab, but he did not adopt severe measures to crush the Sikhs, and perhaps deliberately winked at some of their activities, permitting them to carry on so long as they refrained from creating serious disturbances within his jurisdiction. The reason seems to be that Adina Beg wanted to secure his position by keeping the Sikh menace alive; otherwise he feared that in case of perfect peace in the Doab, this territory might be leased out to somebody else for a larger sum of revenue. Diwan Bakhtmal testifies to this fact when he writes :—"Adina Beg was a greedy man. He did not crush the Sikhs. If he had intended to do so, it was not a difficult task. But he had this idea in mind that if he quelled the Sikhs, some other contractor might be entrusted with the Government of the Doab for a higher sum and he might be dismissed. He, therefore, treated the Sikhs well and settled terms with them. For this reason the Sikhs grew stronger and they gradually occupied many villages as Jagirs.¹

ADINA BEG KHAN IS PUNISHED FOR NON-PAYMENT OF REVENUE, c. 1742

In 1742, Adina Beg Khan was summoned to Lahore for his failure to pay the government revenues of the previous three years. It seems

1. Khalsa Namah, 58-59. James Browne, in his *India Tracts*, ii. 14 says :—"The force he had with him was fully equal to the execution of that service; but Adina Beg, considering that if he should entirely put an end to all disturbances in that district, there would remain no necessity for continuing him in so extensive a command, he carried on intrigues with the chiefs of the Sicks, and secretly encouraged them to continue their depredations; at the same time, pretending to be very desirous of subduing them. From this management, the Sicks became daily more powerful, and seized upon several places in the distant parts of the Subah of Lahore. They also began to perform public pilgrimages to the Holy Tank at Amrutsur without molestation." Cf. *Jullundur District Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 29.

likely that he could not realise revenue from the people on account of their having suffered during Nadir Shah's invasion. He might also have pursued the usual policy of keeping the people pleased with the new government under him. His pleadings, however, failed in producing any effect in his favour on the Viceroy and his Diwan Lakhpat Rai. He was consequently shut up in prison together with his two assistants Bhwani Das and Nidhan Singh. Shahnawaz Khan the younger son of the Khan Bahadur was given charge of the Jullundur Doab.

They remained in imprisonment for a year. Then Bhwani Das was released on the security of his brother Sri Niwas. Adina Beg felt exasperated with the hard life of the gaol. One night he escaped and retired to the hills to avoid capture. Bhwani Das was, thereupon, re-arrested and was ordered to render accounts of the income and expenditure. He respectfully replied that he would disclose the accounts only in the presence of his master Adina Beg Khan. He was at once put in a large kettle and was half-boiled, but even then he did not yield.¹

Lakhpat Rai was so much impressed with the loyalty of Bhwani Das that he had him taken out of the boiling kettle, ordered his physicians to treat him, and told him to beg for a favour. Bhwani Das asked for the reinstatement of Adina Beg Khan, which was granted. After a warning, Adina Beg Khan was awarded a robe of honour and was reappointed to the deputy governorship, under Shahnawaz Khan.²

This incident taught Adina Beg Khan a terrible lesson,—not to fail in remitting the Government revenues regularly and punctually, and he was never found wanting in this respect during the rest of his life. Besides, he became so tactful that he could successfully commit acts of disloyalty towards his chief, without giving him the least suspicion, and thus retaining his confidence even long afterwards. This he cleverly managed by playing on one or the other of his weaknesses. Adina Beg Khan kept the young Governor so pleased by his administrative ability and good behaviour that Shahnawaz Khan never interfered with him and Adina Beg Khan gained complete control over the Government.

ADINA BEG UNDER SHAHNAWAZ KHAN, 1745-48

Zakariya Khan died on the 1st July, 1745. He left behind him three sons,—Yahiya Khan, Shahnawaz Khan and Mir Baqi. Zakariya Khan's wife was the sister of Nawab Qamr-ud-din Khan, the Grand Wazir of Delhi, and all these three brothers were sons of the same mother. Yahiya Khan, the eldest brother, was married to the daughter of Qamr-ud-din Khan, and thus the Delhi Wazir was his maternal uncle as well as his father-in-law. The Wazir sent Yahiya Khan, who was at that time in Delhi, to take charge of his father's government. Shahnawaz also arrived

1. Khalsa Namah, 52 b.

2. *Ibid.*, 53a; Imad-i-Saadat, 107 b.

at Lahore and demanded a complete division of the patrimony. This settlement was delayed, and the troops of the two brothers came to blows. Peace was in the end patched up. Shahnawaz Khan was paid a certain amount of cash and jewels, whereupon he withdrew to his faujdari in the Jullundur Doab.¹

Adina Bēg Khan now found himself politically placed under Yahiya Khan. Yahiya Khan had no control over Shahnawaz Khan, and in order to maintain his sway over the Jullundur Doab, which was the most fertile part of the Punjab, he treated Adina Beg Khan with great consideration. Adina Beg Khan played his part so cautiously and consummately that he won the trust of Yahiya Khan, retaining at the same time the confidence of Shahnawaz Khan, though both the brothers were openly hostile to each other. He gave a positive proof of his loyalty to the Lahore Viceroy by persecuting the Sikhs, when their Minister, Diwan Lakhpat Rai, carried on a hard campaign against them from April to June, 1746.²

After some time, Shahnawaz Khan rose in insurrection against his brother. He came to Lahore on the 21st November, 1746, encamped near Shalamar Garden, and through Diwan Surat Singh called upon Yahiya Khan to make a complete division of his father's property. Adina Beg Khan, Kauramal and Hashmatullah ranged themselves on the side of Shahnawaz Khan. Thus began the civil war between the brothers, which came to an end on the 21st March, 1747, when Shahnawaz Khan made a triumphal entry into Lahore and took Yahiya Khan captive. He appointed Kauramal as his Diwan, and confirmed Adina Beg Khan in the civil and military charge of the Jullundur Doab.³

The usurpation of the Punjab Government could not be brooked by the Delhi court, but no drastic action was taken against Shahnawaz Khan, because the Delhi Wazir first wanted to secure the release of his son-in-law. He wrote several conciliatory and threatening letters to Shahnawaz Khan who always replied that Yahiya's freedom from captivity depended on his confirmation in the viceroyalty of the Punjab under a royal rescript.

Yahiya Khan, however, found means four months later, by a contrivance of his aunt, Dardana Begam, who was a sister of Zakariya Khan and wife of Jani Khan, to get himself conveyed in a Khwan, a vessel three feet in length, and two feet in breadth, railed in and covered with a cupola of lattice work, over which a piece of broadcloth was thrown to shelter the whole. He was safely carried out of his prison house, through the guards to the city gate and was conveyed to Delhi.⁴

Shahnawaz now felt sure that the retribution of the Emperor and his Wazir must fall upon him. Consequently he turned his mind in all directions to secure support in any quarter. At this juncture the political

1. Anandram, 289; Sarkar, i., 193.

2. Ratan Singh, 389-90; Gyan Singh, 678.

3. Anandram, 289-95 and 304. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 73a-b; Khushwaqt Rai, 76.

4. Ibid. 304-5; Bayan, 161; Siyar, iii., 12.

horizon of India was suddenly overcast with clouds. Nadir Shah was murdered on the 9th June, 1747, and once more was the kaleidoscope to rearrange its disc and glasses.

On Nadir Shah's death, Ahmad Shah Abdali had succeeded to the generalship of his Afghan troops. He also had taken possession of Kandahar and Kabul, and thus laid the foundation of his new Afghan kingdom. He was lying encamped at Peshawar, and with this place as a suitable base the man-power of Afghanistan behind him and no hindrance in front, India, the El Dorado of the western people, became his ruling passion.

The young Governor of Lahore, who was in search of help to assure his position, was advised by Adina Beg Khan to open communications with Ahmad Shah Abdali. Consequently, Shahnawaz Khan despatched his envoy to Peshawar inviting Ahmad Shah to invade India. He also declared himself a convert to the Shia religion, and in his official seal, replaced the names of the Mughal Emperors by the twelve Imams with a view to win over the favour of the Persian soldiery of Ahmad Shah.¹

Adina Beg Khan then informed the Delhi Wazir that Shahnawaz Khan was turning refractory and rebellious against the authority of the Mughal Emperor, and that he had sought help from Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Wazir was very much perturbed at this news and he immediately wrote conciliatory and affectionate letters to Shahnawaz Khan saying that their family, at all times attached to the emperors of India, had never been defiled by the crime of ingratitude and treason. "Beware of such a crime, beware of thinking that a traitor can thrive. It is a pity that a man like you should wish for the honour of obeying Ahmad Abdali the Yaswal, rather than that of driving such a fellow from the frontiers of Hindustan. Would not the five provinces of Kabul, Kashmir, Thatta, Multan and Lahore, fall into your hands in such a case, and would not your good uncle exert himself in supporting you with all the power of the Empire?" This touched the young man's pride, and he prepared to oppose the invader whom a little while before he had invited.

All Ahmad Shah's efforts to win over Shahnawaz Khan failed. The Abdali reached Shadara on the 8th January, 1748. He had a force of nearly 18,000, but was absolutely without artillery. The Afghan troops forded the Ravi on the 10th January and took up their position at the Shalamar Garden. Shahnawaz Khan occupied an entrenched position at the fort of Hazrat Ishan and at the hermitage of Shah Balawil. These two divisions met the enemy on the 11th January. A fierce contest took place in which Shahnawaz was defeated. Sayyid Ghulam Husain definitely blames Adina Beg Khan for not co-operating against this defeat. But Anandram of Lahore says that Adina Beg continued the fight and kept the Afghans from proceeding farther than the tomb of Hazrat Ishan. From the details of the fight it appears that Adina Beg was lukewarm in

1. Bayan, 160; Siyar, iii. 16-17; Miskin, 40.

the beginning but displayed keenness towards the end. In the battle of Manupur which took place between the Delhi forces and Ahmad Shah Abdali, Wazir Qamr-ud-din was killed on the 11th March. His son Muin-ul-Mulk took the command of the Delhi forces and delivered an assault on the Afghans. He rode in the centre and Adina Beg Khan was ahead of Muin-ul-Mulk's elephant. In the fight Adina Beg was twice wounded and many officers of note were slain, but Ahmad Shah was defeated.¹

ADINA BEG UNDER MUIN-UL-MULK, 1748-53

Muin-ul-Mulk took charge of the Government of the Punjab in April, 1748. He had two serious problems to tackle --quelling the Sikh disturbances and checking the Afghan invasions. Adina Beg Khan was confirmed in the administration of the Jullundur Doab. In his dealings with the Sikhs, he adopted his old policy. He never proceeded to extremities against them, though he occasionally found it expedient to coerce them and show them that it was to their advantage to be on good terms with him. In October, 1748 Muin-ul-Mulk laid siege to the Sikh port of Ram Rauni at Amritsar. Under his orders Adina Beg Khan also joined him. Kauramal recommended conciliation, but Adina Beg Khan suggested strong measures. Muin-ul-Mulk, however, agreed with Kauramal and certain concessions were granted to the Sikhs. In March, 1752 Adina Beg Khan inflicted a great defeat on the Sikhs at Makhawal but he did not follow up this victory in order to crush them. Malcolm, in his *Sketch of the Sikhs*, on page 92 writes :—" That able but artful chief considered this turbulent tribe in no other light than as the means of his personal advancement ; he was careful not to reduce them altogether ; but, after defeating them in an action which was fought near Makhawal, he entered into a secret understanding with them, by which, though their excursions were limited, they enjoyed a security to which they had been unaccustomed and from which they gathered strength and resources for future efforts." But in order to retain the confidence of his master, he used to send him some Sikhs in batches of forty or fifty who were as a rule killed by the strokes of wooden hammers, as is testified by the eyewitness Miskin.²

Ahmad Shah Abdali had invaded the Punjab for the second time in 1749, but had retired on securing certain terms from Muin-ul-Mulk. He again invaded, in December, 1751 and kept Lahore besieged for four months. The whole country around Lahore within a radius of 50 miles was entirely laid waste by the Afghans with the result that " no lamp was lighted in any house for a distance of three marches and an extreme scarcity of grain prevailed in the camps of both the armies."³ In the

1. Anandram, 358 ; Zafar Namah, 9b. Sarkar, i. 228-29.

2. Miskin, 84.

3. *Ibid.*, 75.

city of Lahore flour was sold at the rate of two seers to the rupee, and in place of grass the horses were fed on old rotten bags and chopped straw of huts even of ten years standing.¹

When starvation stared them in the face, Muin wanted to precipitate an action, and accordingly he called a council of war on the 4th March, 1752. Kauramal opposed this view by pointing out that the Nawab's troops were mostly raw levies and were no match in the open for the hardy warriors of the north-west ; that the country for miles around had been ravaged and ruined, and therefore Abdali's camp was also short of provision ; and that shortly afterwards hot weather would set in, and Abdali's troops finding the sun intolerable would either return or attack them to disadvantage. Adina Beg Khan who was always jealous of Kauramal's great power, declared in favour of Muin's view. The Viceroy, prompted by his own ardour and courage, listened to the importunities of Adina Beg. It was decided that the camp should be shifted about 10 miles away to a better position with a plentiful supply of water, fuel and grass. The march began in the morning of the 5th March. Adina Beg Khan had charge of the van, Muin-ul-Mulk of the centre, and Kauramal of the rear. The news had leaked out and the Afghans were ready to receive them. As soon as Muin's troops vacated trenches, they were occupied by the Afghans and the Lahore troops were fiercely assailed from the front and the rear and on both the flanks. Thus a great confusion was caused among the three divisions of Muin's army. Consequently, it retreated and during the retreat Kauramal was shot down and Muin was defeated.²

ADINA BEG APPOINTED VICEROY OF THE PUNJAB C. SEPTEMBER, 1755

Muin-ul-Mulk died on the 3rd November, 1753, and then ensued in the Punjab a period of anarchy and confusion. During the short period of five years from November, 1753, to September, 1758, when Adina Beg Khan died, as many as 12 viceroys succeeded to the Punjab vicerealty. It was held by the Mughlani Begam, the widow of Muin, in the name of her son Muhammad Amin Khan, the two year old baby, from November,

1. Khushwaqt Rai, 85-86 ; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 85a.

2. Farhat-ul-Nazir in Elliott, viii. 168 charges Adina Beg Khan with having shot Kauramal from behind. Ali-ud-din, 111-b says that Kauramal was shot by some person at the instigation of Adina Beg Khan. Adina Beg's enmity to Kauramal is admitted by Khazan-i-Amira, 98 ; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, i. 360 ; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* 85b ; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 294b. and Shah Yusaf, 58b, which state that Kauramal, the most sincere and devoted Diwan, lost his life on account of Adina Beg's hostility to him. Ahwal-i Adina Beg Khan accuses Bazid Khan of Kasur of this crime.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i. 431 says :—" Adina Beg is accused by some contemporary writers of having treacherously neglected to support Kauramal, so that cohesion among the three divisions of Muin's army was lost."

1753 to May, 1754, and after his death under her charge from May to October, 1754, by Mumin Khan from October to December, 1754, by Khwajah Mirza from January to April, 1755, by the Mughlani Begam from April to July, 1755, by Khwajah Abdullah from July to September, 1755, by Adina Beg Khan from September to December, 1755, by the Mughlani Begam from December, 1755 to March, 1756, by Adina Beg Khan from March to October, 1756, by Khwajah Abdullah from October to April, 1757, by Timur Shah son of Ahmad Shah Abdali from April, 1757 to April, 1758 and by Adina Beg Khan from April to September, 1758.

In the face of such chaos and disorder, Adina Beg Khan became independent. He increased his resources and strengthened his position. Soon after Adina Beg was called upon to face a serious situation created by Qutub Khan Rohilla who entered the territory of Sirhind on the 11th March, 1755. He was a Jagirdar of the Delhi Government and held the parganahs of Keranah, Barot, Sardhana and Kandhela. When these territories were handed over to the Marathas, he got enraged and resolved to seize Sirhind by force. He ravaged Sonipat, Panipat, Karnal, Azimabad and marched upon Sirhind after defeating the Imperial troops at Karnal. Sadiq Beg was the Governor of Sirhind. His Afghan troops refused to fight against their Afghan brother Qutub Khan. He approached Adina Beg Khan for assistance. Qutub Khan seized Sirhind without any fighting and he was joined by Jamal Khan, the Afghan chief of Malerkotla. Adina Beg Khan won over the Sikhs and collected a huge army of 50,000 horse and 50,000 foot. A battle took place at Ropar on the 11th April, in which Adina Beg Khan was victorious and Qutub Khan and Jamal Khan lost their lives.¹

Adina Beg Khan took over the administration of the Sirhind division as far as Karnal and then he wrote to the Delhi Wazir :—" The zamindars of this territory are refractory and require force to keep them in order. If you intend to come here, bring with you a large army and abundant material ; otherwise your coming here would be inadvisable. Leave this territory to me." The Wazir who was advancing towards Sirhind and had come as far as Sonipat quietly went back.

Having consolidated his rule in Sirhind, Adina Beg turned his attention towards Lahore which was in the throes of revolutions and counter-

1. *Tarikh-i-Alamgiri-e Sani*, 76-88 ; *Delhi Chronicle*, 122 ; *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 4 ; 61a ; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 97b-99a. The author of *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 56b-57a, describes an interesting incident. He says that in the battle of Ropar Adina Beg was defeated and his Commander-in-Chief Aziz Beg had taken to flight. Just at this juncture his Diwan Lala Bishambar Das asked Adina Beg Khan to make one more effort. He stopped the running soldiers, rallied them and this time Qutub Khan was slain. Adina Beg asked Bishambar Das to accept presents from his officers and he lay in bed in the adjoining room. The officers made their offerings to the Lala. Then came the turn of Aziz Beg. He asked the Diwan : " Who are you that you receive my present ?" The Lala had not spoken yet, when Adina Beg Khan got up in a rage and said :—" The present will be received by your son-in-law. You fled to your mother's lap. O ! faithless fellow, he deserves your daughter. Be off from here. Lala Bishambar Das is your son-in-law. He has maintained my country and honour."

revolutions. He marched upon the provincial capital, drove out Abdullah and appointed Sadiq Beg Khan as his deputy in September, 1755. The Mughlani Begam conveyed all this news to Ahmad Shah Abdali at Kandahar, and with the help of Afghan troops ousted Sadiq Beg Khan in December, 1755.¹

Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir, was betrothed to Muin's daughter. At this time he was also facing very severe financial stringency. It struck him to look to Lahore to gain wealth and a bride for himself and the two provinces of Lahore and Multan for the Empire. He left Delhi on the 15th January, 1756, and reached Sirhind on the 7th February, when his further progress was stopped by Adina Beg Khan who wrote to him: "You please stay at Sirhind. Send me one eunuch with two or three thousand troops. I shall add my own contingent to them and will secure your possession of Lahore easily by a trick."²

Adina Beg Khan sent Sadiq Beg Khan with 10,000 troops of his own to Lahore. The Mughlani Begam sent her daughter Umda Begam, "the pearl of unrivalled beauty and accomplishments," with a suitable dowry in jewels and cash, accompanied by a full household of eunuchs, tents and other necessary requisites at the camp of the Wazir on the 4th March, 1756. After this the Wazir asked Adina Beg Khan to bring to him the Mughlani Begam, who was his mother's brother's wife, besides being his prospective mother-in-law. These troops took the Mughlani Begam unawares when she was fast asleep, unsuspecting of what was in store for her. They sent eunuchs to wake her and putting her in a close chair they carried her to their camp outside Lahore and confiscated all her treasure and property. She reached the Wazir's camp on the 28th March, 1756. The Wazir then gave the Government of Lahore and Multan to Adina Beg Khan on a tribute of 30 lakhs a year and reached Delhi on the 9th May, 1756.³

Adina Beg Khan did not go to Lahore, but appointed Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan as his assistant at Lahore. Adina Beg enjoyed his new office only for six months. The Afghans entered Lahore on the 4th October, 1756 and Jamil-ud-din fled to Jullundur. Then followed Ahmad Shah Abdali. He left Peshawar on the 15th November, crossed the Indus on the 26th, reached Lahore on the 20th December, crossed the Sutlej on the 10th January, 1757, reaching Delhi on the 18th.

Abdali's advance-guard under his son Timur Shah and Commander-in-Chief Jahan Khan marched in pursuit of Adina Beg Khan, but he made good his escape to the waterless tract of Hansi and Hissar.⁴ After some-

1. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir-e Sani*, 124 and 151.

2. *Miskin*, 114.

3. *Miskin*, 120-124; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir-e Sani*, 131; *Delhi Chronicle*, 131 and 132; *Khazan-i-Amira* 52; *Masir*, iii. 890-91; *Ghulam Ali*, 26-27; *Shive Parshad*, 33b; *Shakir*, 79-80.

4. *Khazan-i-Amira*, 99.

time he retired to the Siwalik Hills and sought shelter in a hill called Khali Balwan, about 80 miles north of Hoshiarpur.¹

ADINA BEG KHAN AND THE AFGHANS

APRIL 1757—FEBRUARY 1758

Abdali retired from India in April, 1757, leaving the Punjab in the charge of Timur Shah and Jahan Khan. In May they invited Adina Beg Khan to take charge of the administration of the Jullundur Doab. He mistrusted their proffers and had objections to meeting Jahan Khan in particular. He was warned that he would have to bear the consequences of his disobedience. Adina Beg Khan then made it known that he was ready to undertake the administration of the Doab for an annual tribute of 36 lakhs of rupees provided that he was exempted from attending the court in Lahore.² Timur Shah agreed to the terms and Adina Beg deputed his wakil Dilaram to the Lahore court as a surety for his good behaviour and the punctual payment of tribute.

After some time a quarrel arose between Jahan Khan and Adina Beg Khan about the payment of the tribute. Jahan Khan at once imprisoned his agent Dilaram and demanded six lakhs of rupees. The Mughlani Begam tried to secure the agent's liberty and ultimately succeeded in her object by standing surety for the payment of the revenue. She also wrote to Adina Beg Khan for the immediate remittance; and on receiving no reply from him sent him some of her own jewels to be pawned to procure money. Then Dilaram came to her and said; "They will kill me, I shall do whatever you advise me." The Begam took pity on him and asked him to flee from Lahore the same night to bring money from Adina Beg without delay and to return immediately. Jahan Khan was furiously enraged at this, and beat the Begam with a stick severely.³ She was not spared till she offered him her own jewels worth six lakhs of rupees. 200 troopers besieged her house and took away everything. She was confined in a small room and was treated with unspeakable oppression.⁴

Jahan Khan then sent some bailiffs demanding Adina's immediate presence in Lahore. Adina Beg refused to come. Jahan Khan sent a strong detachment under Murad Khan to seize him. Adina Beg immediately transferred his camp to the foot of the hills and won over the Sikhs to his side. In the battle the Afghans were defeated and their entire camp was plundered. Then Jahan Khan took the command in person, but Adina Beg retired to the impenetrable hill of Khali Balwan. He was pursued by one detachment under Khwajah Mirza Khan but Adina Beg

1. Miskin, 143.

2. *Ibid.* 147.

3. *Ibid.* 170.

4. *Ibid.* 168-71.

won him over by marrying his daughter to him. This caused entire dislocation of the government. Anarchy made its appearance everywhere. Even the environs of Lahore were not safe. Every night thousands of Sikhs used to fall upon the city, but no force was sent out to repel them, and the city gates were closed one hour after nightfall.¹

ADINA BEG KHAN AND THE MARATHAS MARCH 1758—APRIL 1758

Adina Beg now employed the head in order to lighten the labour of the hand. He made up his mind to secure the expulsion of the Afghans from the Punjab. His mind being fertile in resources, he naturally sought the means of securing help and relief in a quarter which might not have readily occurred to another in his position. Having become acquainted with the superior strength of the Marathas, he sent repeated requests to Raghunath Rao, then in Delhi, to extend the Maratha dominions as far as the Indus, pointing out the rich harvest of spoil within their easy reach, and promising on his own part, to pay them 1 lakh of rupees for every day of marching and 50,000 rupees for halting. The Marathas readily embraced such an occasion of temptation and promise. The Maratha invasion of the Punjab began about the end of February, 1758. Raghunath Rao was at Mughal ki Sarai near Ambala on the 5th March, at Rajpura on the 6th, at Sarai Baanjara on the 7th and in the neighbourhood of Sirhind on the 8th. Here he was joined by Adina Beg Khan, who came at the head of large army of Sikhs and others.

Sirhind soon capitulated. The contemporary historian of Delhi writes:—"As the Marathas and the Sikhs knew nothing but plundering, they so thoroughly looted the inhabitants of Sirhind, high and low, that none, either male or female, had a cloth on his or her person left. They pulled down the houses and carried off the timber. They dug under-floors and seized on whatever they could lay their hands."²

On hearing of the Maratha approach, Jahan Khan decided to vacate Lahore on the 9th of April. He set up his camp at Shahdara and conveyed there Timur's mother and his own women. The other Durrani chiefs and troops carried their baggage and property in cart-loads by repeated trips. Then Timur Shah crossed the Ravi, followed by the Wazir. The eunuchs then placed the women of Timur and Jahan Khan in litters on camels and horses, and the whole Afghan camp then moved onward towards Kabul. Miskin quietly brought the Mughlani Begam and her maiden daughter in a covered bullock cart from Shahdara to Lahore and admitted them into their residential quarters.

1. Miskin, 166.

2. Tarikh-i-Alamgir-e Sani, 311.

On this day the masterless city was in a state of utter confusion and terror, and robbers and marauders of the neighbourhood plundered the defenceless people. In the night Miskin shut the city gates and patrolled the streets all night. Next morning, on the 10th of April, at 9 o'clock, Adina Beg Khan reached Lahore, and entered the town by the Delhi gate. The Maratha and Sikh troops then pursued Jahan Khan. They overtook one detachment of the Afghan rear-guard at Sarai Kanchi, 36 miles from Lahore. They soon arrived on the Chenab below Wazirabad. Timur and Jahan Khan with their main body had just crossed the river, but their rear-guard was on this side. These Afghans were cut to pieces. Large numbers of them were captured by the Sikhs. They were brought to Amritsar where they were compelled under blows and whips to clean out all the rubbish with which Ahmad Shah and Jahan Khan had filled their tank.¹

The Marathas did not carry on the pursuit across the Chenab. Raghunath and Adina Beg came back to Lahore on the 11th of April. Adina Beg Khan constructed in the Shalamar Garden, at the cost of one lakh of rupees, a magnificent platform, on which Raghunath Rao was seated and given a public reception. The fountains of the Garden were made to play with rose-water, and the whole city was illuminated.²

Raghunath Rao then conferred the title of Nawab on Adina Beg Khan and leased out the province to him at 75 lakhs of rupees a year. Adina Beg did not care to stay in Lahore. He fixed his headquarters at Batala, and appointed Khwajah Mirza Khan, his son-in-law, to the government of Lahore ; while his old ally Sadiq Beg Khan was given charge of Sirhind.

ADINA BEG KHAN AS VICEROY OF THE PUNJAB

APRIL 1758--SEPTEMBER 1758

Adina Beg Khan now found fortune smiling upon him. He had succeeded in realising the object of his wishes. The Delhi Government was too weak to challenge his supremacy, while the Afghan danger had disappeared for the time being. The Sikhs were the only disturbing factor in the country. He, therefore, advised them to bring their lawless activities to an end. But this was not to be. Adina Beg could not remain silent. He was a man of action, firmness of mind and tenacity of purpose. Being born and bred in this province, and on account of long association with them, he knew perfectly well, when and how to strike at them. He increased his army and made use of the civil machinery of the government. Instructions were issued to the local officials and village headmen to permit no Sikhs to seek shelter within their jurisdiction. All evasions of these

1. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, XXVII. 218 ; Miskin, 178, Khazan-i-Amira, 100-101 ; Husain Shahi, 45.

2. Ali-ud-Din, 118a.

injunctions were severely punished. With renewed diligence, therefore, in the villages and towns, in the fields and woods, spies and informers plied their odious trade. Magistrates, commissioners and officers were once more on the alert. He also employed thousands of carpenters to cut down and clear away the jungles and forests where Sikhs used to seek shelter so that no hiding places might exist for them. The Sikhs felt dismayed at these activities of their old friend and new foe. They fought several engagements with his moving columns. They moved from place to place, but ultimately found safety in crossing the Sutlej. There they were pursued by Sadiq Beg Khan under strict injunctions from Adina Beg Khan, and were driven out towards Bhatinda.

But nature came to the help of the Sikhs. Just at this juncture Adina Beg was suddenly taken ill with colic, and he passed away at Batala on the 15th September, 1758.¹

HIS CHARACTER

All accounts clearly show that Adina Beg was bold, determined, shrewd, artful, unscrupulous and sometimes cruel. He condemned a confectioner who had declined to supply him with preserves to be boiled alive, as he boiled his own jam. The poor man was saved by the intercession of Adina's guests; but he felt a burning pain in his body ever afterwards.

Nobody can doubt his administrative ability. He gave good government to the country under his charge, at a time when anarchy and confusion were prevailing not only in the Punjab, but all over the country.

In diplomacy and statesmanship he was much above the average. He was the master of the arts and shifts of the diplomacy of the time. He successfully held the balance between the Delhi Emperors, Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Marathas and the Sikhs. He was always ready to intrigue with any power that appeared likely to prove useful to him. While the fortunes of other officials speedily rose and fell with the change of government either at Delhi or Lahore, Adina Beg Khan enjoyed a permanent position.

Clever as he was, he made use of gifts, arms, money and favours, and often employed a mixture of threat and promise, pleasing and persecuting, as it suited circumstances in order to amuse and subdue the Sikhs. He purchased their favour and service when too weak to coerce them, sought their help on conceding all their demands when he wanted to have his own government backed on two occasions, and he persecuted them when he found himself well-established and strong enough to do so.

Adina Beg Khan was not destined to see the autumn of life, and he was lucky even in his health; because otherwise all the overwhelming

1. Miskin, 167 and 182; Ahmad Shah, 882-83; Ali-ud-Din, 18b and 119a; Ratan Singh, 425-27; S. P. D. ii. 96; TALS, 359; Khazan-i-Amira, 101.

forces of Ahmad Shah Abdali, which invaded India one year after his death, and which shattered the Maratha power in the battle of Panipat, would have been first directed against him, to punish him for driving out his son from the Punjab.

HARI RAM GUPTA.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN- ENGLISH VOCABULARY

[The following article may be regarded as a supplement to the author's "Contributions to the Modern Persian-English Vocabulary" which appeared in 10 instalments in the past numbers of *Islamic Culture*. But these contributions to the Classical Vocabulary obviously represent more profound researches by the late Dr. C. E. Wilson, and we are particularly grateful to Mrs. Wilson for kindly enabling us to publish this last scholarly work of her late and lamented husband. Ed.]

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آب

آب بجوی شور گشتن : For "water to become turbid or muddy in the streams" (as by trampling of animals). (Sh. N., I., 446).

بسا کشور اکان بیای ستور بکوبند و گردد بجوی آب شور

The animals will trample many a land, the water became turbid in the streams.

[Siyāvash is speaking to Pīrān, the Vazīr and General-in-Chief of Afrāsiyāb, of the evil fate which is to come upon himself and Persia through wars with Tūrān.]

Used also metaph., as shown by the succeeding equivalent expression,
آب درجوى شور شدن : For "troubles to arise."

آب درجوى شور شدن : For "troubles to arise." (Sh. N., III., 1476).

بمذرجنين گفت بهرام گور که اکنون که شد آب درجوى شور
ازین تخمه گر نام شاهنشهی گسسته شود بگسلد فرهی

To Munzir thus spake Bahrām Gūr, "now that troubles have arisen—If the royal name be cut off from this stock, the glory will be cut off (from the State)."

[Bahrām Gūr, after the death of his father, is seeking the aid of Munzir, King of Hīra, against a usurper.]

چون عصا از دست موسی آب حورد ملکوت فرعون را يك لقمه کرد

When the rod derived power from the hand of Moses, it destroyed the sovereignty of Pharaoh.

[A slave is swearing to the integrity of a fellow-slave by some of the most famous of the prophets and saints who, from the time of Adam, have in succession become incarnations of the Universal Spirit.]

[See Rūmī's *Maṣnavī*, Book II., Translation and Commentary, by C. E. Wilson.]

آب و خون

آب و خون بجوی اندر آوردن : "To mix up the true and the false ; to do mischief in a specious way." (Sh. N., IV., 2020).

بدانست خسرو که آن کثر گوی همان آب و خون اندر آرد بجوی

The King knew that the deceitful man was doing mischief in a specious way.

[Khusrau Parvīz has sent Zād Farrukh with an admonitory message to his rebellious general Gurāz and the army under his command. The envoy after delivering his message encourages them in their rebellion.]

آباد : Besides the more common equivalents, Steingass gives "convenient." This requires confirmation, which, I think, is offered by the ensuing passage ; but I should add, ("as being fit for cultivation and building"). (Sh. N., I., 442).

بجائی رسیدند کآباد بود یکی خوب فرخنده بنیاد بود
* * * *

سیاوش به پیران زبان برگشاد که اینت برو بوم فرخ نهاد
* * * *

برآرم یکی شارسان فراخ بدو اندرون باغ و ایوان و کاخ
نشستن گهی بر فرازم بمه چنان چون بود در خورتاج و گاه

They reached a place that was convenient, (as being fit for cultivation and building)—(a place) well and happily situated.

Siyāvash opened his lips and said to Pīrān, "Here is a region most happily constituted.

I will raise up a spacious city, in which shall be gardens, villas and palaces.

I will raise up to the moon a dwelling-place such as may befit my crown and throne."

[Siyāvash, travelling to dominions conferred upon him by his father-in-law, Afrāsiyāb, King of Tūrān, reaches a charming locality in them in which he determines to build a city and to dwell.]

آبگیر : A "weaver's brush for sprinkling the warp in the loom." The Burhan-e kāfi explains the word by تانه which means "warp." Steingass incorrectly gives "yarn."

ابو تراب : (Lit., "father of dust") : "A name of 'Alī." This name is said to have been given to him by Muḥammad on his return from a battle, and is peculiar to him ; but there is a Persian equivalent in گلخور (lit., "dust eater"), which Steingass explains as "One who swallows the dust (of battle), a warrior."

اتقاء (ittikā) : "Scrupulousness, scruples." (In Turkish Commentary on M., II., 494).

ابلهان تعظیم مسجد میکنند در خرابی اهل دل جد میکنند

The fools give honour to the mosque, (but) make efforts to destroy the pious.

The T. Com. as an illustration of the above speaks of the martyrdom of Ḥusain and his sons at the hands of Yazīd, and says that afterwards some of Yazīd's party entered the Kāba where one of them killed a swarm of mosquitoes.

The legality of killing any living creature in the Kāba being denied by another, the question was referred to a Companion of Muḥammad who told them that their scrupulousness was absolute folly when they had had none in killing Ḥusain and his sons. T. Com.

ای بد بختلر اولاد رسولی واصحاب فحولی قتل ایلمکده اتقا واجتناب ایتمیوب اول
خصوصدن استفتا ایلمد یکر شممدی تعظیما للحرم قتل بعوضه ایتمکده اتقا و پر هیزگارلق
اید رسز بونه حما قتلر و نه عظیم جهالتدر

(The Companion said), "O ill-starred wretches, you had no scruples or reluctance about killing the sons of the Prophet and the noble Companions, nor did you seek any judicial decision upon it ; (but) now, out of respect for the Sanctuary, you are full of scrupulousness and caution as to killing mosquitoes. What folly is this, and what excessive ignorance!"

اثر

“To have an effect.” (M., II., 558).

گرمی عاریتی ندهد اثر گرمی خاصیتی دارد هنر

Borrowed heat has no effect (upon the nature of a substance); natural heat has (its own peculiar) virtue.

[i.e., a substance preserves its own nature whether it be heated or cooled.

An illustration of the fact that essential truth and reality do not change, but are confused in the minds of people by words, which are only factitious.]

احتمال

“To be taken as praise or blame, to have a good or a bad meaning.” (D. Sh., p. 20).

اتفاق کردند که اورا لقبی باید نوشت که احتمال مدح و ذم داشته باشد و نوشتند که سلطان مین الدوله ولی امیر المؤمنین -

They agreed that a title should be given to him which might have a good or a bad meaning; so they wrote (in the Khalif's mandate) the title, “The Sultan, the Right Hand of the State, The Friend (or Slave, ولی) of the Commander of the Faithful.”

[The Khalif has demurred at giving a title to Maḥmūd since he was the son of a slave.]

“To suppose.” (Ch. M., p. 98).

و بواسطه تفاوت محسوس و اختلاف واضحی که مابین نسخه بریتیش موزیم و نسخ دیگر مقامات * * * موجود است ممکن است احتمال بدیم که دو نسخه از مقامات حمیدی بوده است -

And on account of the appreciable difference and manifest discrepancy found between the British Museum copy and the other copies of the Maḥāmāt, we may possibly suppose that there have been two copies of the Maḥāmāt of Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn.

“Worldly, material, circumstances.” (A. M., p. 93).

طائفه باشند که * * * جمع و استکثار اسباب دنیوی بدیشان منسوب نبود * * * و طلب مزید احوال نکنند و ایشان را قلندر یه خوانند -

There is a company of Dervishes who are not concerned with the accumulation of worldly means, and do not seek any increase of material circumstances. They are called Kalandar Dervishes.

اختر

اخترگیتی افروز : "A brilliant horoscope or natal star." (Sh. N., II., 509).

بدوگفت فرخ پی وروز تو همان اخترگیتی افروز تو

He said to him, "Blessed are your comings and your fortunes too ; blessed also is your brilliant horoscope !"

[Gūdarz is speaking to his son Gīv as the person appointed to deliver Prince Kai Khusrau from Tūrān].

اخراج (ikhrāj) : "Subtraction." (Ch. M., p. 192).

و محتمل است که مقصود این باشد که بعد از اخراج خمس دوازده هزار

من سرب بمن رسید-

And it is possible that the meaning may be "After the subtraction of a fifth, twelve thousand maunds of lead came to me."

The text commented upon is as follows :

در مدت هفتاد و روز دوازده هزار من سرب از آن خمس بدین دعا گوی رسید-

ادب

ادب گاه (As evidently equivalent to ادب کده or ادب گاه): "A Kingly court, as a seat of polite manners or refinement." (M., II., p. 553, where the Turkish commentary explains simply by دیوان).

قاصدی دانا ز دیوان ادب سوی هندوستان روان کرد از طلب

(The King) sent off a learned envoy from his court to India for the purpose of seeking (the tree).

[A certain king has heard that in India there is a tree which preserves any one who eats of its fruit from old age and death. He sends an envoy in search of it].

آدم کبیر : "The Universal Spirit." ('A. M., pp. 67-8).

بدان که شریقت موجودی و نزدیکتر مشهودی بحضرت عزت روح اعظم

است که حق سبحانه و تعالی آنرا بخود اضافت کرده است بلفظ من روحی و من روحنا

آدم کبیر و خلیفه اول و ترجمان الهی و مفتاح وجود و قلم ایجاد و جنات ارواح همه

عبارت از اوصاف اوست -

Know that the most noble being and the nearest object of contemplation to God is the Universal Spirit, for God—praised and most high—has attached it to Himself in the words, "*From My Spirit*," and "*From Our Spirit*" the "Great Adam," the "First Deputy," the "Interpreter of God," the "Key of Existence," the "Pen of Creation," and the "Garden of Spirits" are all descriptive of its attributes.

[“*From My Spirit*,” and “*From Our Spirit*” refer respectively to Adam and to Christ, both of whom are considered incarnations of the Universal Spirit.]

آراستن

آراستن: Not in following sense in Steingass. “To celebrate.” (here in words). (Sh. N., IV., 1791).

کنون تاج و اورنگ هر مزد شاه یارایم و بر نشانم بگاه

Now will I celebrate the crown and throne of King Hurmuzd, and seat him on the throne and later :

چورنگت شود زرد بستایم چو دیمیم هر مز یارایم

When your colour becomes yellow I will give you praise, I will celebrate you as the crown of Hurmuzd.

[Firdausī is speaking of the accession of Hurmuzd, the son of Nūshīrvān.]

آراسته: Not in following sense in Steingass.

“Pleased with, set upon.” (with the preposition به). (Sh. N., I., 414).

شمارا بدان مردری خواسته بران گونه بردل شد آراسته

In such manner your hearts have been set upon those worthless riches.

[Kā'ūs, the King of Persia, reproaches Rustam and the party of Siyāvash for taking presents from Afrāsiyāb, the Turanian King.]

بر آراستن: “To prepare,” (intrans.), (Sh. N., IV., 1814).

بر آراست خراد برزین براه پیامد بران سان که فرمود شاه

Kharrād-e Barzīn prepared for the road, and went as the King had commanded.

[Kharrād, a Persian hero, is sent by King Hurmuzd to the General-in-Chief Bahrām-e Chūbīn, after seeing whom, he is to reconnoitre and get information about the army of the enemy, King Sāva.]

آرامیدن: Not in following sense in Steingass.

“To abstain, desist (from):” (with prep. از). (Sh. N., III., 1461).

کسی کو بجوید ز ما راستی یارامد از کژی و کاستی

بهر جای جاه وی افرون کم دل از کینه و آزیرون کم

He who studies uprightness before me, (and) abstains from crooked dealing and falseness—

His grade will I advance in every place ; ill-will and greed will I put from my heart.

[Yazdagird II on his accession admonishes the officers and notables.]

آرایش (ārāyish) : As " Muzāf " is equivalent to " Formal, ceremonious conventional." (Sh. N., IV., 1819).

زما این نه گفتار آرایش است مرا بر تو بر جای بخشایش است

These are no formal words of mine ; there is room for my showing you good-will and favour.

[King Sāva is sending another letter to Bahrām-e Chūbīn, King Yazdagird's, General-in-Chief, to try to gain him over to his side.]

آرزو

آرزو بردن : " To wish, long for.," (with prep. از). (M., II., 68).

دور تست ایرا که موسی کلیم آرزومی برد زین دورت مقیم

It is your cycle, since Moses, the Interlocutor, constantly longed for this cycle of yours.

[Rūmī argues that it is the cycle of Muḥammad and not that of the moon, because Muḥammad split the moon, and Moses longed to be in the cycle of it, having a spiritual prevision of its glories.]

آرزو کر دن کسی را (arzū kardan kasī-rā) : " To be one's wish or desire." (Sh. N., IV., 1762).

جهان تنگ دیدیم بر تنگ خو مرا آرزو زقی نکرد آرزو

We have found worldly possessions to be of narrow compass for the mean ; covetousness and hard dealing are no desire of mine.

ارزیدن : " To be worth." (Generally with prep. به but sometimes without).

Without prep. (Sh. N., IV., 1794) :

چنین گفت کا کنون شود آگهی بدین نا جوان مرد بی فرهی
که موبد بزندان فرستاد چیز تن و جان بر او نیرزد پیشیز

(The Mūbid) said (to himself) : " Intelligence will reach this ignoble and inglorious (king).

That the Mūbid has sent something to the prison—body and life are (surely then) not worth a mite in his view."

[The Chief Priest is thinking of sending food to a Vazīr imprisoned and starved by King Hurmuzd, but at the same time he is fearful of the risk.]

از (Az).

Additions and Illustrations.

از : "According to." (L. A., II., p. 3).

کاروان شهید رفت از پیش وان مارفته گیرومی اندیش
از شمار دو چشم يك تن كم وز حساب خرد هزاران بیش

The caravan of Shahīd has gone before ; take it that mine too has gone, and reflect.

According to the computation of the eyes it is one person less ; according to the computation of the mind it is more than a thousand.

[From an elegy by Rūdakī on the death of Abu'l-Hasan Shahīd of Balkh.]

—"In comparison with, before." (Sh. N., I., 331).

اگر خود شکیم يك چند نیز نکوشیم و دیگر نکویم چیز
که این باره را نیست پایاب اوی درنگی شود شیرزاشت اوی

If, indeed, we abstain (from movement) a little longer, let us strive no more, and have nothing further to say ;

For this fortress has not power to resist him—the lion (itself) is slow in comparison with his impetuosity.

[Gazdahm (Gazdaham), the Commandant of the Dizh-e Sapīd, is writing a letter to King Kai-Ka'ūs to advise swift movement against Suhrāb, the son of Rustam, who is on the side of the Turanians.]

—"On the score of ; as regards." (Sh. N., I., 378, III., 1425). I., 378 :

به بیشه یکی خوبرخ یافتند پر از خنده لب هردو بشتافتند
بدیدار اودر زمانه نبود ز خوبی بروبر بهانه نبود

They found a beautiful damsel in the wood with smiling lips ; and both of them hurried on.

None in the world had so lovely a face : on the score of beauty naught could be alleged against her.

[Gīv and Tūs, two heroes of Kai-Kā'ūs's army, while out hunting, enter a wood, and find there a beautiful damsel, whom they send to the King.]

III., 1425 :

زد هقان و از مرد خسرو پرست بگیتی سوی بد میازید دست

As regards the cultivator and the loyal man, stretch not your hands towards evil-action in the world.

[Bahram I, on his accession, is giving counsel to his nobles and generals.]

——“About, of.” (M., I., 235).

گفت هر رازی نباید باز گفت جفت طاق آید گهی که طاق جفت
از صفا گردم زنی با آینه تیره گردد زود با ما آینه

(The fox) said : “It is not well to tell every secret—sometimes *even* turns up *odd* ; sometimes *odd, even*.”

If you speak about clearness and purity to the mirror, it soon becomes turbid before us.”

[A fox has concerted a plan against a lion with which it is in difficulties and is asked by the other animals to disclose it, so that they may advise.]

——“For, for the achievement of, for the purpose of, as regards.” (M., II., 264).

کم نمودن مرورا پروز بود که حقش یار و طریق آموز بود
آنکه حق پشتش نباشد از ظفر وای اگر گربه اش نماید شیر تر

Their appearing few to him (Muhammad) was fortunate for him because God was his friend and guide.

(But) he whose support God is not for the achievement of victory—alas ! if a male lion appear (but) a cat to him !

[Rūmī is warning against the danger of underestimating misfortunes unless one has the special favour of God, as Muhammad had in fighting against the infidels].

M., II., 553 :

قاصد دانا زد یوان ادب سوی هندوستان روان کرد از طلب

(The King) sent of a learned envoy from his court to India for the purpose of seeking (the tree).

(See under ادب for note).

——“To.” In several locutions از means “to”; e.g. تقویت از متحصنین: “Support to those who take refuge in strong places,” (such as embassies). (پذیرائی کردن از. (lit., “to give a reception to”). (اتحاد 1922, No. 217, p. 4). “To receive.” (Shāh’s Diary, *passim*).*

*This does not seem to be quite clear (Ed. I. C.)

از before nouns may form adverbial locutions. از ستیز: "Injuriously, aggressively, perversely." (M., II., 349).

گفت ای سگ صوفی باشد که تیز اندر آئی باغ ما تو از ستیز

He exclaimed, "O dog! is it Sūfiism that, without waiting for permission, you force your way injuriously into my garden?"

[Meanings of ستیز in B. and F. are تعدی and نظم.]

از ستیزه: "Litigiously, in contention." (M., II., 534).

و در نرقی و ز ستیزه شسته تو بمعنی رفته بگسسته

And if you do not go, but sit (with me) in contention, you have, in reality, gone, and are sundered (from me).

آزردن: Sometimes used passively. (Sh. N., IV., 1860).

چو آگاهی آمد بهر مهتری که بد مر زبان بر سر کشوری
که خسرو بیازرد از شهر یار بر قنست با خوارمایه سوار
پر سشی بر فتند گردن کشان بجائی که بود از گرامی نشان

When intelligence reached every lord who was governor of a province

That Khusrau (Parvīz) was angered at the King (his father), and had left with a small body of troops,

Those exalted men went to visit the revered prince where they had indications of his being.

[The ambitious general Bahrām-e Chūbin has excited King Hurmuzd against his son, and the latter, knowing that his father designs putting him to death, flees.]

آزرم

آزرم: (An illustration of the meaning "Commiseration"). (Sh. N. II., 527).

دل شاه بر پهلوان گرم دید رخانش پر از آب و آزر م دید

(Gīv) saw that the King's heart was kindly disposed towards the hero; saw the tears running down his face and his commiseration.

[Pīrān, the Vazīr and General-in-Chief of Afrāsiyāb, is taken captive, by the Persian General Gīv, who has sworn to kill him. The prince Kai-Khusrau and his mother Faragīs before whom he is led by Gīv, intercede and the latter is absolved from his oath by a device of Kai-Khusrau's.]

آزرم جوی (with را) : " Having just and good feeling " (for). (Sh. N., IV., 1845).

کسی کو ترانیست آزرم جوی چه جوئی چه خواهی ازو آبروی

From him who has no just and kind feeling for you why do you seek or wish for honour ?

آزرم جستن (with اضافت) : " To have respect or regard " (for). (Sh. N., IV., 1865).

پس آنکه چنین گفت گسته‌م گرد بشکر که این خوار توان شمرد
که گر گشت خواهید با ما یکی مجوئید آزرم شاه اند کی

Then Gustahm the champion spake thus to the troops, " This must not be reckoned a trifling affair.

If you really wish to join us, you must have no regard at all for the King."

[Gustahm and Bandūy are plotting against King Hurmuzd who has become tyrannical and whom they afterwards blind.]

آزمون

آزمون راشدن : " To be put to the test " ; or, " to put one-self to the test." (Sh. N., IV., 1746).

بدو گفت شاه این نشاید بدن مگر آزمون را باید شدن

The King said to him : " This cannot be ; but it should be put to the test."

[The physician Barzūy speaks to King Nūshīrvān of a herb to be found in India which can restore the dead to life.]

آزمون را گردیدن (with بر of the person against whom one may be put, or put one-self, to the test). (Sh. N., I., 327).

به پیش سیاه اندر آمد چو گرد چورعد خروشان یکی ویله کرد
که گردان کدامند و سالار کیست ز رزم آوران جنگ را یار کیست
که بر من یکی آزمون را بجنگ بگردد بسان دلاور نهنگ

Like flying dust she rode on to the front of the troops, and like the roaring thunder raised a cry :

" Which are the champions, and who is their leader ? Who of the warriors, is a friend to strife,

And like the bold crocodile will test himself in battle against me ?"

[Gurd-Āfarīd, the daughter of Gazhdahm, the Persian Commandant of the fortress Dizh-e Sapīd, is the person alluded to. She fights against Suhrāb, but has to flee.]

آسانی : "Peaceableness, mildness, gentleness." (Sh. N., IV., 1739).

تراسربه پیچید دستور بد ز آسانی و رای و راه خرد

(Gau said) : "A wicked Vazīr has turned your head from peaceableness, good judgment, and the path of wisdom."

The sense "peaceableness" or "mildness" is supported by a previous line.

بد و گفت رو با برادر بگوئی که چندین درشتی و تندى مجوى

(Gau) said to him (the envoy) : "Go, and say to my brother, 'Do not use such harshness and fierceness.'"

[Talhand and his elder half-brother Gau are contending for the sovereignty of a kingdom in India. In the text they are called brothers, sons of King Yamhūr, but in the glossary, cousins.]

اسباب چینی : "Finding (unjust) pretexts." (Beck's Persian Grammar, page 467).

میدانید هر کس مبادیوان است اهل محل بو سایل چند در فکر اسباب چینی
بر میانند که همیشه بر مقاصد فاسد خود نائل شوند.

(Your Royal Highness) knows that when a person is in the position of Supervisor of taxes the local collectors begin to think of finding by some means or other unjust pretexts (to his prejudice) in order always to achieve their corrupt ends.

[The above is from a petition addressed to a royal Governor by a Supervisor of taxes who has been imprisoned, as it appears, on a charge of malversation. Beck reads اسباب چینی (asbāb-e jīnī), but I doubt whether the petitioner would know such a word as "jīn."]

In Ibrāhīm Beg's "Siyāḥat Nāma" we have too an example of the compound اسباب چینی

اسپه (Ispah) : "Army." (M., II., 345). Cf. اسپهبد : "General."
(ایستادن) استادن

(استادن) ایستادن : "To set to work." See

استبعاد : "Thinking improbable."

See Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary, 1890. Cf. also بعید "improbable," in the same.

استعانت

استعانت آوردن (with prep. به): "To ask help" (of). (Daulat Shāh, p. 226, cl. 9-10).

چون شاهزاده یادگار محمد شکسته و منکوب شد باز استعانت با میر کبیر ابوالنصر حسن بیگ آورد.

When Prince Yādgār Muḥammad was defeated and in a calamitous state, he again asked help of the great Amīr Abu'n-Naṣr Ḥasan Beg.

استوار

استوار بودن (with prep. به): "To have reliance" (upon). (Sh. N., IV., 1702).

کلید شبستان بدو داد و گفت برو تا کرایینی اندر نهفت
یرستنده باوی بیامد چهار که خاقان بدیشان بدی استوار

(The Khākān) gave him the key of the ḥarem and said: "Go and see whom you will see in those private rooms."

With (Mihrān Satād) went four servants upon whom the Khākān had reliance.

استوار نمودن: "To secure, make secure." ('Alī Riṣā's Zend Dynasty, ed. Beer, p. 45).

اهالی گله دار از بیم آن دریائی خونخوار بالمره با کوچ و بنه و اموال و اسباب خود
بجانب بندر عسلویه فرار و سفاین در کنار بلنگر قرار استوار نموده مستعد و منتظر گشتند.

The inhabitants of Galladār through fear of that bloodthirsty sea, one and all with their families, goods, chattels, and effects fled to the port of 'Asalūya, and by anchors firmly securing many vessels at the coast of the (Persian) Gulf, awaited expectant and prepared.

[Lutf 'Alī Khān, the last of the Zend Dynasty, is proceeding on a punitive expedition against the people of Galladār, a district S. W. of Fars, near the coast of the Persian Gulf. The people in terror flee to the port of 'Asalū, and afterwards to Shu'rib, an island in the Persian Gulf.]

استواری: "Security." (as امانت).

در استواری شدن: "To become secure, to be secured." (Haft Paikar, p. 74).

چون بدان محکمى حصارى بست رفت و چون گنج در حصار نشست
گنج او چون در استوارى شد نام او بانوى حصارى شد

When she had built a castle of such strength, she went and treasure-like remained in it.

Her treasure thus secured, to her was given the name of "Lady of the Castle-keep."

[From the Story of the Russian Princess, told in the Red Dome.]

استيدان

استيدان نمودن (with prep. از): "To ask permission" (for). (Mīr Khvānd's Khvārazm-Shāhs, Paris, 1842. p. 90.)

عنان عزيمت بارديگر بجانب خوزستان معطوف ساخت و رسولی پيش براق حاجب
فرستاده از توجه خویش بجانب کرمان استيدان نمود.

Once more departing for Khūzistān (Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn) sent to Burāk Hājib to ask permission for his proceeding to Kirmān.

[Burāk Hājib, a Kāra-Khiṭāyan, has usurped the Government of Kirman which had been conferred on Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn by his father Muḥammad the Khvārazm-Shāh.]

آستين

آستين بر رخ (Cf. "To veil one's face with one's sleeve." (Sh. N., IV., 1805). (کشیدن

مگر مادرت بر سرافسر نداشت همان ياره و طوق و زيور نداشت
نشسته سرافکنده بی گفتگوی ز شرم آستين را گرفته بروی

But your mother had no crown upon her head ; nor had she bracelets, necklace, or adornments.

Seated, with head bent down, she spoke no word ; in modesty she veiled her head with her sleeve.

[Mīhrān Satād, now a very old man, is telling King Hurmuzd about his mother, the daughter of the Khākān of Turkistān, and his wife the Khātūn. The Khākān had promised one of his five daughters to Nūshīrvān, Hurmuzd's father, and Mīhrān Satād had chosen the one who was royal on both sides as being the only daughter of the Khātūn. Cf. Sh. N., IV., 1702.]

اسلام آوردن : "To become a Muslim." (Ch. M., p. 204) :

جد اعلای وی اشعث بن قیس از صحابه حضرت رسول بود و در خلافت ابوبکر
مرتد شد و باز اسلام آورد -

His most remote ancestor (up to the time of Muḥammad) was Ash'ath b. Qais, a Companion of his Eminence the Prophet, who apostasized in the Khalifate of Abu Bakr, but once again became a Muslim.

[From an account of Kindī, the famous Arab philosopher.]

آسودن (with prep. از of the person or thing, and از or, sometimes, بر of the thing): "To have no more to do" (with), "To have done" (with), "to desist" (from). (Sh. N., II., 505).

میا سای برکین از افراسیاب زدل دور کن خورد و آرام و خواب

Do not desist from hostility with Afrāsiyāb; put from your heart, (the thought of) food, rest, and sleep. (Lit., Do not have done with Afrāsiyāb as regards hostility).

[Rustam is urging Farāmurz, the son of Kai-Kā'ūs, to take revenge for his brother Siyāvash who had been killed by Afrāsiyāb.]

اشتباه

(کسی را بکسی): "To confuse" (one person with another). (Ch. M., p. 111).

مصنف درین حکایت اشتباه نموده است سلطان مسعود را سلطان سنجر -

The author in this story has confused Sultān Mas'ūd with Sultān Sanjar, (i.e., he has spoken of Sanjar as the person who fought against the Khalif, when it was Mas'ūd, his nephew).

[In the ensuing battle the Khalif, Al-Mustarshid bi'llāh, was taken prisoner; and at Marāgha in Azarbijān assassinated by emissaries of the successor of Ḥasan Ṣabbāh.]

اشراف: "Agency, administration, office of agent or administrator." (Ch. M., p. 139, l. 12).

در مدت نزدیک از دولت * سلطان * ابراهیم ***** چندین ترتیب یافت و صلت‌های
گران است و شغل اشراف ترمک بد و مفوض شد -

In a short time under the royal power of Sultān Ibrāhīm he received great encouragement and weighty presents, and was entrusted with the administration of Tarmak.

[The person in question is Abū Ḥanīfa Iskāfī, the poet, and the account of him is by Baiḥaqī in his Ta'rikh-e Mas'ūdī.]

اصل (aṣl) : "The essential constitution" (of a thing).

اصول عشره : Steingass: "The ten primary intelligences first created by God." To this should have been added : "These are the intelligences of the empyrean, the sphere of the fixed stars, the seven planets, and the earth."

(اضافه) اضافت

اسم پسر را بنام پدر اضافه کردن "To indicate the relationship of son to father by the genitive." (Ch. M., p. 142).

مسعود سعد سلمان یعنی مسعود بن سعد بن سلمان بر سم زبان فارسی که اسم پسر را بنام پدر یا جد اضافه می کنند بدون اتمام لفظ ابن

Mas'ūd of Sa'd of Salmān ; i.e., Mas'ūd the son of Sa'd the son of Salmān—in accordance with the Persian language, in which the relationship of son to father or grandfather is indicated by the genitive without the interposition of the word "son."

اعتبار (i'tibār) : (Consideration, respect).

بااعتبار اینکه آن موجب حیات است : "In respect of its being the cause of life."

آغاز

آغاز کردن : "To act." [Ilāhī Nāma, p. 912. (*et passim*)].

مرا اگر جستیی اسباب و املاك زروسیمم همه بودی ترا پاك
و لیکن چون مرا بفروختی باز سزای همت تو کردم آغاز

If you had sought *me*, my goods and lands, my gold and silver would have been entirely yours.

But since you gave me up (for gold), I have acted as became your (poor) spirit,

[Zubaida has punished and is reprobating a ṣūfī, who having caught a glimpse of her face makes an outcry as one distracted by love, but desists on receiving a purse of gold sent by Zubaida to quiet him.]

اغرا (ighrā) (with prep. به) : "Leading" (to). (Ch. M., p. 172).

این گونه تصرفات علاوه بر اغرا بجهل خیانت بود ایع متقدمین است.

Such arbitrary modifications, besides leading to ignorance, are dishonesty as regards the deposits left to our charge by earlier writers.

[The author of the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahā* is charged here with changing the name Tughānshāh b. Muḥammad to Tughānshāh b. Mu'aiyad in a Eulogy by the poet Azrakī.]

افراز (afrāz).

برافراز (with اضافت) used (as برافراز) in sense of "On." (Sh. N., II., 522).

بنیروی یزدان جان آفرین سوارى نما نم برافرازین

Through the might of God, the Creator of souls, I will not leave a single horseman on the saddle.

[Words of Gīv, a Persian General, before a battle with Pīrān the Vazīr of Afrāsiyāb.]

(فروختن) افر وختن

(بر فروختن) : " To rejoice." (M., II., 499).

علم تقلیدى بود بهر فروخت چون ییابد مشتری خوش بر فروخت

Servile, imitative knowledge is a thing for sale; when it finds a customer it rejoices heartily.

———" To fire up in anger." (Siyāsat Nāma, p. 50).

مرد درزى دوى ترش کرد و گره برافروخت و گفت * * اگر از این صد دینار یک جو
بر خود حلال کنم بر تو ظالمتر از این ترک باشم -

The tailor looked sour and frowned; he fired up in anger and said: " If I justify myself in taking one grain of these hundred 'dīnārs' I shall be more unjust to you than this Turk."

آفرینش (āfarīnish).

(حکم روا) : " The Creator." (Sh. N., II., 527). (Cf. روا).

بد و گفت کای شاه دل شاد دار روان را ازین کار آزاد دار

چومن صد هزاران فدای تو باد خرد ز آفرینش روای تو باد

(Gīv) said to him: " Keep your heart joyous, O King, keep your soul easy as to this affair.—

A hundred thousand such as I be sacrificed for you! May you have wisdom from your Creator ! "

[Gīv, the Persian General, is speaking to Prince Kai-Khusrau when consenting to release Pīrān, the Vazīr of Afrāsiyāb.]

(افزودن) (active, passive, or neuter).

افزودن (with prep. بر) : " To increase " (active), " to add " (to). (Ch. M., p. 102).

بعد از آنکه امیر نوح وفات نمود و امیر رشید عبدالمک بن نوح در سنه ۳۴۳ بجای او بنشست اسکافی را در همان منصب برقرار داشت و بر مرتبتش بیفزود.

After the death of the Amīr Nūḥ, the "well-directed" Amīr 'Abdu'l Malik b. Nūḥ in the year 954 A.D. took his place, and keeping Iskāfi in the same high office, added to his honours.

[Abu'l-Ḳāsim Iskāfi, the famous Secretary, had been in the service of the Sāmānide Amīr Nūḥ.]

افزودن (with prep. بر): "To be increased, added" (to); "to increase," (neuter). (Sh. N., IV., 1859).

چونامه بنزدیک هر مز رسید رخس گشت ازان نامه چون شنید
پس آگاهی آمدز میخ درم یکا یک بران غم بر افزود غم

When the letter reached Hurmuzd, his face became through it like fenugreek.

The news came to him of the die for coining, and suddenly grief was added to grief.

[The letter is from the ambitious general Bahrām-e Chūbīn who is trying to set King Hurmuzd against his son Khusrau Parvīz, in whose name he has caused coin to be struck.]

برفروندن (with prep. بر): "To exalt" (Masnavī, II., 487).

زوبعان زیرک آخر زمان برفزوده خویش بر پیشینیان

The keen-witted vile ones of these latter days have exalted themselves above the holy ones of old.

[Rūmī is speaking of philosophers and rationalists, who think themselves wiser than the body of elders in Islam.]

افزودن (with prep. از): "To be exalted" (through, by, by means of). (Sh. N., IV., 2047).

بسه چیز باشد زنان را بهی که باشند زیبای تحت مہی
یکی آنکه با شرم و با خواسته که جفتش بدو خانه آراسته
دگر آنکه فرخ پسر زاید او زشوی خجسته بیفزاید او
سدیگر که بالا و رویش بود بپوشیدگی نیز خویش بود

A woman has excellence in three things, the possession of which may fit her for the throne of greatness.

First she should have modesty and wealth, by which her husband may adorn his house.

Secondly, she should bear a felicitous son, and thus be exalted by her blessed husband.

Thirdly, she should be tall and handsome, and be also disposed to retirement.

[Shirīn, the widow of King Khusrau Parvīz, is enumerating the qualifications a woman should have to fit her to be the wife of a king.]

افزودن (with prep. بر) as regular passive, or neuter of افزوده شدن (trans.): "To be increased, to increase." (Ch. M., p. 227).

در سال ۱۸۹۵ جلسه عمومی از جمیع اعضای انجمن عمرخیا م * * منعقد گردید و بر عده اعضای آن خیلی افزوده شده بود.

In 1895 a general assembly of all the members of the Omer Khaiyām Club was held, and the number of its members had greatly increased.

[The learned Commentator on the Chahār Maḳāla is giving an account of the 'Omer-e Khaiyām "movement."]

افزودن (with prep. در) does not mean "to increase in," but simply "to increase" (neuter), "to be increased." E.g. در آن افزود: "That (thing) was increased," i.e., something was added to it.

افزون has often the sense of "to make abundant, great, in measure or quantity."

افزون

افزون or فزون: "Superfluous." (Masnavī, II., 42).

گفت خادام را که در آخر برو راست کن بهر بهیمه کاه و جو
گفت لاحول این چه افزون گفتن است از قدیم این کارها کار منست

He said to the servant: "Go into the stable, and prepare the (chopped) straw and barley properly for the animal."

(The servant) answered: "There is no power (except in God). What superfluous speaking is this! This business has been mine for many a day."

(Masnavī, II., 552):

گفت نحوی زید عمر و آقد ضرب گفت چونش کرد بی جرمی ادب
* * * * *

زید و عمر و از بهر اعرابست و ساز گردد و غست آن تو با اعراب ساز

گفت فی من آن ندانم عمرو را زید چون زد بی گناه و بی خطا
گفت از ناچار و لاغی برگشود عمرو يك واوی فزون دز دیده بود

A grammarian says : “ *Zaid struck ‘Amrw.*” “ (The fool says) : “ Why did he strike him without any offence (on his part) ?”

(The grammarian answers) : “ Zaid and ‘Amrw are devised to show the case-endings ; although (the assertion) is untrue, make your account with (the lesson of) the case-endings.”

He exclaims : “ Nay, I know not of that ; why did Zaid strike ‘Amrw without offence or fault (on his part) ?”

The grammarian is reduced to making up a jest, and says : “ ‘ Amrw has stolen a superfluous ‘w.’ ”

[عمرو (‘Amrw), of course, is written so to distinguish it from عمر (‘Umar)].

افزونی کردن : “ To ask too much, to overcharge.” Cf. (Masnavī, II., 74).

گفت فی از صوفیان افزون بگو نیم دینارت دهم دیگر مگو

He said, “ Nay ; do not ask too much from Şūfīs ; I will give you half a dīnār—say no more.”

[The dying Shaikh Aḥmad-e Khizrūya has sent his servant out to buy ḥalvā for his discontented creditors who are with him.]

افزون شدن (with prep. از) : “ To have growth and increase ” (from). (Masnavī, I., 480).

اصل روغن ز آب افزون میشود عاقبت با آب ضد چون میشود
چونکه روغن را ز آب سرشته اند آب با روغن چر ا ضد گشته اند

The principle of oil (in the tree) has growth and increase from water how then does it afterwards become antagonistic to water ?

Since oil is fashioned by means of water, why do water and oil become antagonists ?

[The answer is that water, and the complex oil are two different entities in this world of multiplicity, and things which are different may be antagonistic. In the world of the Divine Unity all things, all opposites are reconciled in the One.]

افزون شدن : “ To increase ” (neuter), “ to be increased.” (Sh. N., IV., 1853).

جويز دات ترا فرهی داد و بخت همان لشکر و گنج و مردی و تخت
از و گر پذیری با فرون شود دل از ناسپاسی پراز خون شود

(Yalān-Sīna said) : " Since God has given you glory and good fortune, (has given you) an army, treasure, valour, and the throne,—

If you accept (all this) from Him (gratefully), it will be increased, (but) the heart through ingratitude becomes deeply afflicted."

[Bahrām-e Chūbīn is consulting with the generals (of whom Yalān-Sīna is one) as to his usurping the sovereignty from Hurmuzd.]

(افرونی) : "Supereminence." (Sh. N., III., 1456).

بدان ای برادر که از شهریار بجوید خردمند هر گونه کار
یکی آنکه پیر و زگر باشد اوی ز دشمن نسا بد که جنگ روی
دگر آنکه لشکر بدارد بداد بداند فرونی مرد نژاد
کسی کز در پادشاهی بود بخواهد که مهتر سیاهی بود

Know, my brother, that the wise man seeks many conditions in a king :-

One, that he should be victorious, and in the time of battle not turn his face from the foe.

Another, that he should maintain his army with justice, and that he should recognize the supereminence of the man of race (for it).

The person who is fitted for sovereignty requires the soldier to be a man of good position.

[The dying King Shāpūr II gives counsel to his brother Ardashīr whom he is making Regent during the minority of his own son Shāpūr.]

افسون

افسون بردن (with prep. اندر for در) : "To assuage, to soothe." (Sh. N., I., 339).

بشد طوس و دست تهمتن گرفت بد و مانده پر خاش جویان شگفت
که از پیش کاؤس بیرون برد مگر اندرات تیزی افسون برد

Tūs went and seized the mighty hero's hand—the warriors (there) astounded at his act—

To take him from the presence of Kai Kā'ūs whose wrath he might perchance (so far) assuage.

[The hero is Rustam who with Gīv has incurred King Kai Kā'ūs's anger on account of their delay.]

افسون دمیدن (فسون) (with بر): "To breathe an incantation"; i.e., in M., II., 362, "To utter a prayer" (over).

دوزخی افروخت بروی دم فسون ای دم تو از دم دریا فروت

A hell has blazed up; breathe an incantation over it, O you whose breathing is greater and more excellent than the breathing of the sea.

افگندن

A "horse-tamer." (Sh. N., III., 463).

سواریم و گردیم واسپ افکنیم کسی را که دانا بود بشکنیم

We are riders, champions, and horse-tamers; we look down on him who is (merely) learned.

[The Arab King of Hira is urging his claim to bringing up the infant Prince Bahrām (Gūr).]

برافگندن: "To tame, to break in, to control" (horses). (Sh. N., III., 465).

چو شد سالی آن نامور بر سه شش دلاور گوی گشت خورشید فش
 بموبد نبودش بپیزی بیاز زفر هنگ و چوگان وازیوز و باز
 با ورد که بر عنایت یافتن برافگندن اسپ و هم تاختر

When the illustrious Prince was eighteen years old, he became bold champion, in aspect like the sun.

He had no more need of the instructor for anything—for learning, polo-playing, hunting or falconry,

For manoeuvring his horses on the battlefield, for controlling or for racing it.

[Under the King of Hira's care Bahrām Gūr's education is now completed.]

باز افگندن: "To avert." (Daulatshāh, p. 228).

بران باش تا جنگ باز افکنی اگر خود بدانی که می بشکنی
 و رآید که چاره نباشد ز جنگ جگر باید آنجا و سختی درنگ

Endeavour to avert war, although you may know that you will conquer;

But if it happen that you cannot escape it, then boldness is expedient and delay is calamity.

افگندنی: "A carpet," (Sh. N., III., 1496).

بشد پا کدل تا باخان جهود همه خانه دیا و دینار بود
 ز پوشیدنی هم ز افگندنی ز کستر دنی هم ز آگندنی

The honourable man went to the Jew's house, and found the whole place full of brocade and gold coin:

Dresses and also carpets, bed-furniture as well, and stored-up treasure.

[Bahrām Gūr has been treated inhospitably by a Jew who does not know him, and he afterwards bestows all the Jew's wealth upon a generous water-carrier who has treated him well.]

افگنده "Missiles" (such as arrows and javelins). (Sh. N., IV., 1741).

توگفتی هوا تیغ بارد همی بخاک اندرون لاله کارد همی
زا فگنده گیتی بران گونه گشت که کرگس نیارست بر سرگذشت

It was as though the air were raining swords ; were planting in the ground anemones ;

The world became in such state through the missiles that overhead the vultures could not pass.

["Planting anemones, (or tulips)"; a reference to the blood shed in the battle].

آگندنی "Treasure," (such as coin and jewels). See, (under افگندن),
افگندنی (Sh. N., III., 1496).

ز پوشیدنی هم ز افگندنی ز گسترده هم ز آگندنی

آگهی (āgahē) : "One who knows." (M., II., 207).

تیر را مشکن که این تیر شمیست نیست پرتابی زشت آگهی ست

Do not break the arrow, for it is the arrow of a king. It is not an arrow of long range ; it is from the thumb-stall of one who knows.

[The "arrow" is anything that happens in accordance with God's preordination.]

الا (illā) : "Though." (M., II., 216).

صبغته الله هست رنگ خم هو پیشه هایك رنگ گردد اندرو
چون دران خم افتد وگویش قم از طرب گوید منم خم لا تلم
آن منم خم خودانا الحق گفتنست رنگ آتش دارد الا آهنست

"The baptism of God" is (by) the dye of the jar of God's nature ; all rites and practices become of one colour in it.

When (the Šūfī) falls into the jar, and you say to him, "Arise?" he says with joy, "I am the jar ; blame me not."

That (saying), "I am the jar," is saying, "I am God : " he has the colour of the fire, though he is iron.

[See translation of Masnavī (Book II) and Commentary by C. E. Wilson.]

الحاح

الحاح نمودن (with بر): "To persist" (in). ('Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif, p. 77).

واما فرق میان خاطر نفسانی و خاطر شیطانی آنست که خاطر نفسانی بنور ذکر منقطع نشود و بر تقاضای مطلوب خود الحاح نماید تا بمراد رسد اگر چه سالها بران بگذرد.

But the difference between the carnal spirit and suggestion and the Satanic is that the former does not fail or cease through the light of the commemoration of God, but persists in dunning for its object until it reaches it, although years may pass (before it do so).

الف (ilf) (as ألفت): "Intimacy, friendship." (M., I., 279).

زندگانی ز آشتی ضدهاست مرکه دان اندر میا نشان جنگ خاست
لطف حق این شیر را و گور را الف دادست این دوزخ دور را

Life is from the concord of opposites; know strife among them as death.

The favour of God has given friendship and intimacy to such lion and omager, to two opposites so remote from one another.

[That is, it is only the favour of God that harmonises opposites in the phenomenal world for a time. In the spiritual world they are united indissolubly in the Universal Spirit.]

امان

امان انگيختن: "To cry for protection." (Masnavī, II., 227).

جهل تر ساين امان انگيخته زان خداوندی که گشت آويخته

See the folly of the Christian who cries for protection to that Lord who was crucified!

[The folly is in his crying for protection to one who, according to his belief, was overcome by the Jews and crucified. The Muslim thinks someone was substituted and that Christ escaped.]

امتحان

در امتحان: "For examining, testing." See under, در for examples of that preposition in the sense of "for."

در امتحان آوردن: "To put to a test." (Masnavī, II., 149).

زانکه من در امتحان آرم ورا شرمساری آیدت در ما ورا

Because I shall put him to a test ; and you may suffer shame in the issue.

[A King, purposing to test the character of two slaves, questions one in the absence of the other, and suspects him of self-interest in his exaggerated praise of his absent fellow-slave.]

آمدن

باز آمدن (with prep. بر) : "To go back" (upon), "to alter," (as an opinion, a judgment). (Sh. N., IV., 1915).

• زهرگونه داستان ها زدیم بران رای پیشینه باز آمدیم
کنون رای و گفتارها شد بین گشایم در گنجهای کهن

We have discussed (the matter) in every wise ; we have gone back upon our former judgment.

Our judgment and words now have a definite issue : I will open the door of my old treasures.

[The Kaisar has decided to make friends with and help Khusrau Parvīz who is opposed by the ambitious general Bahrām-e Chūbīn.]

بر آمدن (with prep. از) : "To be separated" (from) ; "To separate" (from), medial. (Siyāsāt Nāma, pp. 51 & 52).

p. 51 :

و نیز شویم بطلاق سوگند خورده است که اگر غائب شوم از او برآیم -

And also my husband has sworn to divorce me—(to wit), if I be (found) absent I shall be separated from him.

[An awkward sentence. Should غائب شود be غائب شوم].

p. 52 :

چون فراز آید بخانه شوهرش برم تا باری از شوی بر نیاید -

When she approaches I will take her to her husband's house, so that at least she may not be separated from him.

بر آمدن (with prep. از) has also the sense of "To take an aversion" (to) : (Sh. N., IV., 1864).

چو آگاهی آمد سوی شهریار ز آئین گشسپ آن گونا مدار
زانده دربار دادن بیست ندیدش کسی نیز بامی بدست
برآمد ز آرام و از خورد و خواب همی بود بدیدگان پر ز آب

When information reached the King of (the fate of) Āyīn Gushasp, that renowned hero,

In his affliction he closed the door of audience ; no one saw him more with wine in hand.

He took an aversion to rest, to food, and sleep, and there remained with tearful eyes.

[Āyīn Gushasp has been sent by King Hurmuzd against the ambitious general Bahrām-e Chūbīn. Before leaving he induces the King to free a prisoner of very bad character, but a fellow-townsmen of his who has pleaded to accompany him. Ultimately he is assassinated by this man.]

فرود آمدن و برنشستن : "To dismount." See فرود آمدن : "To be practised in riding." (Lit., "To dismount and to mount.")

نگون اندر آمدن : "To fall headlong down." See under نگون .

انابت : "Excuse, apology." (Andalīb, the modern poet).

اناس (unās), as ناس : "Men, mankind."

انتظار

انتظار دادن (with dative) : "To make (one) wait." (L. A., I., 126).

ستر عمارى گل کرد صبا باز و گفت بلبلی بیچاره را چند دهی انتظار

The zephyr has drawn back the curtain of the litter of the rose, saying, "How long would you make the hapless nightingale wait?"

[From a Eulogy by the Vazīr Fakhru'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh in praise of Saifu'd-Dīn, Sultan of Ghor and Ghaznī.]

انتقادی : "Critical." (Ch. M., p. 90).

بعضی حواشی انتقادیہ و تاریخیہ و لغویہ و غیرہا .

Some comments, critical, historical, linguistic, etc.

انجمن

انجمن شدن : "To be assembled together." (Steingass gives only the difference being, of course, between "becoming" and "being.") (Sh. N., II., 506).

کنون انجمن گر پر اگنده ایم همه پیش تو یک یک بنده ایم

Now, whether assembled together or scattered, we are one and all slaves to you.

[After Rustam has devastated Tūrān, the chiefs come and protest their hatred of their King Afrāsiyāb and his tyranny.]

انداختن : "To calculate, deliberate." (Cf. اندازه or انداز کردن). (Sh. N., II., 503).

فراوان بگفتند و انداختند مر آن کار را چاره شناختند

They spoke at great length and much deliberated, but they could see no remedy for the matter.

[The young Prince Kai-Khusrau is consulting with his mother in Tūrān on measures to be taken against the plans of Afrāsiyāb.]

در : "Towards, for." (M., II., 375).

رجف کرد اندر هلاک هر دعی فهم کرد از حق که یا ارض ابلی

(The earth) has quaked for the destruction of every villain; (and it) understood (the command) of God, "O earth, swallow up (thy water)!"

[See Masnavī, Book II, by C. E. Wilson, under the heading, "A dog attacks a blind mendicant.]"

اندری : "Internal, at home." (Nāṣir-e Khusrau, in Haft Iklim, p. 315b). "stranger, foreign" (as opposed to درونی).

اندیشه

از : "To reflect" (upon). (Sh. N., I., 443).

کنون برگشایم در داستان سخنهای شایسته باستان

یکی داستان گویم بس شگفت که اندیشه از وی توان برگرفت

ز گنگ سیاهوش گویم سخن وزان شهر و آن داستان کهن

Now I will open the door of story (in) words worthy of the ancient times.

I will tell you a most wondrous story, upon which one may well reflect.

I will speak of the Gang (-Fortress) of Siyāvash, of his city, and the ancient legend (about them).

انس : "Tameness"; (opposed to وحشیت).

انس گرفتن : "To become tame." (Ch. M., p. 139).

وحشی چیز است ملک و دانم از آن این کون شود هیچ گونه بسته با نسان

بندش بعد است و چون بعدل ببندیش انسی گیرد همه دگر شودش سان

Sovereignty is a wild thing, and from that I know that it can in no way be bound by man.

Its bonds are justice, and when by justice you bind it, it becomes tame, and all else is facilitated.

[From a Qasida by Abū Ḥanīfa Iskāfī. "بسته با نسان" "bound by man," may also be rendered "connected with man" "social." انیس who is "social."]

آنگاه (آنکه)

آنگهانی (as pl. of آنکهی): "At those particular times, then." (M., I., 297).

توز چشم انگشت را بردار هین و آنگهانی هر چه می خواهی بین

Come, take your fingers from your eyes, and then see whatever you will.

آواز

آواز بر کشیدن: "To call out; to raise the voice." (Haft P., p. 76).

شد سوی خانه با هزار درود مطرب آواز بر کشید سرود

Followed by thousand blessings he went home, (while) minstrels raised their voices high in song.

آوردن

آوردن may have the sense of "to delay, to wait," with ساعتی: "a moment." (Sh. N., IV., 1806).

سپاسم ز یزدان ازان مرد پیر بر آمد چنین گفته ناگزیر
اگر ساعتی دیگر آوردمی بمردی و بسیا رغم خوردمی

Thanks be to God that words so indispensable have been uttered by that old man;

For if I had delayed another moment he would have died, and I should have suffered much sorrow.

آوردن: "To set forth, to adduce," (e. g., as a cause). (M., II., 434).

چون ترا شه ز آستانه پیش خواند باز سوی آستانه باز راند
تو یقین میداد که جرمی کرده جبر را از جهل پیش آورده

When the King has called you before (him) from the threshold, and has again driven you back to the threshold,

Know, you, for certain that you have committed a sin, (though), in your ignorance and folly, you adduce predestination (as the cause).

در آوردن (with prep. به): "To put" (into), "to translate" (into). (Ch. M., p. 176).

در حدود سنه ۶۰۰ هجری بهاء الدین محمد که دبیر * * * آخرین از ملوک خانیه
ماوراءالنهر بود ترجمه ابوالفوارس قناوزی را اصلاح و تهذیب نموده بزبان فارسی
فصیح مزوج بایات و امثال عرب درآورد.

In the course of the year 600 A.H. (1203 A.D.) Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Muḥammad, who was the Secretary of the last of the Khānīya Turks of Transoxiana, corrected and amended the translation of Abu'l-Favāris Kanāvazī, and turned it into literary Persian interspersed with Arabic verses and proverbs.

[The work spoken of was the Sindibād Nāma.]

اولی (aulá).

For طریق see بطریق اولی .

آویختن

“ To contend.” (Sh. N., IV., 1908).

بسی رنج بردی و آویختی سرانجام ازان بنده بگریختی

You have suffered much trouble and have much contended ; you have at last fled from that slave.

———“ Contention.” (Sh. N., IV., 1913).

که ماتا سکندر بشد زین جهان از ایرا نیسانیم خسته نهان
زبس غارت و جنگ و آویختن همان بیگنه خیره خون ریختن

(They said) : “ Since Alexander left the world we have been heart-sore through the Persians—

Their constant raids, their wars and their contention, their shedding wantonly the blood of the guiltless.”

آویخته (with prep. به) : “ Held responsible ” (for). (Sh. N., IV., 1734).

که رویش طلحند و اورا بگوی که بیداد جنگ برادر مجوی
که هر خون که آید بکین ریخته تو باشی بدان گیتی آویخته

(Gau said) : Go to Ṭalhand and say, ‘ Do not unjustly seek war with your brother ;

For whatever blood is shed in hostility (to him)—(for it) in the future world you will be held responsible.’ ”

آویزش “ Responsibility.” (Sh. N., IV., 1758).

ز کار آگهان موبدی نیکخواه چنان بد که برداشت روزی بشاه
که گاهی گنه بگذرانی همی بید نام آن کس نخوانی همی
همانرا دگر باره آویزش است گنه گاراگر چند با پوزش است

It happened that a faithful Mūbid, an experienced reporter, represented to the King one day :

“ At one time you pass over an offence, you do not make ill mention of the author of it.

(But) on another occasion a person is held responsible for it (by you), however much he, the offender, offer excuses.”

(Cf. the Arabic word تعلق).

آهسته

آهسته (for آهسته) : “ With mature reflection.” (H. P., p. 77).

پرسم اورا سوال سر بسته تا جوابم دهد آهسته

I will ask him some cryptic questions, for him to answer with mature reflection.

آهنگ

کسی را آهنگ بودن (with prep. به) : For “ a person to be fitted or prepared.” (for). (Sh. N., III., 1464).

بدوگفت منذر که ای سرفراز بفرهنگ نوزت نیامد نیاز

چو هنگام فرهنگ باشد ترا بدانائی آهنگ باشد ترا

بایوان نما که بازی کنی بیازی همی سرفرازی کنی

Munzir said to him : “ Exalted Prince, you have not yet any need of learning.

When the time for learning comes to you, (and) you are fitted for it,

I will not leave you to play about in the palace, to distinguish yourself (simply) by play and sport.”

ای (ai ! as “ Would that !”). (M., II., 74).

می گریست از غن کودک های های کای مرا بشکسته بودی هر دو پای

The boy wept with cries of distress at the imposition ; he said, “ Would that both my legs had been broken (so that I had not come to this place) !”

ایدی pl. of ایدی (aidi), which is pl. of ید (yad) : “ Hands.” Steingass gives ایدی as pl. of ید.

(استادن) ایستادن

ایستادن (with بر) : “ To set to work” (to do something). “ To engage” (in doing something). (Sh. N., I., 100).

مگر تا گوئی که او زنده نیست بیارای و بر جستش بر با نیست
 که یزدان کسی را که دارد نگاه نگردد زگرما و سرما تباه

Beware of saying he is not living ; prepare, and set to work to seek him ;
 For he whom God would preserve is not injured by any vicissitudes.

ایما

ایما (with dative of person and of thing) : " To suggest." (Dault Shāh, p. 21).

فردوسی را بنظم شاهنامه ایما و اشارت می کرده که این کار بدست تو درست خواهد شد -

(Asadī, the elder), kept on suggesting to Firdausī that he should compose the Shāh Nāma, saying that the work would be well achieved by him.

ایمان

ایمان بردن : " To preserve or save one's Faith." (L. A., I., 231).

با کفرد وزلفت اگر ایمان ببرم در خدمت تو مایه دو جهان ببرم

If, notwithstanding the dark obstructing infidelity of your two ringlets, I can preserve the Faith, I shall in your service have the wealth of the two worlds. (Cf. اعتقاد بردن " To believe ").

[But ایمان بردن might possibly mean " to lose one's Faith " on the analogy of قدر بردن : " To lose one's dignity." In that case I should render :

If with the infidelity of your two ringlets I should lose the Faith I should in your service have the wealth of the two worlds.

In this case زلف would have a different sense. (Cf. Redhouse).]

آیین

آیین بودن : For " the usual practice or custom to be observed." (Sh. N., I., 431).

گرایدون که فرمان دهد شهریار بیارم از ایران بمیدان سوار
 مرا یار باشند در زخم گوئی بر آنسان که آیین بود بردوروی

If, now, the King will give the order, I will bring to the (polo-) ground cavaliers of Persia,

Who will be my companions in striking the ball according to the usual practice observed for the two sides.

(To be continued.)

C. E. WILSON.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

IQBAL DAY IN HYDERABAD

THE first anniversary of Iqbal's death was celebrated throughout Hyderabad State with remarkable zeal, but the largest meeting in this connection was the one that was held in the metropolis on April, 21st under the auspices of the Iqbal Society. The large attendance of people of all ages and belonging to all sections of society indicated the increasing influence of the great poet's life and work on the whole nation.

Dr. Muzaffaruddin Qureshi spoke on Iqbal's life, throwing special light on his simple habits, his accessibility to every visitor, his extreme modesty and the profundity of his talks and conversation. Iqbal used to say his prayers regularly, and the "tilawat" of Quran every morning was his passion.

Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi read a paper on Iqbal's philosophy of death. Iqbal was convinced that the fear of death is at the root of all our troubles, depriving us of the power of action and reconciling us to our fate and to a life of slavery. To counteract this fear, Iqbal put forward several arguments in the attractive language of poetry. As death is inevitable, there is no point in being afraid of an accident which is bound to befall us sooner or later. Sorrow and calamities are necessary for the perfection of our nature. The secret of life is hidden from one who has not drunk from the bitter cup. Only that beauty is perfect which is mortal. Actually, however, death is not annihilation but the stepping-stone to a better and richer life. Iqbal used a series of inspired arguments to establish the belief in a life after death. If the human Ego is developed it becomes immortal. An individual lives only so far as he is a source of strength to his community, and therefore he should not be afraid to fight and perish for the common cause. Nations thrive on the self-sacrifice of their martyrs. A Muslim's life and death should be for God. He must live intensively now, for tomorrow his earthly existence may be at an end. Here again Iqbal employs the argument of death for sending forth a clarion call to action, which is the supreme element of all his philosophy.

Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan spoke on Iqbal's message whose cardinal point is the development of the human Ego. The principles on which this development can be accomplished are submission to the Divine Will, self-control and the desire for perfection. Iqbal delivered this message not in the dry style of a preacher, but in the living and enthralling words of an artist.

Mr. Wahajuddin then gave a brief account of Iqbal's conception of poetry. Iqbal revolted against the prevalent lyrical trivialities of his contemporaries, and gave a meaning and purpose to his divine art. He carved new pathways for poetry, which it is the duty of the young generation to popularise.

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung emphasised the awakening in the nation brought about by Iqbal's incessant call to emulate the life of an eagle, and not that of a dove. We must not reconcile ourselves to the existence in a cage but should break loose, and soar high in space. That learning which deprives a Muslim of his power of action has not the least value. We should not live on the mercy of others, but should consider the whole world as the proper field for our adventures.

R. D.

ISLAMIC RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

WE have received the sixth annual report (for the year 1938) of the above-named association and at the request of the Honorary Secretary, Mr. A. A. Fyzee of the Law College, Bombay, reproduce its aims and objects below :—

The object of the Association is the promotion of research in Islamic culture and civilization. By research is meant the critical, unbiassed and exhaustive study of any subject which leads to the discovery of new facts or formulation of new theories. Islamic research means research in the languages, literature, philology, history, biography, philosophy, theology, science, art, etc., produced by Islamic nations and peoples. Promotion of research involves, firstly, publishing works embodying the results of such research ; secondly, helping, advising and giving information to those engaged in research ; thirdly, funds permitting, the publication of a scholarly periodical ; and, fourthly and lastly, when possible, the foundation of a research institute, with a library and other auxiliaries.

The reason for the formation of such an association was that Islamic studies were, and even now are, on a scale that could be considered adequate, practically non-existent in India. The learning of the old type is almost extinct, whilst no new tradition which would appeal to Muslims trained in modern critical methods has grown up to replace it. Such Muslims, with the exception of the very few who have made a special study of Islamic subjects, know little, if anything, about the religious system, the history or the culture of Islam. As there can be no true culture without continuity, this state of affairs is extremely regrettable, particularly when it is remembered that India is the country with the largest Muslim population in the world. The few existing efforts in the realm of Islamic research are so unco-ordinated that they do not produce any appreciable results. Even the universities in India, which ought to be the centres of

such study and co-ordinating influence, are powerless in this direction, as their attention is now focussed almost entirely on technical and utilitarian subjects. The Islamic Research Association has therefore devoted itself to the advancement of research in Islamic subjects.

In the initial stages of its existence the Association has confined itself to the publication of works relating to original research. Seven volumes have so far appeared in its series, and these have been received with appreciation by the world of international scholarship. Several other works are in the course of preparation.

The membership at present consists of a Patron, Vice-Patrons and Honorary Fellows, who are persons of eminence in the world of Islam. Eminent scholars are elected either as Ordinary Fellows or Associate Members. Every person regardless of race, nationality or religion, interested in the advancement of critical research in Islamic subjects is eligible for membership.

The Islamic Research Association is a purely cultural organization, having nothing to do with any form of propaganda or controversy, religious or political. It deals with the study of Islamic culture and civilization in its widest aspects, and has no connection with any particular sect, school, community, nation, country, language or subject.

Some publications of the association have been noticed in the back numbers of the *Islamic Culture* but the following is an up-to-date list —

1. Diwan of Khaki Khorasani.
2. Two early Ismaili Treatises (Haft Babi Baba Sayyidana and Matlubu'l-Mu'minin).
3. True Meaning of Religion (Risala dar Haqiqati Din).
4. Kalami Pir, or Haft Babi Sayyid Nasir.
5. Arabon ki Jahaz-rani (Arab Navigation).
6. The Book of Truthfulness (Kitab al-Sidq).
7. Al-Hidayatul-Amiriya.
8. 'Ushshaqnama of Fakhru'd-din Iraqi.
9. A Creed of the Shi'ites, being translation of the Risalatu'l-i'tiqadi'l-Imamiya of Ibn Babuya (in preparation).

NORTHERN INDIA

The Idara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia

ACCORDING to the notice already published in *Islamic Culture* of January 1939, the third session of the Idara took place at Delhi during the last days of December 1938 under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Sir Shah Sulaiman, Kt. He said in the course of his presidential address :—
 “ The Idara is indebted to the Hon'ble Sir Abdur Rahman, President of the Delhi Reception Committee and its members for the invitation to

this Imperial City..... It does not require very deep insight into history to become acquainted with the remarkable achievements of the Mussalmans in the various branches of learning, and it is well known that for centuries together the world sought its light and guidance at their feet, and the great universities of Cordova, Granada, and Baghdad gathered seekers after knowledge from far and wide, men of all countries, communities and creeds. One remnant of these cultural efforts is still to be found at Cairo, though it has little of the lustre and attraction of the past. A large number of technical expressions in the various branches of Science and Arts still bear the stamp of their Muslim origin and testify to the debt which mankind owes to Muslim scholars and workers. Islam can thus claim a brilliant record of service in the cause of human knowledge and take pride in its scholars having been the teachers of the world for centuries..... The Muslim ideal was at once noble and sublime. The real object of education was a search after knowledge and the discovery of Truth, and towards the realisation of that object all intellectual efforts were directed. The acquisition of knowledge was a sacred pursuit and a commendable and pious act itself.....

وَالْعِلْمُ نُورٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ

(Verily Knowledge is Light from God)."

Further he emphasized that, " The work of the Idara is pre-eminently associated with Islamic culture, past and present, which embraces language, literature, Science and Arts, indeed all the branches of Knowledge, particularly Indian. It seems to me that the principal object of the Idara should be twofold. In the first place, it should introduce into our literature familiarity with the development of modern thought in the western countries, which in the main has been responsible for their remarkable progress and advance. In the second place, it should attempt to record in European languages, particularly English, the great researches which have been made by Muslim scholars in the field of Science, Art and Literature. No real progress can ever be made unless through our indigenous literature we bring our masses into close contact with the tremendous advance of knowledge which characterises the march of civilisation in the West....."

An attractive feature of the Idara was an Exhibition exclusively of Islamic antiquities, containing rare MSS., unique coins of gold, silver, copper, etc., covering almost all the Indo-Muslim dynasties, particularly of the early Muslim kingdoms from the well-known collection of Prof. Shairani, Oriental College, Lahore ; impressions of inscriptions from various Islamic buildings in India, which was of great interest to the archæologist, and studies of the Taj Mahal, with drawings, inscriptions, photographs, etc., prepared by Dr. M. Abdulla Chaghtai. Many local collectors also shared in making the Exhibition a complete success.

Many important and useful papers were read by the eminent scholars gathered there from various parts of India :—

Moulvi Abdul Aziz Maiman, Prof., Muslim University, Aligarh read a paper in Arabic on *اول ما الف في جغرافيا الحجاز وتهامه*.

Moulvi Abdus Salam from Rampur read a paper on

كتاب الاوائل لابي هلال العسكري

Prof. Manzur Husain Musawi of the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi contributed a paper on I'timad-ud-Dowla Mir Fazl Ali Suhrab Jang.

Dr. Pir Muhammad Hasan, Prof., Women's College, Lahore read a paper on *نزّهته الارواح شهرزوری*.

Khawja Abdul Majid of Delhi delivered a learned discourse on "Mystics and Mysticism."

Prof. Dr. Hadi Hasan of the Muslim University, Aligarh spoke eloquently on "Some Aspects of the Ethics of Iran."

Mr. Sakhāullah from Islamia College, Peshawar read a paper on "The Rare MSS., in the Library of Islamia College, Peshawar."

Prof. Ghulam Jilani of Government College, Hoshiarpur read a part of a Thesis on "Ibn Taimiyya."

Monsieur Ivanov, a delegate of the Bombay Islamic Research Institute, made a short speech on the present Iranian dialects.

Hakim Mahmud Khan Sahib Mahir of Delhi contributed a paper on the services of Mussalmans to Sanskrit.

Prof. M. F. Quraishi of Lahore read a scientific paper on Geodesy and Light of Visible Atmosphere—a study of Early Muslim scientists. Prof. Quraishi explained many problems by using the blackboard.

Agha Abdus Sattar of Government College, Lahore read a paper on one poet, Taj Reza of the period of Sultan Iltutmish.

The Hon'ble Sir Shah M. Sulaiman read a learned paper in Urdu on "Modern Relativity."

Dr. D. S. Kothari of Delhi University spoke on Muslim Contributions to Science.

Prof. Dr. Shuja' Mun'imi of Bahawalpur contributed a paper on "Cause of Reflection according to Kamal-ud-Din Abi'l Hasan al-Farsi."

Principal Muhammad Shafi, Oriental College, Lahore read notes on *سرو کشمیر*.

M. M. Pandit Lakshmi Dhar, Prof., St. Stephen College, Delhi discoursed on "Mysticism in Hindi Literature and Mussalmans."

Moulvi Abdul Khaliq of Arabic College, Delhi on

مسائل نافع بن الارزق

Dr. Nizam-ud-Din of Osmania University, Hyderabad read a paper on A Few Prominent Features of Classical Persian Literature and also delivered a lecture in Urdu on Modern Iran under the Present Regime. The lecture was illustrated with lantern slides.

Moulvi Muhammad Idris of the Nadva-tul-Musannifin, Delhi read a paper on آذر .

Dr. Sayed Azhar Ali of St. Stephen College read a paper on The Date of the Death of Akbar.

Two important resolutions passed by the Idara are worth mention, one: The Preservation of Muslim Inscriptions found on Islamic monuments in India, and the other On the Adoption of Urdu as *Lingua franca* in the Curricula of Indian Universities at least up to the Intermediate standard. There were many entertainments by prominent persons and scholars. A Mushaira took place under the presidentship of Dr. Moulvi Abdul Haq and a number of famous poets took part.

Punjab University Arabic and Persian Society

In June 1937 a Society with the above name was formed by the University professors and other interested persons in these languages with the following objects :—

1. The discussion of problems connected with Arabic and Persian Languages and Literature.
2. Advancement of the cause of these studies.
3. The publication of Arabic and Persian texts and monographs periodically on subjects connected with the two languages.

The society has already done considerable work and so far many useful publications have been issued, with the Oriental College, Magazine, Lahore, as its organ. Papers on important topics are also occasionally read by learned members of the society and others.

Mr. Yasin Khan Niazi, M.A., Lecturer, Government College, Dharamsala recently read one such paper on *Khusrow as Qasida Writer*. Mr. Niazi pointed out that Amir Khusrow, besides being a master of all the branches of poetry, was regarded as one of the greatest Qasida writers of Persian Literature. Amir Khusrow himself states in the introduction to his poetical works that he imitated the style of earlier writers in general and Khāqānī in particular. The learned speaker remarked that Amir Khusrow was known for the beauty of diction, force of expression, rare

metaphors and striking similes and was specially fond of *Iyham* ايهام. Mr. Niazi quoted some parallel verses from the diwan of Khusrow and other poets who lived before his time and afterwards. He particularly lamented the lack of comparative study in the oriental languages.

Agha Abdus Sattar Khan, M.A., Lecturer, Government College, Lahore read a paper on *Sultan Ilutmish and Architectural and Numismatic Remains from his Period*. Discussing the history and the meaning of the word Ilutmish, the name of the Sultan, he tried to establish that the correct pronunciation was Ilutmish and not Altamash. The latter bears no meaning in the Turkish language. He further showed how this wrong form Altamash crept into our school books, and supported his views by quoting the verses of certain poets and inscriptions from two rare gold coins of the period in possession of Prof. Shairani of the Punjab University. Agha Sattar dealt with the life of Sultan Ilutmish, showing how he was sold by one master to the other, how he rose to eminence, how he became a Governor, and finally how he ascended the throne. The part dealing with the architectural remains of the period was based on comparative study of the different periods of architecture.

Dr. Inayat Ullah, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Arabic, Emerson College, Multan read an interesting paper on *Hospitals and Medical Institutions in Mediæval Islam*. The system of hospitals constituted one of the chief glories of mediæval Islam. The Umayyad Khalif Walid was the first to establish such an institution for the sick in Damascus. Then the lecturer enumerated many hospitals of Baghdad founded by different Khalifs and their ministers. He also showed that the Yunani system of medicine was introduced by the Barmakides. Light was also thrown on the administration of the hospitals, medical aid rendered to the public, methods of treatment and some of the doctors and physicians employed in those institutions; even the rural population was not ignored. Criminals and prisoners received regular medical aid. Khalif Muqtadir introduced a system of licensed and registered medical practitioners as a safeguard against quacks and street physicians. The stores of the druggists and chemists were duly examined. The hospitals were furnished with libraries and mosques with adequate staff for the literary and spiritual needs of the sick. Moreover, there were separate female wards. Particular reference was made to one such institution in India during the period of Muhammad Tughlaq.

Khawja Abdul Waheed read a scholarly paper on Medical Science of the Arabs in the Mediæval Ages. He surveyed the subject from the great Al-Kindi (900 A.D.) to Salah-ud-Din ibn Yûsuf, the renowned eye-specialist of the 13th century. Original contributions of the eminent Muslim physicians and surgeons of the five centuries were discussed, Al-Kindi's attempt to establish Posology on mathematical lines, the great medical encyclopædia, Al-Hāwī, of Zakriya Razi, the brilliant administration of hospitals by Sinān bin Thābit, Ali ibn Abbas's conception of the capillaries, the vast amount of literature on materia medica produced by Abu Mansur

Muwaffiq, the great work of Abu'l Qasim on Surgery and Dentistry, the marvellous advancement made by medical science under the influence of Ibn Sinān, and the surgical research of Ibn Zuhri were some of the subjects treated by the lecturer. He showed that the contagious nature of diseases and their treatment by injection were things known to the Arabs of those days.

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Persian, Punjab University, Lahore read a paper on *Arabic Histories of Pre-Islamic Persia*. He discussed many aspects of the subject and remarked that the pre-Islamic Persians had no taste for writing History. In his opinion Shahnama was one of the oldest historical records. According to Dr. Iqbal there were two classes of Persian History, viz., by the natives and by the Europeans. Specially as to the Arabic histories he remarked that they were composed in early Abbasside period. Among the authors of historical works, described by the speaker, mention may be made of Ibn-ul-Muqaffa, Hamza Isfahani, Ibn Qutayba and Tabari. He fully proved the importance of the Arabic histories and the information they contained regarding pre-Islamic Persia; though they were of less assistance to students of pre-Islamic Persian religion.

Hakim Jamshed Ali Rathor, M.A., of the Murray College, Sialkot read a paper on *Khwaju as a Lyrical Poet*. Dealing with the lyrical side of his poetry Prof. Jamshed Ali said that Khwaju had no style of his own, but imitated his great predecessors, especially Nizami Ganjawi. He wrote with a certain force at once spontaneous and direct. Khwaju's love for nature in poetry is like that of the Arabs.

Mr. Taj Muhammad Khan Baluch, Persian Research Student, also discussed *Khwaju's Life and Works* in a long paper. He said that Abu'l Ata Kamal-ud-Din Khwaju Kirmani was an important but hitherto neglected genius of Iran and one of the greatest poets of Kirman. In spite of a good deal of controversy about the date of his birth, it is now established that he was born on the 20th of Zul Hijjah 689 A.H. in Kirman. He was attached to the courts of the Mozaffari potentates of Kirman and other parts of Iran. In his poetry we find eulogies of the kings of Hurmuz, about whom Ibn Batutah has said something. Khwaju was the first poet to write a Khamsa after the fashion of Nizami. He died in 735 A.H. Prof. Saeed Nafisi was of opinion that the year of his death was 762 A.H. but his conclusion was not based on sound reasoning. His tomb is in the pass called *Tangi Allahu Akbar* in Shiraz. He composed a large number of poetical works, viz., *Humā-i-Humāyin*, *Gul-o-Nawroz*, *Rouza-tul-Kamal*, *Kamāl Nāmah*, *Gowhar Nama*, *Diwan* and a *Masnawi* called *Nafhatul Qulub*. Mr. Taj Muhammad was not certain about *Sām Nāmah* being one of his works.

Prof. Sayyad Muhammad Talha of the Oriental College, Lahore wrote a paper on the Social Life in the Time of the Prophet, and a substitute read it on his behalf.

THE TAJ MAHAL OF AGRA

DR. M. ABDULLA CHAGHTAI, D.Litt. (Paris), delivered a course of four Extension Lectures before the Punjab University during the month of march and illustrated it with slides both in monochrome and colour. He divided his lectures thus :—

- (a) Architecture in India before Shahjahan.
- (b) History and Description of the Taj.
- (c) European Influence on the Taj.
- (d) Architects of the Taj.

The following is the substance of all the four lectures :—

The Mussalmans had a different culture from that of India, and in consequence of this they created a different architecture from that already existing in India, although they utilised the then existing monuments of the ancients, after effecting suitable changes to suit their immediate needs. But soon they developed an Indo-Muslim style of their own, which was in spirit and nature an adaptation of those principles, methods, details, etc., which they had found in Central Asia and Persia, whence they had come to India. Although in general appearance the specimens of Indo-Muslim architecture in different places seem to be different from one another yet fundamentally they are the same. The Mughals had the opportunity of ruling here longer than any other Muslim dynasty, therefore gradually the style of Indo-Muslim Art, as a great authority on architecture has distinctly stated, came to leave absolutely no trace of Hinduism in the works of Jahangir and Shahjahan. The Dome of the Taj is of the most distinct style defined by contemporary historians as *pear-shaped*, of which no specimen existed in India before the erection of the Taj Mahal at Agra.

On the sole authority of Father Manrique it is alleged that Geronimo Veroneo, a Venetian, was the architect of the Taj, whereas no indication is found either in India or in Venice that he was ever connected with the art of building. He was a jeweller and the only mention of him is made in connection with the political upheaval at Hughli on the part of the Portuguese, which is most ably discussed by Sir Edward Maclagan in his work the *Jesuits and the Great Mughal*. Even the date of his death as noted by Manrique does not tally with the date inscribed on his tomb, as discussed by Sir John Marshall.

Austin de Bordeaux, a Frenchman, was in the service of the Mughals from the days of Jahangir and he was undoubtedly an expert in many arts, which is quite manifest from his four letters preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. He had, however, no connection with the art of building. Just before the death of Mumtaz he was sent by the Emperor on a political mission to the Portuguese, but was killed on his way back, as is related by his countrymen, who could easily have mentioned his connection, had there been any at all, with the construction of the Taj.

It is generally mentioned that one Ustad Isa was the architect of the Taj. This has been the cause of many distortions of the real history of

the monument. It is clearly a myth, for the MS. which makes mention of Isa does not go beyond the first quarter of the nineteenth century and it was prepared by the students of the Government College of Agra in compliance with an advertisement published by Mr. James Stephen Lushington in 1825, then acting Magistrate at Agra. This is quite obvious from Dr. Rieu's words in the catalogue of the Persian MSS. of the British Museum, London. Fortunately there is one MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, which gives only the dimensions of the monument and its cost. This MS. was unquestionably prepared after the final completion of the monument, and is quite genuine. It has been published separately.

It must be borne in mind that the Gour-i-Amir (Amir Timur's Tomb) at Samarqand and the Taj at Agra are identical in architectural fundamentals, as is manifest from their double bulbous dome and crypt. As for other details, the Taj takes its origin from Central Asian and Persian monuments.

Who was the architect of the Taj really remains a problem. But for the seeker after truth, it is clear that Shahjahan was the only person who could create such a marvellous symbol of love in memory of his beloved wife. Contemporary historians are silent on this particular point and are content with the bare mention that Shahjahan was a great architect even from his youth as prince, and several edifices of his empire were designed by himself. Why then should we hesitate in counting the Taj among his own masterpieces.

IQBAL DAY

THE first anniversary of the death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, poet-philosopher of Islam (who passed away on April, 21st, 1938) was celebrated at Lahore from the 9th to the 13th of April.

Dr. A. C. Chakravarty said in a long eloquent speech :—" He was not a mere poet, nor did he belong to one community, but he belonged to the whole world. He was a seer—a seer through whom the whole of humanity sees—who preached the brotherhood of man. His Socialism meant alliance with truth. Iqbal stood for truth all his life even at the cost of causing discomfort to others at times. Iqbal's message was the message of Islam, which stands for democratic spirituality. Iqbal's socialism did not inveigh against religion....."

Dr. M. Abdulla Chaghtai read a letter of the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal written in response to a request to contribute a paper on the 287th anniversary of Descartes (1596-1650) the famous French philosopher, and mathematician, celebrated at Paris by the French Republic. In his letter, Dr. Iqbal suggested that a comparison of Descartes' great work known as *Method* with Imam Ghazzali's *Ahyāul Ulūm* should be made, which would reveal that both those compilations of great thinkers evinced remarkable parallels.

His Excellency Salah-ud-Din Saljuqi, Afghan Consul-General in India spoke in chaste Persian and said that the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal was not only a poet but a great philosopher. He came to the world when there was a great need of unity, and his message was in accordance with the needs of the time.

The last day's meeting at Lahore was presided over by H.H. the Nawab Sahib of Bahawalpur State. The Hon'ble Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Punjab Premier, was the principal speaker. He said :—" Iqbal's message sounds the death-knell of Imperialism. He gave a message of Socialism and Islamic Brotherhood. It was wrong to suppose that the appeal of his message was confined to the Muslims alone. His message was Universal and was meant for humanity. The Patriotism of Iqbal was free from geographical, racial, linguistic and colour taints. He believed, side by side with the Quranic verse ' The Earth belongs to God,' in the saying of the Holy Prophet which regards the love of one's country as a part of his faith. Iqbal found in the Quran a short way out of the present economic tangle. He does not believe in robbing Peter to pay Paul. He believes in uplifting the poor without pulling down the rich." This is Islamic socialism. The Nawab Sahib of Bahawalpur, in his short concluding speech offered sincere devotion to the poetry of Iqbal, who was one of the world's most eminent poets.

M. A. C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE Hindustani Academy of Allahabad, which is the only literary association under the patronage of the government of the U. P. has recently published a report of the work it has done since its inception. It was founded in 1927 to ' stimulate interest and activity in the writing and reading of Urdu and Hindi,' to ' safeguard the purity of the language,' to ' raise the standard of books written in it,' and to ' remove the divergence of Urdu and Hindi by bringing their literary languages closer to each other.' The latter aim was much emphasised by His Excellency Sir William Marris who inaugurated the Academy by delivering a remarkable address in which he said that ' the Academy will set its face firmly against any attempt to give either branch of the vernacular a distinctly sectarian and therefore a non-popular form. If, for example, Urdu writers import into current literature highly artificial Arabic phrases,———or if Hindu authors strain themselves to load their vocabulary with heavy elements of Sanskrit, then they both are committing a twofold misdemeanour. In the first place, they are deliberately putting themselves and their steps further away from the other half of the community. That no doubt is an offence against civic relations rather than against literature. But in the process

they are also making their books incomprehensible to the average man, and that is a sin against the aims and objects of the Academy, which, I trust, its governing body will be strict to reprehend.' But this linguistic policy of the Academy did not prove successful in practice, and an Enquiry Committee appointed to look into the administration of the Academy found that the authors have been obliged to have recourse to the Sanskritised and Persianised styles for Hindi and Urdu. The Committee is, therefore, now examining the question: 'Whether it is desirable and practicable to create and develop a mixed Hindustani style or whether the present trend which is an accepted feature of the two forms should be allowed to continue undisturbed.' With this purpose a questionnaire has been forwarded to leading Muslim and Hindu scholars of the United Province.

In order to achieve other objects of the Academy, it has up to this time organised a dozen lectures by scholars of distinction in branches of knowledge specialised in by them, and published them as booklets. The lectures delivered by eminent Muslim scholars have been on the following subjects:—

- (1) Social and economic conditions of India during the Middle Ages (1928). (2) Relations of Arabia and India (1929). (3) Contributions of the Hindus to Muslim culture (1929). ('Contributions of the Muslims to Hindu culture' was delivered by a Hindi scholar in the same year). (4) The origin and development of Urdu in the Deccan. (1930). (5) Philology (1931). (6) Economics (1932).

These series of lectures have been doubtless of great merit and value.

The Academy has also been granting prizes of Rs. 500 to stimulate interest in the production of high-class literary and scientific works. Altogether, since its foundation it has made eighteen such awards to various authors for approved books, in which eight prizes have been won by Urdu writers, two in Prose, two in Poetry, and one each in Mental and Moral Science, Natural Science, General Literature and the Novel and Short Stories.

The Academy has published 79 books altogether. Of these 31 are in Urdu, as detailed below:—

Literary Editions 4, Literary Criticism 2, Literary Biography 1, Literary Translations 3, Cultural and Political History 5, Historical Biography 2, Science 2, Applied Science 3, Folklore 1, Art and Æsthetics 1, Bibliography 1.

These publications have received general appreciation for their merit, quality and researches. The following Urdu manuscripts are awaiting publication:—

- (1) Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi. (2) Mamun-ul-Rashid Abbasi. (3) Ali Namah. (4) Translation of George Bernard Shaw's English drama 'St. Joan.' (5) Translation of John Masefield's English drama 'The Faithful.' (6) Letters of Ghalib. (7) Anwar-i-Nazar. (8) Tulsi Das. (9) Raja Chola.

The Academy proposes in future to bring out a popular series of books in Hindi and Urdu, which will 'aim at acquainting the general public with modern achievements in various branches of knowledge in simple, accurate and non-technical forms.' Some books have already been published, while others are in course of preparation. The Academy will attempt also 'to enrich Hindustani literature by providing a library of books in the language of the people, which should help the ordinary reader to acquire self-instruction in modern knowledge.' It will issue also 'in a uniform and popular series translations of world-famous classics.'

During the period under report, a biography of Maulana Ahmad Shahid, the religio-political reformer of India of the middle 19th century A.D. has appeared. He was born at Rae Bareilly in 1201 A.H., and brought up under Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi, where he was moved much by the un-Islamic tendencies of the degenerate Mussalmans of his time. He devoted his life to reanimate them by reforms in their religious, social and political conditions. His enthusiasm created a group of holy warriors and revolutionaries, which tried to establish Islamic theocracy in India by waging wars against the Sikhs, who were notorious for their maltreatment and oppression of Muslims. Maulana Ahmad Shahid was martyred in one of those battles at Balkot in 1246 A.H., but his followers undaunted by their leader's death, did not relinquish his mission, which culminated in the so-called Wahabi movement against the British rule.

The history of this movement has been dealt with by writers in incoherent and sometimes distorted manner, but the above biography, compiled by a teacher of Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow, has removed a long-felt need. The book, consisting of 450 pages, has been written after much labour and research, and is interesting, lucid and soul-stirring. The historical details of the book may profitably be studied by Indian Mussalmans who wish to comprehend their destiny. It contains forewords by eminent scholars such as Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni of Deoband, Maulvi Abdul Majid, B.A., of Daryabad, and Maulana Syed Sulyman Nadvi of the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh.

In the March and April issues of the *Ma'arif*, a well-known Urdu Journal, Maulana Syed Suleyman Nadvi contributes an article on The Arabs and America, in which he has introduced some interesting discussion on (1) the Muslim scholars and cosmographers Hasan bin Ahmad Hamdāni (died 334 A.H.), Ibn Rushd (d. 595 A.H.), Nāṣir Ṭusi (627 A.H.), and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 A.H.) who did not agree with Ptolemy's theory that 'one part of the earth is peopled, while the remaining three parts are uninhabitable' and believed that there was unknown land besides the known one. (2) The Arab scholars Ibn Khurdazbah (d. 300 A.H.), Ibn Rustah (d. 277 A.H.) and Abu Bakr ibn Al-Faḳīh Hamdāni (d. 290 A.H.) who knew that the earth is round, and while there is day in one half of it, there is night in its other half. (3) The writer asserts on the authorities of *Marwaj-uz-Zahab* by Mas'udi (died 345 A.H.), *Nuzhat-ul-Mushtaq* by Idrisi (died 560 A.H.) and Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena* that Arab sailors

navigated the ocean regions beyond the Mediterranean Sea, and reached islands which were probably the modern West Indies, Newfoundland and Greenland, and they met also the Red Indians, the native population of North America.

The writer points out that in 1934, during the course of an excavation near Mexico, two mineral pieces were discovered which proved to be Arab coins. So far as philological evidence is concerned, Professor Levi-vienier of Harvard University says in his book *Africa and the Discovery of America*, that a large number of Arabic words are to be found in the native dialects of America, and they were borrowed about 1290. And lastly, in a mountainous region of Mexico, there is still an ancient tribe which speaks Arabic and observes Arab customs. It is believed to have settled there more than 400 years ago.

Bihar has stolen a march on other provinces by undertaking to reconstruct the history of India, which is usually confined to 'a narration of wars, patricidal revolts, intrigues for the throne, palace murders or petty details of the royal court.' This work is to begin at the initiative of Dr. Saiyid Mahmud, Minister of Education of the Province. During the Muslim rule, says the Hon'ble Minister, Indian society attained a unity of material and spiritual outlook which is almost incomprehensible to-day. But the historical literature, compiled under British administrators and educators has presented a distorted picture of the Muslim domination and cultural and social development associated with that period. This has led to disastrous consequences.

The Hon'ble Minister therefore proposes to have the history of India rewritten. He has laid much importance on historical folklore, which according to him, gives a true perspective of the intellectual and spiritual life of the vast masses of the common people. For this purpose an expert folklorist will be engaged to undertake preliminary work in connection with a comprehensive folklore survey in a compact linguistic area. Besides this, a Bureau will be immediately established to collect basic materials for a comprehensive study of Indian social and cultural history, especially of the period associated with Muslim rule. The Bureau will consist of four editors, two for the pre-Moghul and Moghul periods, one for the study of the Deccan and provincial cultures, and one for the purely Hindu sources of Muslim India, together with a committee of ten research scholars and a secretary. The Central Office of the Bureau will be located at Patna, for it will be of advantage to the scholars to utilize the excellent, valuable and rare manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Khan Oriental Library, Bankipore. Arrangements will be made for securing photographs of rare manuscripts and for the study and inspection of rare manuscripts in various Indian and foreign libraries. At a later stage arrangements will be made for the publication of these materials in English and Indian languages. The expenditure of the Bureau for three years will be approximately Rs. 2,01,420.

For unavoidable reasons I have not been able to obtain details of the

cultural activities of Bengal during the period under report. I may, however, mention here an interesting lecture delivered by Mr. Percy Brown on Indo-Islamic architecture at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in last March. He said that this form of the building art in India displayed some of the finest architectural creations ever produced by the hand of the man. He referred to a discussion he had on the subject with Sir Banister Fletcher, President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and he knew from the trend of the discussion that it was the general opinion of experts in architecture that of all the world's great monuments, past or present, Shahjahan's masterpiece was considered the most beautiful of all. The influence of Islam, he said, on the building art of India began about the year 1200 A.D. and continued to affect the architecture of the country for some six centuries, and 'it should be remembered that whether in its noble array of mosques and tombs or its impressive groups of rock-cut halls or structural temples, India possesses an architectural heritage of which any people would be proud.'

S. S.

SYRIA

(The well-known Syrian scholar, Khalil Mardam Bek has sent us a letter in which he has given an interesting short account of the centres of culture in Damascus. The following is a summary of his letter.)

In Syria there are several institutions which help the advancement of culture. These are situated in the large cities, Damascus, Halab (Aleppo), Quds (Jerusalem), and Beirut. As time advances people flock to these centres in ever-increasing numbers, for the cultural level in Syria, in spite of political unrest and unsettled conditions, is gradually rising. Here I mention only those cultural centres that are to be found in Damascus :—

1. Al-Majma'ul-'Ilmi al-'Arabi, i.e., the Arab Academy.
2. Daru'l-Kutub al-Ahliyya al-Zahiriyya, the Zahiri Library.
3. Daru'l-Athar, the Museum.
4. Al-Jamia'tal Suriyya, the Syrian University.

Each one of these aims at spreading culture and raising its level within its own peculiar sphere. The Arab Academy was founded by the late King Faisal in 1919 A.D. Since its inauguration, the objects of the Academy have been popular scientific and literary discourses, to purify and reform the language used by journalists, authors, and Government officers, and to coin new technical and scientific terms. The Academy publishes a monthly periodical which is of very high scientific standard. It has also published many valuable books, e.g., *Tahdhib ul-Akhlaq* ascribed to Al-Jāhiz, the eighth volume of *Mishwarra al-Muhadarah* by Al-Tanukhi, the *Diwan* of Al-Wahid b. Yazid, the Umayyad Caliph. Some members of

the Academy have written books on various subjects. The Amir Shakīb Arsalan is author of several books one of which bears the title *Ghazawat al-Arab fi Urobba*, i.e., the Campaigns of Arabs in Europe. Muhammad Kurd Ali has compiled a history of Syria called *Khiṭaṭ al-Sham* in six volumes. This work is a comprehensive study of the geography, civilisation and cultural history of Syria. Khairuddin al-Zuruke is the author of a biographical dictionary called *Qamūs-al-‘Ālam* in three volumes. The Shaikh Kāmil al-Ghazzi has written a history of Ḥalab comprising three volumes.

The Zāhiri Library, named after the King Al-Zāhir, who is buried in the building in which the library is accommodated, was established in the time of Sultan Abdul Hamid in the year 1298 A.H. The Government of Damascus in those days ordered that all the books bequeathed to the old Madrasahs should be collected and deposited in this sepulchral monument. In this library there are five thousand excellent manuscripts. This library is the centre of readers, students and transcribers.

Daru'l-Āthar was founded along with the Arab Academy in 1919 and attached to the latter, but later on it was found that the Academy was not spacious enough to accommodate the Museum and so the Government was obliged to remove it to a new building. In this Museum are preserved a great many antiquities of pre-Islamic and post-Islamic periods. Among the objects found are ruins of a great palace which belonged to an Umayyad Caliph, probably Hisham b. ‘Abdul Malik, which was excavated in the desert between Damascus and Tadmur. The authorities of the Museum are still busy in reconstructing the transferred parts of the structure as they were originally found. It is to be noticed that the architecture of this palace does not differ much from the present architectural style of Damascus.

The Syrian University was also founded by the late King Faisal in 1919 A.D. Only the following subjects are taught in this University. Law, Medicine, Pharmacology, Dental Surgery, Gynæcology. The medium of instruction in all these subjects is Arabic, and hence it is the only University where modern sciences are taught through Arabic. The Professors of the University have written many books on the subjects which they teach. The Faculty of Medicine in addition to compiling books publishes a periodical called *Al-Majallat al-Ṭibbiya*, i.e., the Medical Magazine.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

GENERAL JOSIAH HARLAN : *Central Asia* ; edited by F. E. Ross ; 155 pages with four portraits and a map, Luzac, London, 8/6.

THE closing years of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries were periods of great turmoil in India and adjacent countries. The authority which the central government had wielded for centuries had almost suddenly disappeared, petty dynasties in various parts of the Mughal Empire had become the order of the day, and the lands beyond the Sulaiman mountains had finally shaken off the authority hitherto exercised by the Mughal Emperors. During this period we meet with a series of nondescript adventurers from nearly all the Western lands—English, French, Dutch, Germans, Italians, Russians and the rest—whose sole purpose in coming to our unfortunate country was to amass wealth. They had little to do with European politics or with the imperialistic tendencies, if any, of their native lands, and were thoroughly self-centred, seeking all kinds of posts in those petty *durbars*, from waiters at table and *musahibs* with all the sinister meaning which can be attached to this word, to commanders-in-chief of forces and ministers, some even becoming petty rulers themselves. In general they had no scruples about taking sides, and were with one or with the other solely according to the price they were paid for services rendered.

The political value of the writings of these adventurers consists in the knowledge of their surroundings, and as most of them completed their memoirs after they had left the Orient, there is a refreshing candidness in their estimate of the

personalities with which they came into contact. As the moral tone of the whole period was utterly low, we should expect to come across some distasteful remarks about prominent personages whose sole object was to fight their way up in order to live a comfortable life.

Harlan was one of these freelances, and as the editor of the 'Narrative' remarks, was 'the first American to operate in Central Asia.' His career was very adventurous. Without a doctor's diploma, we find him an Assistant Surgeon in the pay of the East India Company from 1823 to 1826 ; then he is in the pay of the fugitive Shah Shuja, then a guest of the East India Company at Ludhiānā, and commissioned by him to prepare the ground in Afghanistan for ousting Dost Muhammad. We next find him at the court of Ranjit Singh at Lahore who appoints him Governor of Jāsrodha, Nūrpūr and Gujrat, but he is soon surfeited and makes his way straight to Kabul to join Dost Muhammad, the very man whom he had been out to oust and who had proved too clever for him. The potentate first makes him his aide-de-camp, then General of the regular Afghan army, and finally the Commander-in-Chief. But this time the Governor-General of India, Lord Auckland, had made up his mind to restore Shah Shuja, and when Harlan saw that the game was lost, he quietly left the East and went back to America in 1839. Once at home he tried to remain active and set up a scheme for importing camels as beasts of burden, as also grapes to the United States, and endeavoured to be sent back to the East in an official capacity as 'my familiar knowledge of their language and of their manners and customs would favour the security of a successful disguise.' All his

schemes, however, proved of no avail.

The record of such an extraordinary career ought to be interesting reading, especially when the author gives a full description of the geographical, climatic, racial and zoological characteristics of the country through which he passed during his adventures. The book is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the manners and customs prevalent in the province of Balkh, the second with the topography of northern Afghanistan, including the itinerary of the expedition of 1038-1039, and the third with the mountain region between Hirāt and Swāt-Buner.

Harlan cannot be expected to be unprejudiced regarding religious conditions and local customs and he makes sweeping statements which, if not wholly untrue, are only partly true. Thus he speaks of the 'mendacious habits of the Asiatics' (page 109); 'the Muslim parent is at liberty to select his heirs from any of his descendants and even bequeath his property to strangers' (page 35); 'all Mohomedans are addicted to the worship of saints' (page 151). He sometimes lapses into historical inaccuracies such as when he mixes up Bahram Gor with the Ghorīs (page 43). Generally, however, he has some refreshing remarks to make, for example, on p. 45 he says that 'the commercial enterprise of England is in fact the precursor of invasion and pretext of conquest'; on page 66 'religion among the Moslem race is now fast declining and has degenerated into a cold and formal discharge of ceremonies among the Uzbecks'; and on page 67 'the Mollah is fond of preaching up the practices of austerity, but it is well known that they are privately addicted to all kinds of sensuality.'

The author is more explicit with regard to the geography of the country and deals with such minute details as the mode of sitting, business transactions, food, beverages, dress of men and women, conveyances, heating of houses, monogamy and polygamy, etc., rounding up with the climatic conditions, flora and fauna of the lands visited.

H. K. S.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IDARA-I-MA'ARIF-I-ISLAMIA, Second Session, held at Lahore, 10-12 April 1936. Published by the Working Committee of the Idara. Size 9½" 6½" English matter pp. 297 with 5 illustrations plus Urdu matter pp. 415 with one illustration. Ripon Printing Press, Lahore, 1938.

THE Idāra-i-Ma'ārif-i-Islāmīa is one of the youngest institutions in India that is rendering highly valuable service to the cause of learning and advancement of purely Islamic research on thoroughly efficient lines.

By the untimely and lamentable death of Sir Muḥammad Iqbal, who was one of its chief founders, the Idāra has sustained a particularly heavy and irredeemable loss, and shares the sorrow of the Islamic world. By his tragic demise the world has lost one of the greatest scholars of Islamology, the nourishing force of several Islamic institutions in the East and West, the highest exponent of the modern cultural potentialities of Islam and its bearing on the thought of the modern world, a valiant champion of Islamic socio-political ideals, a great successor to the classical Persian poets and a torch-bearer of the wisdom of the East, a messenger of a mighty mission and a singer of high notes.

The bilingual Proceedings of the Second Session in which the English portion occupies 297 pages and the Urdu matter 415 pages in clear legible Nastaliq, with few printing mistakes, must have entailed the Idāra considerable expenditure but the amount is well spent as it contains certain representative articles of original merit, painstaking research and deep thought. As a rule, not many papers read at conferences deserve a place in the Proceedings but it appears the Idāra has been careful in selection. Unless the articles are of permanent merit and contribute materially to the advancement of the knowledge of a particular subject, they should not be printed in their entire form. Perhaps it is time now to advocate the cause of symposiums rather than to leave the study and history of Islam to the discretion of individuals.

The volume under review contains 13 papers in English contributed by thirteen eminent writers.

The first paper on *Islamic History, Its Scope and Content*, is from the pen of the versatile writer and enthusiastic scholar Mr. 'Abdu'llah Yūsuf 'Alī, whose translation of the holy Qur'ān is engaging the attention of modern readers of the Qur'ān. The canons of the study and the reconstruction of Islamic History enunciated by him should serve as a beacon to the future historian of Islam. The broad outlines and the scope and content of Islamic history that are suggested by the learned contributor are enough to occupy a society for a number of years before they are able to produce a genuine history of Islam and the Islamic peoples on the most modern principles of scientific research and methods of historiography.

One could wish that the Idāra were enabled to take up this work and enlist the sympathies of all Muslim scholars interested in the history of Islam by bringing out a series of volumes on this basis. It would be a great service to the cause of the culture, civilization, history, religion and politics of one of the great forces of the world.

It would indeed be a "magnificent task to undertake, and a true example of Islamic and international co-operation in the cause of literary culture and scholarship."

Paper II, Aids to Attention in the Muslim Mode of Worship, belongs more to devotional psychology and experimental philosophy rather than research on Islamic literary studies.

Paper III.—Dr. D'āudpōtā has attempted to analyse Ibn-i-Khaldūn's chapter on Education with great clarity. We only hope that he will be able to complete his translation of Ibn-i-Khaldūn's gigantic work into English and to show to the non-Arabic-knowing world the real depths of Ibn-i-Khaldūn's knowledge of the sciences of the world, existing in his own times, and how much Europe owes to him in her conception of the science of historiography.

Paper IV.—Dr. Shaykh Inayatullah is an enlightened worker in the field of ethnic studies of Islam in relation with

economic and agrarian units. His contribution is specially noteworthy.

Paper V.—Dr. Shādānī has been associated with the *Taju'l-Ma'athir* for such a long time that his paper is almost overdue and that a critical edition of the text which he has promised should have been in the hands of his readers by now. One thing is obvious that the writer is at pains to find fault with orientalist of minor capacity and enlarges his thesis on their mistakes, instead of giving an independent review of Ḥasan Nizāmī's work. We only hope that Dr. Shādānī will bring out a critical edition of the *Taju'l-Ma'athir* soon.

Paper VI.—Dr. Ḥamīd'ullah is a promising scholar who has opened for himself a great field of genuine research and has widened the scope of the *Maghazi* literature by dealing with it in international terms relating to the treaties and alliances made by the Prophet in the early phases of the expansion of Islam. Particularly his article under review relates to the political contact of Islam with imperialistic Persia and the Zoroastrian-Sassanian decadent monarchs of Persia, leading up to the conquest of Persia by the Arabs. The writer has shown the depth of his knowledge and has investigated the authenticity of the Story of the Miracle of the Prophet prophesying the parricidal assassination of Khusraw-i-Parwiz on 27th February, 628 A.D.

Paper VII.—Another greater worker in the domain of Traditional Literature is Dr. Muḥammed Zubayer Siddiqī, whose systematic study of the sciences of Holy Tradition and exposition of certain historical phenomena in this field are bound to throw fresh light on the importance of this literature as a result of indigenous study.

Imām Ahmad Ibn-i-Hanbal is indeed an outstanding figure in Muslim theology of his own times, who baffled every kind of persecution and remained resolute in Faith and dogma. The study of his life and his work and of the cults of the metamorphosist Ḥanbalite sect is a stupendous task. Ibn-i-Hanbal as an adherent of the Ahl'ul-Ḥadīth gives the *Ray* الرأى concessions out of sheer necessity and derives every law from traditional sources. It is an open fact that Ibn-i-Hanbal was put to

the necessity of accepting feeble traditions also, hence the *Musnad* is not so authentic a compendium of Tradition as might have been expected of Ibn-i-Ḥanbal. In dogma, he clings to the pre-Ash'arite Orthodoxy. The modern puritanical Wahhābī Movement is but an offshoot of this cult.

Paper VIII.—This short article of Mr. Shujā' on an important problem of optics is very welcome, as it indicates that young Muslim scholars are really trying to fathom the depths of Arab sciences also, and are not exclusively immersed in pure literature.

Paper IX.—Dr. Wahīd Mīrzā has taken a slightly different topic from his own studies, and thrown light on Moroccan Poetry which as he admits is baffling.

Paper X.—From the facile and mature pen of Dr. S. A. Latīf we have the article. *The Concept of Society in Islam*, which has been much appreciated in literary and social circles and has given a reorientation to the Islamic conceptions of society, religion, and philosophy. The article has really paved the way for the Islamic Federation of Man in these turbulent times.

Paper XI.—Similar to paper VIII, but of a much deeper nature, is this paper. We highly appreciate the contribution of Prof. M. F. Quraishi of the Islamic College, Lahore, who has applied himself seriously to the physical study of the Dawn and Twilight, ransacked available material, and lucidly combined his technical knowledge of the subject.

The publication of the Text of the *Nihaya* is very necessary. The portion published in the proceedings is also a happy feature as it belongs to a treatise of the famous Astronomer-Philosopher Qutb-ud-din Shīrāzī who revolutionised the theory of optics and even excelled Ibn-i-Haythan.

If Islam is to claim a position in the Medieval Literature of Europe as a pioneer of culture, learning and civilization, a thorough study of all the branches of knowledge possessed by the Muslims and their real contribution to the Humanities should be assessed by impartial critics before any further advance is meditated on those lines.

It is gratifying to note that such studies are increasing in number and that Muslim

scholars are realising the necessity of a scientific study of the cultural heritage of Islam in the field of such exact sciences as Astronomy.

Paper XII.—It deals with a decadent period of Indian History, and with the personality of Adīna Beg Khān who was one of the actors in the tragic Decline of the Mughal Empire.

Paper XIII.—The last article in the proceedings is from the pen of one of the famous scholars of India and the Chief Organizer of the Idāra. Prof. Shafī, realising the importance of Muslim epigraphy, is devoting his attention to such historical documents as may from want of attention be lost for ever to the Muslim world.

The articles in Urdu also deserve notice. Moulawī Hāfiz Muḥammad Aslam Jirāj-pūrī's thesis on the *Science of Commentary*, Moulawī Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshī's *Study of the Kitabu'l-Ansab of as-Sam'ani*, and Prof. Hāfiz Maḥmūd Shīrānī's account of the 'Urwathu'l-Wuthqa عروء الوثقی, contain original material.

Since the appearance of the facsimile of the *Kitabu'l-Ansab of as-Sam'ani* in the Gibb series in 1912, scholars have needed a detailed index of the *Ansab* on modern lines, and no serious attempt has been made to undertake this important and fruitful work, which will not only prove a key to the biographical literature of the Traditionalists, but a great work of reference for the Islamic world.

If the publication of a fuller and collated text on critical lines is not forthcoming from the Arabic-speaking world, at least a correct index of proper names, places and books should be prepared, if we wish to justify our claim to this great legacy of Islam.

M. N.

PYAM-I-AMIN (Urdu); published by 'Shirkat Adabiyah, Amritsar'; second impression, pp. 205.

THIS is a popular little book compiled by a well-known Urdu writer Mr. Abdullah Minhas who has collected appreciative views and reviews on the holy Quran by many European and other non-

Muslim scholars in an endeavour to impress the so-called modernised Mussalmans who are unable to see the merits of their Divine Book themselves. Let us hope the device succeeds in making people conscious of the importance of studying the Quran.

S.

THE RISE AND FALL OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ, by Dr. Mahdi Husain : 274 pp. Luzac, London, 12 shillings.

SULTANU'L-HIND MUHAMMAD SHAH BIN TUGHLAQ (Urdu), by Dr. Mahdi Husain : 245 pp., Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, Rs. 3.

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ is one of the most enigmatic figures of Indian history, and up till quite recently he was one of the most maligned kings who ever sat on the Delhi throne. Probably the first scholar who tried to do justice to this king, who was by common consent one of the best read monarchs of the age and who exercised supreme power over the length and breadth of India for a full decade after his accession, was Professor Gardener Brown of Aligarh. It was Brown who initiated the discussion of the character and the administrative principles of the Tughlaqs in his paper published in the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, June 1918. The volume under review continues the thesis to a complete extent.

By publishing this work the author has not only vindicated the character of Muhammad Tughlaq but also his own position as an erudite scholar of wide reading and deep thought, and has analysed all the known published and unpublished authorities on this period of Indian history. Withal he is no mere apologist for Muhammad and is fully alive to all the failures due to the monarch's idealism. He is quite candid that "the king was not tactful and forbearing," explicitly regards the famous Qarāchil expedition and the matter of the token cur-

rency as fiascos of the reign and says that "he was brought into conflict with a body of people whose faults were unpardonable in his eyes." But he is at the same time most careful in giving Baranī and his successor Ferishtah not an iota of credit more than is their due when their writing especially that of Baranī, is put side by side with other historical material which the doctor has analysed. In this he had special help from the manuscript of the *Futūhu's-Salāṭin*. He says that "although its contents are not free from exaggeration," still it is "an important source of information" for the history of the period, for it is a compendium of information about the India of the fourteenth century.

Muhammad, while still a young man, became versed in theology, philosophy, mathematics, history and astronomy, and with this cultural background it is no wonder that "the new administrative organization established in the opening years of the reign was so effective that nothing like that had ever been established." It was really after the first decade of his rule that the crash came, and this was partly due to factors beyond the king's control, partly to the great extent to which the empire had reached—it included the whole sub-continent of India from the Sulaimān Mountains to Madura in the far south—and partly to the fact that Muhammad's ideas were definitely ahead of the time in which he lived.

Dr. Mahdī Husain has torn to shreds the much-repeated theory vilifying the so-called shifting of the capital from Delhi to Daulatābād. He has proved after a deep analysis of facts and a study of such works as *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* that it was due to the necessity of having a second and more central capital of this far-flung empire that he hit upon Daulatābād. As a matter of fact "Delhi was never deserted and in fact never ceased to be the capital. . . . It still remained the administrative centre," and "the royal mint, the treasury and the governmental machinery were never removed from it" while it was only the *buzurgan-i Dihli*, and only Muslims at that, who were asked to go to the southern capital, the bulk of the Hindus and the Muslim masses being left in their homelands.

The learned author takes us step by step through such problems as those of the relations with Khurāsān, the Qarāchīl expedition, the token currency, etc., and almost makes us live through the Tughlaq epoch. Even the period when the Empire was in disruption owing to its vastness, the stern judicial temper of its ruler and the disloyalty of nobles, is depicted with great explicitness and clarity.

There are four appendices dealing with Architecture and Inscriptions (Persian and Sanskrit), a critical account of the sources and a Bibliography.

H. K. S.

SOME CULTURAL ASPECTS OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA: by S. M. Jaffar. Published by S. Mohamed Sadiq Khan, Kissa Khani, Peshawar City. Price Rs. 5-4-0.

MR. S. M. JAFFAR is well known to students of Indian history, and in his previous volumes, 'Education in Muslim India' and 'The Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb' has already shown that he is equal to the task of dealing with Indian history from a correct and unbiassed viewpoint. Thus the book under review is the third of the series, and as a matter of fact surpasses Mr. Jaffar's previous works in breadth of view, erudition and logical sequence. From such well-known manifestations of Indo-Muslim art as the Taj, Fatehpur Sikri, the wonderful palaces of Mandu, the resplendent mosques of Ahmedabad and, going further south, the Darya-i Dowlat of Seringapatam, even a casual visitor may well become a believer in the Muslim Kings and Emperors as great builders and decorators. But after reading Mr. Jaffar's book one is almost shocked how much is hidden from the common view which would go to add a hundred times to the glory that was Ind in the Middle Ages.

A mere enumeration of some of the chapter headings would show the breadth of the subject. The author has divided his

work under State and the Administrative System ; Toleration ; Education ; Architecture ; Gardening ; Painting ; Poetry ; Music ; Social Life ; Religious Influences ; Economic Condition ; devoting about ten or twelve pages to each topic. Each chapter is divided into a number of sub-sections, for instance under Social Life are mentioned Domestic Events—Houses and Furniture—Dresses—Cosmetics and Toilet—Jewellery—Food and Drink—Amusements and Recreation—Morals and Manners—Etiquette.

It will be found that Mr. Jaffar has done ample justice to the subject he has taken up. He has conclusively proved that the Middle Ages of Indian history, when Indian Muslim Kings and Emperors ruled the land, was not a period of history dominated by a foreign people, but was a phase of the action and reaction which has produced Indian culture as we know it and of which the Indian patriot of whatever religious belief might well be proud. The impact of a healthy and living culture on the conditions then prevalent in India was a beneficent and a permanent contribution to the making of India, a contribution which has become part and parcel of Indian life and which cannot be obliterated however much some of us with a narrow point of view might try. The rule of the Muslims was, as Mr. Jaffar says, more tolerant towards the Hindus, on whose active co-operation they depended every moment, than the rule of the Hindu rulers themselves, and 'it was in fact, the policy of universal toleration in its widest sense that made their rule not only possible but also popular in India.' It was this policy of mutual help and confidence which went to make the non-denominational composite Indian nation which was the glory of the heyday of the Mughal rule.

The theme which Mr. Jaffar has taken up is full of great possibilities, and further research in each of the topics discussed would go a long way towards a better understanding of this, one of the most glorious epochs of the history of India.

H. K. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED AND TO BE REVIEWED

1. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MODERN EGYPT by *J. Heyworth-Dunne*.
2. THE SULTAN'S TURRETS by *Samuel Hassid, B.A.*
3. NUSRATI by *Dr. Abdul Haq*, published by Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, New Delhi.
4. QUTB MUSHTARI by *Dr. Abdul Haq*, published by Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, New Delhi.
5. ANDRUN-I-HIND by *Moulwi Syed Hashimi*, published by Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, New Delhi.
6. TARIQ-I-DASTUR-I-HUKUMAT HIND by *Dr. Yousuf Husain, D.Lit.*, published by Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, New Delhi.

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BY THE GRAVE OF AURANGZEBE

I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace ; beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, and respected by my allies. Riches and honours, power and pleasure, have waited on my call, nor does any earthly blessing appear to have been wanting to my felicity. In this situation, I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot : they amount to *fourteen* :—O man ! place not thy confidence in the present world ! ”

ABDALRAHMAN.

I

THE character of the last of the great Moguls, Aurangzebe, has generally suffered at the hands of historians, particularly Europeans, posterity having only confirmed the condemnation of many of the Emperor's foreign contemporaries.

Even Mountstuart Elphinstone, who is far less adverse than Vincent Smith and other British critics, has been fain to observe : “ A native historian,¹ impressed with the courage, wisdom and ability of Aurangzebe is at a loss to account for the ill-success of his reign. The real defect was in his heart. Had he been capable of any generous or liberal sentiment he would have been a great prince.” He admits however, with his usual fairness, that “ Of all the Kings of India, Aurangzebe is the most admired among the Mussalmans. There are few who are quite blind to the lustre of Akber's character, but fewer still whose deliberate judgment would not give the preference to Aurangzebe.”²

It is well to balance these two views, before we venture to form in our minds any picture of this remarkable man. It is only a few weeks since I visited his grave at Khuldabad. There can be few instances in history of a great Monarch desiring to be buried in such a humble style. The most famous King of Scotland the gallant Robert Bruce, did indeed desire that his heart might be buried in Jerusalem. It was devoutly carried as far as Spain on its roundabout journey, by his faithful follower, Douglas, who was there killed in battle by the Moors. It is said that before his death he flung the sacred relic as far as he could, and that it was retrieved, and is now buried in Melrose Abbey.

1. Khafi Khan Elphinstone's “ *History of India*.”

2. *Ibid*.

Great Western Monarchs, like Charles V, have experienced that disappointment and disgust with all early pomp and power which has driven them

“To walk the studious cloister’s pale,
And love the high embowéd roof,
With antique pillars massy-proof,
And storied windows richly dight
Casting a dim religious light.”

But it would be difficult to find a parallel to the case of the mighty Master of Hindustan who, as one of his latest and less censorious European historians repeats, “was buried in a coffin which cost five rupees, the proceeds of the sale of caps which he had quilted himself, while the 300 rupees which he ordered to be distributed to the poor had been earned by making copies of the Koran.”¹

This simplicity in his obsequies is a contrast too thought-provoking not to impress even the most careless traveller who, passing by the picturesque mosques and arcades of Khuldabad, naturally pauses to contemplate the lowly grave of Aurangzebe.

All countries, peoples, and customs may furnish contrasts for the sententious moralist. But India is the land *par excellence* of extremes; the land where the luxury of Dives is luxury indeed, and the poverty of Lazarus, even more abject and dire than in the parable; where the rays of the midday sun and the frost of midnight can both kill within the same twenty-four hours; where the gorgeous colour and aromatic fragrance of tropical trees alternate with wildernesses more arid than that to which Elijah fled for refuge, and ravines darker and more profound than the Valley of Desolation itself; where the highest-soaring peaks of our small world rear their crowns of eternal snow over unbounded plains, to whose bourne is set no limit save limitless space.

To say that crowds are greater, zeal intenser, colour far more emphatic in India than in their counterparts in Europe, is to be in danger of uttering a truism. Everything is magnified in this land, whose story is recorded in deeper shades and more brilliant lights than the stories of Western countries. So the incongruity is lessened, though an arresting contrast remains, when we pause beside the insignificant grave of an Indian Emperor.

Aurangzebe lies interred within a simple marble enclosure open to the sky, as he wished; the screen of *jali* work, the only embellishment of the place, was added within very recent years. A bush of *sarda* (mint) grows upon the grave, which lies close to the tomb of a Muslim Saint,² as though nestling humbly at the holy man’s feet. This tomb is a great dome of dazzling whiteness and great beauty, delicacy, and finish, pranked out with a wealth of architectural detail; minarets, pavilions, doorways,

1. *History of India*: Sir George Dunbar (1936).

2. Baveis Khaja.

arches, are stamped upon the background of sky, whose azure would eclipse the finest Limoges enamels, and those inimitable Persian blues which still survive, for the delight and mystification of our age, in the tiles of Bidar and Gwalior.

There is a porch leading to this monument, the wooden arches and columns of which are painted green, yellow, and red. The door itself is of silver ; and when, standing shoeless on the threshold, one is permitted to peep into the interior, the scene is a dim and fragrant mystery, points of light on hanging lamps, scattered flowers, and the brilliant carpet that is spread over the sarcophagus of the Saint. In terms of such majesty the mortal remains of piety, humility, and asceticism were invested in those days ; while Majesty itself they laid to rest for ever at the feet of all this holiness, and magnificence.

Can such an inversion seem anything but strange to Western ideas of appropriateness ? Does it not transgress all the laws of proportion,—social, architectural, artistic, as these are inculcated in other lands ? Was such an object lesson in brotherhood which can not only level, but reverse social distinctions, understood better in the dazzling Mogul Autocracies than in the tub-thumping strident Democracies of Europe and America ? Death, the Leveller, is the natural bane of mankind in Europe as in Asia ; but the grave of Aurangzebe is perhaps a comment even more pungent than the tombs of the Unknown Warriors of the West upon that dark phenomenon.

The grave is so placed that it is said that the water which flows from the tomb of the Saint, during the rains, runs through it, a fact ascribed to the Emperor's expressed wish. It may well be so ; for are we not in the Land of Symbols, where the plastic or pictorial illustration is more important than the recorded fact ; where the popular approach to truth is still by way of myth and parable ?

II

ABOUT three o'clock, on an afternoon in February, I installed myself on a camp-stool in a corner of the courtyard of the Saint's tomb, with easel and canvas in front of me, and a palette in my hand. The whole enclosure was exposed to the glaring sunshine, with the exception of the corner where I had ensconced myself, and this was in the shade ; for I had taken up my position in the angle formed by the boundary wall of the precincts, and the marble screen of the grave of Aurangzebe, which threw its cool protecting shadow upon me. And as I continued my work of painting the magnificent monument of the Saint, this shadow prolonged itself, extending a prong, like a finger pointing towards the Tomb.

It was the shadow, cast by a pinnacle of the marble screen that encloses the grave ; and it crept, timidly as it were, across the stone-flagged court, ever a little nearer to the threshold of the Shrine, as the afternoon wore on.

Now when one is sketching a rarely fascinating subject like this one,—white domes, flaming golden finials, a green-and-yellow pillared porch, and a sky of Indian blue—the picture may well seem almost to make itself, so to speak. So that while the painter's brush reproduces the lines and colours which are so definite and clear, the mind of the painter disengages one part of itself from the consideration of the immediate task, and may roam, as it were, at will. The painter thus becomes a dual entity.

These are the happier moments in an artist's work ; moments in which the disciplined hand and eye work so smoothly, so independently of the mental control, that the watchful outposts of the brain are automatically relieved for duty elsewhere, leaving only a solitary sentinel to keep watch and ward over the technical task in hand. You can call this dual state of simultaneous, but different, doing, and thinking, by high-sounding names ; but it is really a simple enough sensation, experienced not only by Yogis, and Theosophists, but by everyone during fortunate moments of mental and bodily absorption, now and then.

In my own case, while I was painting the Saint's tomb my mind was on the Emperor's grave, its august occupant, and that pointing finger of shadow upon the pavement,—that aspiring indication, which daily approached, but could never attain to the plinth on which stood the sacred edifice.

Now the artist is not a philosopher like the poet ; feelings rather than reasons form *his* bases of action. His approach to truth is generally through a keen perception of externals. We stand before a portrait by Rembrandt, for instance, and exclaim : " How well the painter has realised the character of that old woman ! From the ruff around the throat, to the last crease in the lined and wrinkled forehead he has set before us, by the magic of his brush, not only the exterior of his sitter, but the character, the life-history of his subject ! "

The painter has presented us with all this as in one flash of sympathetic insight, which, while revealing a picture of the serenity of old age, reveals also underlying it, but only lightly covered over, the unconquered spirit of youth.

Rembrandt, like Shakespeare has reminded us that

" Time doth transfix the flourish set on youth,
And delves the parallels on beauty's brow."

But he has reminded us of more than this. We turn from the contemplation of Rembrandt's painting with a feeling that the artist has given us at one single glance a parable as complete as the poet's allegory of Death and Immortality.¹

There is an admirable picture, probably a contemporary portrait, of Aurangzebe as an old man,² bent, leaning on his staff (much as Doctor

1. Tennyson has an elaborate allegorical description in " Gareth and Lynette," (*Idylls of the King*) of his hero's combat with Death, whose helm he cleaves, thereby revealing " the bright face of a blooming boy."

2. In the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Gemelli Careri has described him, "dressed in white, slender and stooping with age,"¹ in the Bombay collections, which seems to tell the whole story of his over-strenuous life of vast endeavour, marvellous attainment, and final disillusionment. Age is not necessarily pathetic, but it is no mere sentimentalism to say that this picture possesses pathos in a very real sense.

It could not but come back into my mind while I sat there, painting in the cast shadow of Aurangzebe's grave. My thoughts crystallised in the vivid recollection of that picture.²

It is the likeness of the courageous Warrior, wily Politician, Religious Devotee, and Supremé Ruler ; and yet none of these attributes could be said to be exclusively stamped upon the portrait. The Indian artist painted, for his own time and for posterity, the bent and unpretentious figure of an old man. That was all he had before him at the moment, but not all that he saw. For a view of this picture does help us to understand Aurangzebe. And so well do we feel that we understand him, that the transition from the picture to the lowly grave at Khuldabad does not seem at all incongruous.

The picture is *not* the production of a courtier, but of an artist who preferred to record the human rather than the official element in his great subject ; or rather, who, being an artist, could not help himself from doing this.

And yet the meanest imagination cannot but expand, and the most phlegmatic pulse quicken, when we read in the pages of History or Drama of the rise, greatness, power and (comparative) decline, of "the most magnificent of the Mogul Emperors of India." That is how the world at large has thought of Aurangzebe.

III

THERE are a few outstanding figures in the long, complicated, and often sordid story of mankind, who seem to us to sum up within themselves our idea of an epoch, or a nation. Such, among Sovereigns, are figures like Alexander, Cæsar, (Monarch in all but name) Queen Elizabeth, Louis XIV, and Aurangzebe. There is perhaps something fateful in the juxtaposition of the last two names ; for the charge of facilitating the ruin of France has freely been levelled at Louis, while the ruin of the Mogul Empire has been attributed to Aurangzebe.³

The Indian Monarch died in 1707, and the French Autocrat in 1715, so that their magnificent reigns were contemporaneous. "All Europe feared Louis. France regarded him with Asiatic humility."⁴ Both

1. *History of Aurangzebe*. Sarkar.

2. This subject is frequent in Mogul art. But good renderings of it are few.

3. "He (Aurangzebe) may be said to have ruined the Empire." (Chambers' Biographical Dictionary).

4. "France, indeed, now was almost completely ruined, but the Monarch (Louis XIV) maintained to the last an unbending despotism." Ibid.

Monarchs certainly lived to see their respective empires reach the zenith of power, and start upon their downward progress. It is of course in such externals only that one would venture to suggest the superficial parallel ; in certain features of their characters the two rulers were as widely separated as their Kingdoms. Aurangzebe's life was marked by an abstemiousness¹ which alone would be enough to show the great gulf fixed between them. Still, the comparison is striking enough to interest the curious student, who is not so prejudiced as to be afraid of discovering vivid similarities between such antitheses as the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. However, my purpose is not to press a comparison between Aurangzebe and "Le Roi Soleil" beyond the point that both seemed to comprise, within his own person, the living synthesis of his country's glory.

The Indian ruler was indeed the incarnation of his immense if restless Empire ; and he endured the weighty burdens and limitless privileges of absolute power for fifty years. The splendour of the Mogul Empire under Aurangzebe has been one of the world's great themes of History and Drama. It was probably more brilliant—certainly vaster—than the resplendent era of the Abbassides, who having renounced the simplicity of manners represented in the early Caliphs, "aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian Kings." The wealth of these Monarchs appears almost fabulous to the modern reader.

Abulfeda, the historian, has described a typical scene. "The Caliph's State-Officers, the favourite slaves, stood near him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near them were seven thousand Eunuchs, four thousand of them white, the remainder black. The porters or door-keepers were in number seven hundred. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations were seen swimming in the Tigris. Nor was the Palace itself less splendid, in which were hung up thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve hundred of which were of silk embroidered with gold. The carpets on the floor were twenty-two thousand. A hundred lions were brought out with a keeper to each lion."² Gibbon, whose sonorous prose seems to confer an additional lustre on the Eastern splendour which he chronicles with such zest, tells us of a Prince of the Abbasides "who gave away four-fifths of the income of a province before he drew his foot from the stirrup ;" of the nuptials of the same prince at which "a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride" ; and how "the funeral of a popular saint might be attended by eight hundred thousand men and sixty thousand women of Bagdad and the adjacent villages."³ All this was in the Tenth Century A.D., and the same great historian has drawn a no less glowing picture of the

1. "In the rigid austerity of his way of living the Emperor allowed himself no relaxations." Dunbar, p. 282.

2. Gibbon. *Decline and Fall*.

3. Ibid.

parallel splendour of the Omniadis who reigned in Spain. "Three miles from Cordova, in honour of his favourite Sultana, the third and greatest of the Abdalrahmans constructed the city, palace, and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years, and above three millions sterling, were employed by the founder : his liberal taste invited the artists of Constantinople, the most skilful sculptors and architects of the age : and the buildings were sustained or adorned by twelve hundred columns of Spanish and African, of Greek and Italian marble. The hall of audience was encrusted with gold and pearls, and a great basin in the centre was surrounded with the curious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds. In a lofty pavilion of the gardens, one of these basins and fountains, so delightful in a sultry climate, was replenished not with water, but with the purest quicksilver."¹ But if the Alhambra of Granada remains a still-surviving witness to the magnificence of the Moors in Spain, the Taj Mahal, the Forts at Agra and at Delhi, the Tombs of Humayun, and Akbar, and the Red City of Fatehpur Sikri, to mention but a few of the lasting memorials of the Moguls in India, tell a tale more brilliant than those of Haroun-al-Rachid, the Moorish Sultans of the West,

"....Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
Showers on her Kings barbaric pearls and gold,"

as Milton has expressed it. And the Wonderland of India culminated and centred in the dazzling personality of Aurangzebe, the simplicity and austerity of whose life was such that "his Moslem subjects regarded him as a Saint."

IV

AND where is it all now ? Is nothing left of all this greatness—nothing save a few feet of earth within this carved marble screen ? No one, placed where I was, in that storied corner of the courtyard at Khuldabad could have refrained from recalling the pageant of the Moguls' pristine glory, or of asking what had become of it all ; Byron lamented

"Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, what are they ?"

So do we resent the passing of beauty ; the termination of that wonderful Indian epoch, which closed for ever when they covered in the grave of Aurangzebe.

I know that I felt this very strongly, having finished my sketch, my humble offering of homage to the Past which had so powerfully impressed its image on the Present that the latter had quite vanished for the last three hours, during which period of time I had not been living in the Twentieth Century at all, but with those other European adventurers who clung so assiduously to the court of Aurangzebe !

It required some practical diversion to wrench my mind back to the ordinary facts of life ; this was innocently supplied by my chauffeur, who

1. Gibbon. *Decline and Fall*.

having gone to obtain change for a rupee brought me back two handfuls of the smallest of copper coins current in Hyderabad State ! The question of distributing these among the children who had collected for my convenience, as though by magic, at the outer gate of the Mosque, was solved in the only way that seemed equitable, namely by casting them amongst the crowd of diminutive competitors. The latter seemed to enjoy the fun, and the consequent scramble that ensued was a good-natured one, the disappointed juniors showing no resentment.

The scene that I had just left behind me, was glowing in my memory at that moment, and the contrast was completed by this little incident. So I thought of the splendid largess of the old State processions, when the Emperor, upon his elephant, was followed by gorgeous servants, who scattered handfuls of silver among the crowds all along the royal way, as carelessly as I had scattered those almost valueless copper coins to the urchins at the gate.

From the sublime to the ridiculous is a short step indeed ! India to day is being served by foreign " interpreters " who are intent upon turning all her poetry into prose, into the prose of a language that *they* at least can understand. Poetry is out of date in the modern world, which resounds more loudly with the clash of arms and the sordid clamour of rival claimants, than did the Mogul Empire, but which is perfectly sure that it has discovered a superior way of life.

India has learnt a great deal since Aurangzebe passed

" To where beyond these Voices there is peace ."

But the India that also passed with Aurangzebe, whatever his faults may have been, has not yet been replaced by any equal point of focus, essentially Indian, and capable of commanding the awe and respect of nations. Nor will India command such respect again until she turns a deaf ear once more to the siren voices from overseas, opens her eyes and sees herself again with gaze unblinded by foreign blandishment ; until she rises phœnix-like in the conscious grandeur of her own resources ; and reveals once more to the world at large, the awe-inspiring limitless perspective of her art and genius.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

THE LITERARY PROGRESS OF THE HINDUS UNDER MUSLIM RULE

I

HINDU HISTORIANS

LEBON says that the Hindu mind was ill fitted for the writing of history. The antique pages of the Vedas, the legal sections of the Manusmriti, the picturesque descriptions of the wars in the Mahabharata, the tragic tales of the Ramayana, and the sweet discourses of the Upanishads give us no inkling of past history. The political changes which took place before the coming of the Muslims to India, the dates of birth and death, and descriptions of rulers of different provinces, and the accounts of contemporary scholars, are all buried under oblivion. What modern historians have tried to trace is based on mere conjecture. The Puranas give some accounts of saints and recluses, but they are not taken seriously by scientific historians.

With the coming of the Muslims to India, a new atmosphere was created here. The history of Aryavarta began to be duly recorded. And Muslim historians wrote not only the history of the Muslim kings, nobles, scholars and poets, but paid equal attention to the Hindu Rajas, nobles, pundits and poets also. Accounts of the Hindu nobles and scholars who flourished in the Timuride period alone fill volumes.

Today European tolerance is much trumpeted throughout the world. We are made to believe that the age of European conquest is conspicuously marked by the development of the art and literature of the vanquished races. But do they really appreciate the merit of the latter? How many distinguished Indian scholars in English have been mentioned in the History of English literature or in the Encyclopædia Britannica? On the other hand, the 'tyrant,' 'iconoclast' and 'untouchable' Muslims treated Hindu and Muslim scholars on equal terms. Muslim rulers gave both of them equal privileges in their courts, and Muslim authors admired both of them with equal enthusiasm.

It was owing to the Muslims that the Hindus developed a taste for writing history, and in course of time they wrote a number of historical books, which can now be grouped into a long series.

The first history written by a Hindu scholar was the History of Kashmir, *Raj Tirangani*. This was written in Sanskrit in the time of Sultan Zaynul 'Abedin, the ruler of Kashmir, who succeeded to the throne in

826 A.H. The author's name was Kalhana. When Akbar went to Kashmir, this book was presented to his Court. He ordered a Persian rendering to be made. Abul Fazal says that the book covered five thousand years of the history of Kashmir. The original book has now been printed in India as well as in France. A Persian translation has also appeared in print.

Lalji Das—Baba Lal Guru was a saint in Shah Jahan's time. Prince Dara Shikuh was his disciple. Lalji Das was also this Baba Lal Guru's pupil. Baba was born in 1014 A.H. and lived till 1059 A.H. Lalji Das wrote Guru's life and his teachings in Persian.

Banwali Das Wali was Prince Dara's chief secretary. Some have named him Bhawani Das. The cataloguer of the Asafia Library has named him Wali Ram Gosain Dara Shikuh. Banwali and Bhawani are clerical errors. Wali was his nom-de-plume, which became a part of his name. He wrote *Raja Dilli*, a history of the kings of Delhi. It is a standard book and quoted by reliable historians.

Rai Bindran—He was Rai Bahara Mal's son. Bahara Mal got the title of Rai in the 20th year of the Shah Jahani era for his meritorious services. Dara Shikuh appointed him as his Dewan. His son Bindran was brought up by 'Ālamgir, who bestowed upon him the title of Rai. He is the author of an excellent book *Lub-ut-Tawarikh*, (*The Essence of History*).

Isar Das was a Nagar by caste and a native of Patan. He received his education from Qadhi Shaykh-ul-Islam b. Abdul Wahab (died in 1096 A.H.). Isar Das was much benefited by the Qadhi's discourses, which he held with his visitors, some of whom were nobles and peers of the State. After he completed his education, he was appointed Amin of Jodhpur on the recommendations of Shuja 'at Khan, the Governor of Gujrat. He got a mansab and jagir in Meerut for his services in a battle. His literary qualities were much appreciated in 'Ālamgir's reign, when he wrote a scholarly book under the title of *Fatuhāt 'Ālamgiri* (*'Ālamgir's Conquests*).

Bhim Sen Kayestha was Raghunandan Das's son and was born in Burhanpur in 1059 A.H. in the twenty-third year of Shah Jahan's reign. One of his relations, Bhagwan Das, was a Dewan in 'Ālamgir's court and was honoured with the title of Dayant Rai. Bhim Sen served first under Rao Dalpat, the Governor of Bundela, who had proved himself very useful in the wars of the Deccan, so 'Ālamgir bestowed upon him the title of Rao, and appointed him Commander of three thousand men. Bhim Sen was placed in charge of the fortress of Naldarak, which he governed well. In 1120 A.H. he resigned his post and returned home, where he passed the rest of his life in literary pursuits. He wrote the history of 'Ālamgir's reign, namely *Dilkusha* (*Heart-opener*).

Narayan Kole 'Ājiz was a Kashmiri. He writes in the preface of his book *Tarikh-e-Kashmir* (*History of Kashmir*) that the nobles of Kashmir had pressed him long to write a history of his motherland. Formerly Malik Hyder had collected some material from Sanskrit at the instance

of 'Ārif Khan, the Dewan and Assistant Governor of Kashmir. This was made available to him (Narayan Kōle). He compared it with the original Sanskrit and used it in his book, which he completed in 1122 A.H.

Hiraman Girdhar Dās was Mu'tamad Khan's secretary. Mu'tamad Khan had sided with 'Ālamgir in the civil war of succession. After the war was over he was appointed Governor of Gwalior. Hiranman Girdhar Dās wrote about that time his book *Gwalior Namah*, which is a history of Gwalior from Raja Vikramaditya's time till Mu'tamad Khan's days.

Jaswant Rai was Bhagwant Rai's son and a learned Persian scholar and poet. At first he served Pardal Khan, but he went to the Carnatic in 1118 A.H., where he got access into Nawab Sa'adatullah Khan's court by writing a *qasida* in his praise. The Nawab showed him high favours and he settled there. He wrote *Sayid Namah*, which is a history of the Nawab and his family.

Thakur Lal was Bhoj Das Kayestha's son and a native of Matur in the district of Burhanpur. In 1139 A.H. he wrote a book *Dasturul 'Āmal*, in which he gave a list of various events of India and the Deccan.

Sujan Rai Khatri flourished in 'Ālamgir's reign and wrote a voluminous book *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, which is a history from the earliest times of the world till 'Ālamgir's reign. It was written after hard labour and patience and is a standard work. The author belonged to Patiala, and died in 1107 A.H.

Bindraban Dās was Bahadur Shah I's courtier. He wrote his *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* in 1115 A.H. in the 40th year of 'Ālamgir's reign. It is a history of India from the time of the Aryans to 'Ālamgir's period. The ornate language of prolific Arabic diction gives us the impression that the author was of purely Iranian origin. In the preface he has given a list of the various authorities he had consulted. He had recorded facts after making himself sure of their authenticity.

Jagjivan Dās was Manohar Dās's son and a native of Gujrat. He served as an Inspector-General of the Post Offices in Muhammad Mu'azzam's government. All the confidential papers of the State passed through him and this inspired him to gather historical material. In 1119 A.H. he was received by Bahadur Shah I in the royal court at Lahore, and was directed to write history. In 1120 A.H. he presented to the court his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, for which he received a title and robes of honour as rewards.

Kāmraj was Nain Singh's son, and a native of Phaphund in the district of Itawah. He was introduced to Prince Muhammad 'Azam in Malwa and wrote later on a book *'Azamul Harb*, which deals with the civil war between 'Azam and his brothers. Kāmraj writes in the preface that abundant material was procured for him by official chroniclers. He often gives expression to the sense of obligation of himself and his family to the Timuride court for the previous three generations.

Kishun Chand Ikhlās Khatri was an inhabitant of Shah Jehanabad, and pupil of Mirza Abdul Ghani Qabūl of Kashmir. His father Uchal

was a Persian poet. Kishun Chand wrote in 1136 A.H. *Hamesha Bahar* (*Eternal Spring*) which gives accounts of the Persian poets who flourished from Akbar to Muhammad Shah. This is recognised as a standard biography, and Āzād Bilgrāmi derived much benefit from it in compiling his *Khazāna-i-Āmra*.

Lal Ram was a son of Dula Ram. His grandfather Kunjman Rai served under Ālamgir and got the title of Rai. Dula Ram was also honoured with the same title and was one of the office-bearers of the court. Lal Ram served under Muhammad Shah. In 1148 A.H. he presented to the royal court a book *Tuhfat-ul-Hind*, which is a standard history.

Khushhāl Chand served as Dewan in Ālamgir's court and died in 1164 A.H. After him he got the same post. *Tarikh-Nadir-uz-zamani* is Khushhāl Chand's best book.

Hira Lal Khushdil was probably a native of the Deccan. He wrote a versified history of the Qutub Shahi dynasty of the Deccan. The exact time he lived in is not precisely known, but he may have lived at the end of the 10th century or at the beginning of the 11th century A.H. which corresponds to the rule of the Qutub Shahi dynasty.

Maharaja Kalyan Singh—His grandfather Rai Himmat Singh was a Kayestha of Delhi and a Dewan in Amirul-Umara Samsam-ud-Dawlah's government. His son Shitāb Rai was a very prominent figure of his time. He got the title of Mumtazul Mulk Maharaja Shitāb Rai Bahadur Mansoor Jung from the royal court and was appointed the Governor of Bihar. He was a great scholar and patron of learned men. He died in 1187 A.H. and his son Intezamul Mulk Mumtaz-ud-Dawlah Maharaja Kalyan Singh Bahadur Tahawwar Jung succeeded him as Governor of the province. Like his father he was also a lover of learning. He was the author of *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, which is a history of India from Timur's time to his own days. He also wrote a history of Bengal entitled *Wārdāt Qāsimi*.

Shiva Das belonged to Lucknow, and wrote *Shah Namah*, which consists of history till the time of Farukh Siyar (1124 A.H.) and Muhammad Shah (1131 A.H.). He served as a Court Secretary for a long time.

Rūp Narayan was Hari Ram Khatri's son and a native of Sialkot. In 1129 A.H. he wrote a book on the sacred places of the Hindus entitled *Brij Mahatum*, the chronogram of which is to be had from *Makhzan-ul-Irfān*.

Rai Chitraman wrote a history of India, namely, *Chahar Gulshan* at Ghaziuddin Khan's wishes. This book is divided into four chapters, the first is a history of the kings of India, the second is a description of the provinces, the third is a survey of the roads which led from Delhi in different directions and the fourth is an account of Hindu saints and recluses. The third chapter provides very useful information. The book was finished in 1173 A.H.

Durga Das was a Brahmin of the district of Narnawal (Madras). He served sometimes in Khaluji Bhonsle's court, and then went from Nagpur to Allahabad in connection with Nasirul Mulk Nasir Jang's affairs. In

1182 A.H., he wrote there *Mizan-i-Dānish* which is divided into four parts according to *Jug* (the four great Hindu periods, Sat, Treta, Dwapar and Kali).

Manna Lal wrote a history of Shah 'Ālam's period, beginning from 1184 A.H. when the latter went to Delhi from Allahabad.

Rai Kewal Ram was an inhabitant of Kasna in the vicinity of Delhi. In 1184 A.H. he wrote a book *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*, which he based on royal diaries and chronicles.

Dalpat Rai belonged to Ahmadabad, Gujrat. His father Gulab Rai was a clerk there. Dalpat Rai was a scholar of Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Bhaka. At the age of fifty-seven he came to Jainagar (Jaipur) and began to write *Malhat Maqal* at Maharaja Madho Singh's orders. He completed the book in 1181 A.H. after the Maharaja's death.

Bindraban Khushgo was an inhabitant of Muthra, and pupil of the renowned scholars of the day, Serajuddin Ali Khan Arzu, Mirza Abdul Quadir Bēdil, Muhammad Afzal Sirkhush and Shaykh Sa'dullah Gulshan. He was noted for his merit both in prose and poetry. He wrote two biographies *Safina-i-Khushgo* and *Tazkirat-ul-Mu'āshirīn*, and presented them to Nawab 'Umdatul Mulk Amir Khan, who appreciated his labour by fixing an honorarium of two rupees daily for him. After the Nawab's death he renounced the world and settled in Azimabad (Patna). The copy of *Safina-i-Khushgo* which exists in the Oriental Library, Patna, belonged to Āzād Bilgramī, who had it copied in 1183 A.H.

Pundit Krishnanand was the author of *Shāhān-i-Hind* which is a history of the kings of India. The time he lived is not exactly known, but he was alive in 1173 A.H.

Bodh Singh wrote a history of the Sikhs from 1178 A.H. to his own days, entitled *Nanak Shah*. He was helped by Lala 'Ajāib Singh in his compilation, the date of which is not known.

Raghunath was probably a Mahratta and wrote in 1774 A.D. a history of the Mahrattas entitled *Hālāt-i-Mahratta*.

Shiva Prasad served under Nawab Faidhullah Khan Rohilla in 1190 A.H. and wrote a history of the Rohilla Pathans in *Tarikh-e-Faidh Bakhsh*.

Mukand Rai translated into Persian Raja Holkar's political letters, which are known as *Khatt-e-Holkar*, a copy of which, dated 1190 A.H. is in the Asafiya Library.

Mohan Lal Anīs was an inhabitant of Lucknow, and Mirza Fākhir Makīn's pupil. He is the author of *Anīs-ul-Akhhār*, which is an interesting biography of Mirza Makīn and his pupil. It gives an account of Mirza Makīn's six Hindu pupils also. It was written in 1193 A.H.

Harnam Singh was an inhabitant of Malanwah, in the vicinity of Lucknow, and was a Saraswati Brahman. From his childhood he was brought up by 'Ainuddin Khan, the Governor of Bareilly. *Sa'adat Jawa'id* is his best book. 'Ainuddin Khan's rule in Bareilly extended from 1195 to 1199 A.H.).

Ranchurji in 1824 A.D. (1197 A.H.) wrote *Tarikh-e-Surat*, in which he gives descriptions of Junagadh and the Nagar community.

Lachmi Narayan Shafiq was an inhabitant of Lahore. His grandfather accompanied 'Ālamgir to the Deccan and settled in Aurangabad. His father Rai Mansa Ram was Nawab Āsaf Jah's Dewan. Lachmi Narayan Shafiq was an erudite scholar. He was Āzād Bilgrami's pupil and one of the loyal servants of 'Ālijah Bahadur. He inherited a passionate love of history and biography from his teacher Āzād and left numerous works on both these subjects. His *Gul-e-R'ana* and *Shām-i-Ghariban* are biographies of Persian poets. In 1204 A.H. he wrote *Haqiqat hāy Hindustan*, and later on *Khulasat-ul-Hind* and *Tawarikh-i-Āṣāfi*, but his best book is *Bisat-ul-Ghanaīm* which is a history of the Mahrattas.

Har Sukh Rai was a Khatri by caste and inhabitant of Lahore. In 1214 A.H. he began to write *Majma'ul Akhbār*, on his uncle Sri Narayan's advice, and completed it in 1220 A.H. A few years before he had already written a very useful and interesting book *Zubdat-ul-Qawā-neen* of which I will speak later on.

Manna Lal was a secretary to the Royal Khālsā office and deputed to write Shah 'Ālam's diary. This diary is now in the Oriental Library, Bankipore, and gives a good impression of the writer's sound merit and keen observation. The last page of the diary finishes with the last day of Shah 'Ālam's life (1221 A.H.).

Rai Amar Singh Khushdil belonged to Katra Manikpore and his father was the Nāzim of Ghazipore in Nawab Shuja'uddaulah's time. Amar Singh served first under Maharaja Ajit Singh of Benares and was later on appointed the Nāzim of Aligarh by the East India Company. He was a learned scholar and wrote *Farmārawāyān-i-Hunud*, which is a history of the Hindu rulers of India from the earliest times to Sultan 'Alāuddin Ghorī's reign. Another work of his is *Bazm-i-Khayāl*, which is an account of the political affairs of his days. The activities of the English till 1210 A.H. form a useful part of the book. He died in 1225 A.H.

Daulat Rai was a Kayestha and chief attendant of Bhāwal Khan, the founder of the Bhāwalpore State, (died in 1224 A.H.). He wrote a history of Bhāwalpore entitled *Mirat Daulat 'Abbāssia*, which is so named because the origin of the dynasty of Bhawalpore is traced to the Abbasides.

Rai Bhagwan Das was a Kayestha and inhabitant of Kalpi and had for pen-name Hindi. He received education in Lucknow, and was also taught by Syed Yusuf of Saharanpore. He was given a respectable post in Nawab Āsaf-ud-Dawlah's government and afterwards became an attendant on Mu'tam-ud-Dawlah Maharaja Takit Rai, the Assistant Dewan of the king of Oudh. He is the author of two biographies, *Hadiqa-i-Hindi* and *Safina-i-Hindi*, which give an account of past and contemporary poets respectively. The date of these compilations is 1219 A.H.

Mohan Singh served in Holkar's government and was an able scholar in Arabic and Persian. He wrote *Waqā-i'-Holkar* which is a history of Malhar Rao Holkar (Indore). It was completed in 1223 A.H.

Chatr Mal's most valuable work is *Dewan Pasand* which is a discourse on Indian Finance. He wrote also *Amārat-ul-Akbār* which must be the description of the buildings of Akbarabad, according to the title. His former book is dated 1225 A.H.

Bisadan Lal Shādān was an inhabitant of Bilgram and the Assistant Chief Secretary in Amir-ud-Dawlah Muhammad Amir Khan's court and wrote *Amir Namah* at his orders. This is really Amir Khan's biography.

Sundar Lal Kole was an inhabitant of Muthra and Chief Secretary to the *Khālsā* office. In 1241 A.H. he wrote *Gul-e-be-Khezān* which is divided into four chapters. The first three give descriptions of Delhi, Muthra and Bindraban, and the fourth consists of fiction.

Munshi Sada Sukh Lal—(Niyāz) was a record keeper in Agra in Najaf Khan's time. In 1234 A.H. he came to Allahabad leaving Delhi at the age of 65 years. Mirza Qalil, Mir Taqi and Khwaja Mir Dard were his contemporaries. In Allahabad he wrote *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* which has been referred to by Sir Henry Elliot in his *History of India*.

Bahadur Singh belonged to Shah-Jehanabad but settled in Allahabad. He wrote a general history of the world *Yadgar Bahaduri*, culling material from Arabic, Persian and Hindi books. It was completed in 1249 A.H.

Ratan Singh—Munshi-ul-Mamālik Fakhr-ud-Dawlah Dabir-ul-Mulk Raja Ratan Singh Zakhmi was born in Lucknow and was a Kayestha by caste. His family served the Oudh court for three generations. His grandfather Raja Bhagwan Das was a tutor of Āsaf-ud-Dawlah when he was a prince, and a Dewan when the latter steered the helm of the government. Ratan Singh was an erudite scholar of his time. His real worth will be shown when I will make a survey of Hindu philosophers, but amongst his numerous works one is *Sultan-ut-Tawārikh*, which is a history of the kings of Oudh. He finished this book in his sixtieth year in 1258 A.H.

Ram Sita Singh—His pen-name was Fiṭrat. He wrote a biography of Munshi Sital Singh Bekhud in his *Haqiqat-hai Bekhud*, which was printed in 1848 A.D.

Bishun Narayan was the author of *Nazārat-ul-Sind* which is a historico-geographical review of the province of Sind. The cataloguer of the Persian manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal says that it is a translation of Lieut. T. Postan's *Personal Observations on Sind*, with additional notes on the events of the subsequent period up to 1858. The date of its compilation is not known, but the copy of the Asiatic Society is dated 1859 A.D.

Lala Sital Chand lived in Agra, and long before the so-called Mutiny of 1857 he was a teacher in Agra Madrasa. He wrote *T'arif-ul-'Imārāt*, which gives illustrated descriptions of the buildings of Agra.

Mahtab Singh was an inhabitant of Cawnpore and wrote *Tarikh-e-Hazara*, which is a history of Hazara State from the earliest times, with particular reference to the period from 1819 to 1849.

Girdhari Lal was the author of *Zafar Dakan*. Details of the author and the dates of his compilations are not known, but he was famous as a

philosopher.

Raja Kundun Lal was a prominent scholar of his time and was widely known as a philosopher. He belonged to Delhi. In 1237 A.H. he wrote *Qistas* and later on *Tanqih-ul-Akhhār*, which is largely his autobiography.

The above list of historians can be enlarged, but many books have been destroyed by this time. This short list, however, stands in welcome contrast with the number of modern authors, who enjoy every kind of educational, literary and academic facilities. There are other things to be considered also. Unlike modern writers, the above authors wrote and compiled books not for any commercial gain, but to serve exclusively the cause of learning. Again, the books which are written today are gleaned and culled from the works of past writers. They are generally not the outcome of personal study of human nature, but are mere researches based on older books. On the other hand, the works of the Hindu authors mentioned above are mostly the results of personal observations of human character, actual experiences of political happenings, and more or less thorough scrutiny of varied facts. Some of these authors undertook arduous journeys to avoid having to use second-hand information ; some held responsible offices, and most of them were either secretaries, chroniclers or Diwans who knew all the secrets of the State. They had naturally a masterly grasp of political, administrative and financial details, which qualified them to write and compile history authoritatively.

II

HINDU POETS

THE conquered race cannot help adopting its conqueror's language. During the Muslim period, Persian was the language of the court but the way in which India was ruled in those days gives us reason to believe that the people were never forced to learn it, although they had to learn it mostly on material grounds. It was, however, during Sikander Lodi's time that the Indians applied themselves to the study of Persian in large numbers.

English education is a dominant feature of British rule in India. Considerable amounts are spent in the organisation of an exceedingly large number of educational institutions. But so far as quality is concerned the method of education in the past stands in favourable contrast with the modern system. The reasons are not far to seek. In the past, education was free, not expensive. Teachers were loving and earnest—not business-like and professional. There was no invidious discrimination between the Hindus and the Muslims. Both enjoyed common environment and had common associations. Consequently, the Hindus learnt Persian without any handicap or reluctance. In the latter part of the Timuride period there flourished large numbers of Hindu poets whose merits have been

acknowledged and appreciated by contemporary Muslim critics. I give below a short account of some prominent Hindu poets, arranged in alphabetical order.

Āfrīn—His name was Mittan Lal and pen-name Āfrīn. He was a Kayestha by caste and lived in Allahabad. His verses were remarkable for their raciness and spontaneity :

نمی گردد بلند از خاک هم باد مزار ما که بنشیند مبادا بردل خوبان غبار ما
شکر لله نقش بائے مه جینے یافتم آرزوئے سجدہ می کردم زمینے یافتم

Anīs—Mohan Lal Anīs was Toal Ram Kayestha's son and Mirza Fākhir Makīn's pupil. He was author of a Persian *diwan*.

Ārām—Munshi Ishari Das Ārām was in the service of Amirul-Umara Nawab Ghazanfar Jung, a noble of Farrukhabad. He wrote with perfect mastery both prose and poetry in Persian. His writings were marked by erudition, beauty of thought, dexterity of words and elegance of diction. Some of his biographical and historical works are written in admirable style. He wrote the following verses in praise of Nizam-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jah on the occasion of the suppression of the Suraj Mal Jat's rebellion :

جوان وصاحب بخت جوان نظام الملک که باد همت ازو مردم دکن گیرند
برید گردن بلوئے فتنه ساز نخست چنانکه صبح سرشمع در لگن گیرند

Badr—Rai Ganga Prasad was a highly cultured and accomplished Kayestha of Lucknow. He was a Keeper of Records in Wajid Ali Shah's government and an adept in accounts and book-keeping.

Bahar—Tek Chand Bahar wrote pleasing verses and "his writings," says a biographer, "reached the highest pitch of excellence." He is the author of *Bahar 'Ajam* (a well-known dictionary) and *Jawāhirul-Hurūf* (a philological work). He was one of the few distinguished pupils of Serajuddin Ali Khan Ārzu.

Bahjut—Makhan Lal Bahjut was author of a Persian *diwan*.

Brahman—Chandr Bhan, Brahman of Agra, was a secretary in Dara Shikuh's government. After the latter was murdered, he resigned his post and went to Benares, where he died in 1073 A.H.

Gulshan—Raja Tiyal Lal Bahadur was a good poet and author of a *diwan*. He served in the correspondence department of Abul Fatah Muhammad Ali Shah, the ruler of Oudh.

Gulshan was the nom-de-plume of Rai Gulab Rai, who was Qatīl's pupil and a native of Sandila. He served in various high posts in Oudh State. He was "second to none in his learning, highly skilled in soldier-ship also, and bequeathed a voluminous biography of poets and a bulky *diwan*."

Hindu—This pen-name was assumed by Shiva Singh of Lucknow, as well as Gokulchand of Farrukhabad. The latter was a Khatri by caste. Very little is known of them.

Haya—Shiva Ram Haya was a Kayestha of Akbarabad. His father Bhagwali Mal served in the government of Nawab Asad Khan who was 'Ālamgir's minister. He took instruction in poetry from Mirza Bēdil and wrote *Gulgasht-Bahar Aram*, after the model of the latter's *Chahar 'Unşur*. He died in 1144 A.H.

Ikhlas—Kali Prasad Ikhlas was a Kayestha and inhabitant of Lucknow. He took lessons in Persian prose and poetry from Maulvi Ehsanullah. His verses and writings were destroyed after his death. He wrote a *qasida* in praise of Muhammad Ali, the ruler of Oudh, for which he received one thousand rupees as a reward.

Indraman—He was Kanwal Ram's son and a native of Aurangabad in Bulandshahr District. He learnt Persian from Shaykh Nizamuddin of Sikandarabad and became prominent for his verses. He became blind in his youth, but had a sharp memory, so he was able to recite his prose and poetical productions.

'Ishrat—Jai Kishun 'Ishrat was a Brahman of Kashmir and was well known for his chaste verses. He served for a long time under Nawab Najm-ud-Dawlah Amir.

Khāmūsh—Sāhib Rām Khāmūsh was a clerk in the service of Shah 'Ālam. He died in 1225 A.H. A manuscript of his Persian *diwan* is in the Bengal Asiatic Society, consisting of *ghazals*, *qasidas*, *qit'ās*, and short *mathnavīs*.

Kheyālī—Kheyālī Rām was a native of Lucknow. His excellence in prose and poetry was widely acknowledged. He was the author of more than one hundred books, one of which is the *Explanatory Notes on Khusro*. He wrote a *qasida* in Wajid Ali Shah's praise, of which the words in the beginning and the end of the first hemistich give the chronograms of Hijra and Fasli eras respectively, and the words in the second hemistich give chronograms of Christian and Indian Sambat eras.

Khushdil—Rai Amar Singh was Jivan Ram's son and a native of Manikpur. I have already mentioned him in the list of historians. He was also a poet and author of *Bahar Danish* and a *diwan*, which consists of five thousand verses.

Manohar—Rai Manohar Lal was a noble of Akbar's court. He was held in respect for his suave disposition and sane wisdom. He was a good poet :—

روزے کہ سموم حشر افزون گردد در آتش غم جو چہرہ گلگون گردد
مادر دوزخ چنان بذوق سوزم کز رشک دل بہشتیان خون گردد

Mūjid—Sukhan Lal Mūjid was a native of Badaun. This pen-name was also assumed by Lālā Kālkā Prasad of Lucknow, who was well known for his poetic wit and sharp intelligence. He wrote a beautiful hand in Nasta'liq and was a past master in Persian idiom and phrases.

Mauzūn—Raja Ram Narayan Mauzūn was a native of Azimabad. His father served as a Diwan in Nawab Mahabat Jung's State and after

his father's death he got the same post. He was a good soldier and poet. He learnt to compose verses from Ali Ḥazīn and was the author of a *diwan*. He died in 1170 A.H.

Mauzūn was the nom-de-plume of Raja Madan Singh also, a native of Etawah. His father Jagat Singh was employed as a Diwan in Nawab Ghaziuddin Khan's government and was promoted to a mansab of three thousand, and awarded the title of Raja. Madan Singh served under Nawab Aṣaf Jah of the Deccan and in Nāṣir Jung's time got a mansab of two thousand and was honoured with the insignia of a flag, drum and the title of Raja. He was later on placed in charge of the fortress of Mustafanagar which the English troops attacked and besieged. The Raja defended the fortress ably but was killed by a bullet at the age of fifty in 1179. He was well versed in Persian prose and poetry.

Mumtaz—Lala Sital Das's verses were remarkable for delicacy of thought. "His accent and intonation were much like those of a pure Iranian."

Munshi Madho Ram of Shahjehanabad served under Nawab Lutfullah Khan b. S'adullah Khan Shahjehani. He became gradually the chief secretary to Bahadur Shah's son, Muizuddin Jehandar.

Lala Fateh Chand of Burhanpore also used the nom-de-plume Munshī. He was noted for the sweetness of his diction.

Pundit Gopal Neqād was a native of Kashmir, Qatīl's pupil and a friend of Qadhi Muhammad Sādiq Akhtar.

Data Ram Rafīq composed sprightly verses and the following is a good specimen :

نگار من به رخ خویش چون نقاب گرفت فتاد شور که امروز آفتاب گرفت

Kunwar Sukraj Bahadur Singh Rahmati was Kunwar Hira Lal Zamir's son and Raja Peyare Lal Ulfati's grandson.

Bakhtawar Singh Raqim was a native of Lucknow and was appreciated for his sweet and eloquent verses. His son Jawahir Singh Jauhar also composed in brilliant style.

Munshi Ram Sahai Raunaq of Lucknow wrote both prose and poetry in elegant and chaste Persian. He died in 1290 A.H. leaving a *diwan* and many *mathnawis*.

Sukhraj Sabqat's father served under 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Bahadur, who was 'Ālamgir's minister. Sukhraj was well known for his scholarship in literature, science, mathematics, medicine and mysticism. He had a great command over different branches of poetry and in writing riddles and chronograms. He was Bēdil's pupil, and a Dewan and Head Steward in Syed Hussain Khan's State. He had also a mansab of five hundred. He was the author of *Jang Namah-i-Hussain Ali Khan* which consisted of 700 verses.

Maharaja Chandu Lal Shādān was a Dewan in the Nizam's government, Hyderabad. He had a galaxy of talented poets and scholars around him, where poetic contests and literary debates were held every night.

He composed poetry of high standard. His *diwan* has now been printed. He died in 1254 A.H.

Saheb Ram was a lover of Persian lore and had an admirable skill in writing chronograms. In Shah Ghaziuddin Haidar's time he had a great reputation for his learning. On the death of Ghaziuddin Haidar Shah, who was buried in Najaf (Lucknow), he composed the following chronogram :

چون رفت شه زمن ز دنیا ماتم دل خاص وعام بگرفت
از روئے بکا و آه گفتم حیدر به بخف مقام بگرفت

Maharaja Shiva Pardhanji Gopal Singh Bahadur Thāqib was a Srivastava Kayestha. His father Munshi Beni Prasad was a Record Keeper in Oudh court. Shiva Pardhan served in the government of Prince General Faridun Qadar Mirza Hazabr Ali of Oudh. He wrote a history of Oudh, which bears *Dafter-i-Thāqib* as its chronogram *Haqiqat-i-Taimurya*. He is also the author of a *mathnavi* *Mukhber-i-Himmat*, and a *diwan* entitled *Nadirat-e-Thāqib*.

Lachmi Narayan Shafiq of Aurangabad was Mir Āzad's pupil, and the author of two biographies of poets *Gul-e-Ra'na* and *Sham-i-Ghariban*. His verses were characterised with harmony and clearness of diction. He was originally a native of Lahore, but his father Bhawani Das accompanied 'Ālamgir to Deccan and settled in Aurangabad. Shafiq served under 'Āli Jah, the son of Nizam Ali Khan. He died in 1200 A.H.

Munshi Dawlat Rāi Shauq was Raja Bholā Nath's grandson and served in the correspondence department of Oudh court. He composed panegyrics of lofty standard which were notable for diction and thought. He and his family accompanied Wajid Ali Shah to Calcutta. He died in 1270 A.H.

Munshi Gohar Lal Tuftah was a Brahman by caste and a prolific writer of verses. He is the author of five *diwans*, each of which consists of thirteen thousand lines.

Makun Lal Tamanna was a Kayestha and a native of Shikuhabad. His *diwan* and *mathnavi* consist of 15 thousand verses.

Raja Ulfat Rai was the Bakshi-ul-Mamalik (Paymaster) in Oudh, and was a proficient scholar in Persian. He composed *ghazals*, *qasidas*, *mathnawis* and quatrains with great ease and fluency.

Ulfat was the nom-de-plume of Lala Ujagar also, a native of Azimabad and pupil of Mir Muhammad 'Aleem of Samarqand.

Raja Peyare Lal Ulfati was an illustrious poet of Azimabad. His *mathnawi* *Nairang-e-Taqdir* and his *diwan* have now been printed. He was the Chief Secretary to King Akbar II of Delhi. The following verses may give an idea of his polished style :—

چون غنچه جز سکوت نباشد بیان ما پیچیده شد زبان سخن . دردھان ما

اندیشه مال نیامد ز ما درست در دست دیگر نیست چو سودوزیان ما
در دشت پر بلائے جنون نیست الفتی جز موج ریگ و اشک روان کاروان ما

Wamiq was a Khatri by caste, but converted to Islam by Maulvi Abdullah bin Maulvi Abdul Hakim of Sialkot and was named Muhammad Ikhlas Khan. He was employed in Aurangzeb's service and later on became a noble of his court. He was a past master of sprightly style, the beauty and flavour of which were appreciated by Alamgir, who was himself a great scholar. In his youth he composed verses, but later on gave himself exclusively to serious branches of learning. He died in 1143 A.H.

Mudir-ud-Dawlah Munshi-ul-Mumalik Raja Jwala Prasad Bahadur Mahkum Jung, with the pen-name Waqar, was the Chief Secretary to Amjad Ali and Wajid Ali, the kings of Oudh. The chief trait of his character was that he was never harsh to anybody, although he enjoyed a privileged position. He was highly proficient in Persian prose and poetry. His *diwan* has been printed.

Other poets, whose lives are little known to us, are Lala Baijnath Mushtaq of Bareilly, Lala Ram Baksh of Kanauj, Pundit Deyanath, a native of Kashmir and pupil of Mirza Ali Fakhi 'Arif of Shiraz, Meku Lal Raf'at of Lucknow, Raja Gobind Baksh Dhiyā (died in 1245 A.H.) and Lala Moji Ram.

III

PROSE-WRITERS

THE number of Hindu prose-writers in Persian is also very large. Some of them were highly accomplished scholars, and some made the best use of their knowledge in office work, which was commonly done through the medium of Persian. The Kayesthas learnt Persian in greater number than any other section of the people did, but the Brahmans, mostly of Kashmir, were noted for the simplicity and purity of their style and diction.

The Secretariat and the Finance Department were manned by Hindus, who were later on appointed chiefs of the Secretariat also, called Mir Munshi or Munshi-ul-Mumalik. The Hindus, who were appointed to these posts, had to be proficient in Persian. They issued letters, orders and firmans on behalf of the kings and more often than not recorded chronicles. The firmans and letters of these Hindu scholars were collected and given as examples to boys in educational institutions. *Munsha'at Brahman*, *Insha'i Madho Ram*, *Munsha'at Rawar Mal*, *Kheyalat Nādir* and *Dastur-us-Şibyān* were books of this kind.

I have mentioned that the Hindus began learning Persian during Lodi's time, and the first Hindu scholar in that language belonged to the same period.

Pundit Dongar Mal flourished in Sultan Sikandar Lodi's time. His scholarship in Persian was a source of amazement to the Muslim authors. He was a poet also. The following line is ascribed to him :

دل خون نہ شدے چشم تو خنجر نہ شدے گر رہ گم نہ شدے زلف تو ابر نہ شدے گر

Todar Mal was a Khatri by caste and received Persian education in Sher Shah's reign, and was employed in his court. After the downfall of the Sur dynasty, he came to Akbar's court, where he distinguished himself as a great financier. 'He was a skilful calligraphist,' writes the author of *Tazkir-e-Khush Nawīsān*, 'and wrote in a lovely way.'

Rai Manohar Lal was Rai Lon Karan's son and was brought up by Prince Salim (Jehangir). His erudition in Persian has been highly admired by biographers.

Chandra Bhān Brahman—I have already mentioned him before. He was the greatest Hindu scholar of Shah Jahan's time. He was a native of Lahore and a Brahman by caste. His literary worth shone resplendently under Mulla Abdul Karim's tutorship. He was a poet also, having Brahman as his pen-name. Afzal Khan, the Amirul-Umara of Shah Jahan's court, was enamoured of his sterling merit, so he appointed him his Private Secretary. After Afzal Khan's death he became the Chief Editor of Shah Jahan's royal chronicles and diaries. He attended the court daily to report the events which he recorded. In 1055 A.H. he presented a book *Chahār Chaman Brahman* to Shah Jahan at Sirhind on the eve of New Year's Day. Dara Shikuh, who was extraordinarily fond of Hindu scholars, entertained a high regard for his knowledge and appointed him his Chief Secretary. After Dara Shikuh's death, the world had no charm for him, and he retired in oblivion to Benares, where he died in 1073 A.H. The author of '*Amal-e-Saleh*' regards him as one of the most learned scholars of his time. Brahman also made a collection of his letters, entitled *Munsha'at Brahman*. In calligraphy he was Aqa Abdur Rashid's pupil.

Har Karan Das was Muttra Das's son, Kamboh by caste and a native of Multan. His profound knowledge in Persian is shown by the fact that he was Chief Secretary to I'tabār Khan, the Governor of Akbarabad, who was one of the most noteworthy nobles of Jehangir's court. He is the author of *Inshā-i-Karan*.

Wāmiq Khatri was an agent of one of the nobles of 'Ālamgir. He was widely admired for the grace of his style in Persian prose and poetry. Even the scholarly Aurangzeb could not help appreciating him.

Shiva Ram Kayestha was a native of Akbarabad, and his father was in the service of Nawab Asad Khan, the Vizier of 'Ālamgir. Shiva Ram was Mirza Bēdil's pupil, and wrote *Gulgasht-e-Bahar Aram*, in reply to the latter's *Chahar 'Unsur*. He died in 1144 A.H.

Kunwar Prem Kishore was Raja Jugal Kishore's grandson and a poet, calligraphist and author of several *mathnawis*.

Lachman Singh was a grocer by caste and an able scholar in Persian and Arabic, and wrote after the manner of the Iranian authors. 'He was

a wise man,' says the author of *Khush Nawisan*, 'and had considerable proficiency in Arabic and Persian. He lived in the company of the Iranians, which benefited him much. His style was modelled after that of Ṭāhir Wahid, Ṭāhir of the Deccan, and Jalālā.'

In calligraphy he was Muhammad Hafiz Khan's pupil, and specialised in Shafi'a (a kind of calligraphy) under Mirza Āghā. He took instruction in poetry from Mir Shamsuddin Faqīr (d. 1180 A.H.). He was the author of *Shu'la-i-Āh*, and learnt most of Zuhūri's poetry by heart.

Lachmi Ram served under Zulfīqar-ud-Dawlah Mirza Najaf Khan, the Vizier of Shah 'Ālam. The author of *Tazkira-e-Khush Nawisān* writes of him that 'he was an unrivalled scribe and painter. He was well skilled in writing Arabic and Persian. A man with such excellence and perfection is born very rarely.'

Khushwaqt Rai Shādāb was a Khatri by caste and came of a respectable family. From his childhood he took a great interest in reading and writing, and was regarded in his maturity as one of the meritorious scholars of his days. The author of the above-mentioned *Tazkira* writes that 'he evinced a sincere desire for learning in his youth, and soon became efficient in different branches of knowledge. He excelled his contemporaries in good qualities. He had an extraordinary skill in calligraphy. A man so learned, so magnanimous and so liberal is very scarcely found in the community he belonged to.'

Rai Prem Nath—His family served for a long time under the Timurides. He was himself the Chief Manager of Shah 'Ālam's Secretariat. He was 'second to none in calligraphy and literature' and left behind a large number of pupils.

Sukh Ram Das was Nilkant's son and author of *Āmad Nāmah Badī*. He was a native of Lucknow and held the post of Qanungo.

Yanah Narayan, alias Sodhi, was Chain Rai's son, a Khatri by caste and a native of the Punjab. In Farrukhsiyar's reign Muhkam Singh took him to Marwar as his Secretary. On the journey he got hold of Muhammad Tahir Kashmiri's book *Hosh Afza* which he studied thoroughly. It inspired him to write in Persian mythological tales and religious miracles of the ancient Hindus. He compiled accordingly a book *Gulshan-i-Isrār Rabbāni*, making selections from the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Bhagwat Gita* and the *Harbans*. It was completed in 1134 A.H.

Mohan Lal Mun'am was the author of three *mathnawis* entitled *Mathnawiāt Mun'am* which comprises *Bahar-i-Ishq*, *Shah Rukh* and *Dilber-i-Jahan*. He presented the last two *mathnawis* to Akbar II.

Kishun Singh was Rai Prem Nath's son and a native of Sialkot. He was an accomplished writer in Persian and author of *Gharib-ul-Inshā*, which was completed in 1157 A.H.

Banwali Das Walī—I have already written of him in the list of Hindu historians. He translated into Persian a Hindi drama named *Prodh Chandra Vidya*. He was alive in 1073 A.H.

Du'wanni Chand wrote a story in Persian entitled *Gai-ko-har Namah* in 1137 A.H. Dewan Ghulam Muhammad Khan, who was a noble of Bahadur Shah's court, was his patron and benefactor.

Shambhu Lal was a Secretary to Maharaja Chayt Singh of Benares. In 1197 A.H. he compiled a book *Miftah-i-Khazayen*, which is a collection of numerous letters, some of which are highly important.

Tahawwari Mal Tamkin was a renowned scholar in Persian of the early 12th century. His grandson Parān Chand Sarshār collected his Persian letters in a book called *Guldasta-i-Faidh*.

Sujan Raipuri served in 1167 A.H. under the Raja of Raipur in Shuja-ud-Dawlah's time. Munshi was his pen-name. He was an able scholar and wrote *Inshā-i-Niyāz Nāmah*, which consists of three chapters on petitions, on handwriting and miscellaneous.

Jaśwant Rai flourished in 'Ālamgir II's reign. His *Gulshan-i-Bahar* which consists of letters of different persons contains ample political and military information of the time. He was a poet also, with the nom-de-plume Munshi. He left a Persian *diwan*. He was alive in 1200 A.H.

Mansa Ram—Munshi was his pen-name. He versified in Persian the love episode of Hira and Ranjha, who were the Majnun and the Laila of the Punjab. He died in 1157 A.H.

Ewaz Rai—Musarrat was his poetic name. He composed a panegyric *Qasida-i-Musarrat* in praise of Shah 'Ālam's, the chief merit of which was that he addressed the king in an altogether new way in each line.

Nehal Chand Lāhōri was the author of a story entitled *Mazhab-e-'Ishq*.

Lala Bhupat Rai wrote *Dastur Shingraf*, which is a treatise on epistolography. A manuscript in the Asafiya Library, Hyderabad is dated 1192 A.H.

Bhichak Ram was a native of Faizabad and wrote in 1215 A.H. a commentary on Sa'di's *Gulistan*.

Ishari Das was a Kayestha by caste and Secretary to Nawab Ghazanfar Jung of Farrukhabad. An author of a Persian biography writes of him: 'He wrote scholarly Persian prose and poetry. His writings were distinguished by skilful diction and rich imagery. I have seen some of his works on history and biography, and it may be truly said that he wrote with great ease and perfection.'

Tekchand Bahār wrote a commentary on Sa'di's *Bōstān* and was the author of *Bahār-i-Bōstān*. I shall speak further of him later on.

Anand Ram died in 1159 A.H., but he is still remembered for his *Chamanistān*, which is a story in Persian.

Mātā Prasād was the author of a story entitled *Sahif-at-ush-Shawq*.

Din Dayal wrote a story '*Ajib-ul-Qaṣaṣ*, also known as *Shabistān-i-'Ishrat*.

Amar Singh versified in Persian the stories of Parbati, Mahadeva, Ram Chandra and Raja Dasrath in the *Ramayana Amar Prakash*.

Sialkoti Mal was one of the greatest scholars of his time. His *Ṣifat-e-Ka'ināt* is a book on eloquence. He is also the author of *Rajm-ush-Shiya-*

teen, which is a counter-reply to Serajuddin Ārzū's *Tanbih-ul-Ghāflīn*.

Lachmi Narayan was Sirajuddin Ārzū's pupil, and belonged originally to Lahore but settled down in Delhi. During the Durrani's invasion he had to leave Delhi, and after wandering from Bareilly to Aurangabad came to Lucknow. He was a renowned scholar in Persian. His Persian epistles, which he compiled in *Ruqa'at Lachmi Narayan* are highly popular. The work is dated 1205 A.H.

Another Lachmi Narayan was a native of Hajipur (Bihar) and served under Bēdār Bakht in 'Ālamgir's reign, having a mansab of three hundred. In 1040 A.H. he made a selection from *Shah Namah*, the preface of which he began with the following verse :

شکر و سپاس و نعمت و منت خدا می را پروردگار خلق و خداوند کبیرا

Raja Ram Narayan was Lachmi Narayan's son, and was an eminent figure in Patna in his days. He was Hazīn's pupil, a learned scholar, a patron of literary men, a great lover of books and a man of wide outlook. He was killed in a battle fought against Nawab Qāsim.

Kewal Ram flourished in Shah 'Ālam's reign and served in the Correspondence Department in Oudh. In 1197 A.H. he wrote a voluminous book on epistolography, namely *Ṭilismāt-e-Kheyāl*.

Kheyālī Ram was a native of Lucknow, and employed in Wajid Ali Shah's court. His works number more than one hundred. He wrote a commentary on Amir Khusrau's most difficult book *I'jāz-i-Khusrawi*.

Madho Ram was an inhabitant of Delhi and a great master of Persian literature. His *Inshā-i-Madho Ram*, which consisted of letters addressed to kings, princes and nobles, was taught as a text-book.

Pundit Kirpandhan composed a *mathnawi*, namely *Dilpasand*, a copy of which, dated 1243 A.H. is in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

A large number of books on epistolography were compiled by different Hindu writers, some of which are the following : *Inshā-i-be-nuqaṭ* (by Kāmtā Prasād), *Inshā-i-Tamīz* (by Kali Rai), *Inshā-i-Rāḥat* (by Jai Singh Rai), *Inshā-i-Har Sahay* (by Har Sahay), *Kheyālāt-e-Nadīr* (by Har Narayan), *Dastūr-i-Şibyan* (by Lala Naunad Rai), *Ruqa'at Nizamiyah* (by Lachmi Das), *Dastūr-ul-Imteyāz* (by Khushhal Rai), *Qānūncha-i-Inshā* (by Nand Ram), *Nādīr-ul-Inshā* (by Kishnaji Pundit), *Daqāiq-ul-Inshā* (by Ranjhor Das).

IV

HINDU LEXICOGRAPHERS

THE real test of the knowledge of a language is not merely reading and writing it. The true merit lies in acquaintance with the origin of its words and a thorough grasp of its phrases and idioms. Now let us see how far Hindu scholars acquired this in Persian.

In Akbar's time there were forty-four lexicons of different sizes, but they were all written and compiled by earlier scholars who used Persian as their mother-tongue. They failed to serve the purpose of the Indians. The difficulty was the greater in the case of proverbs. A lexicographer knows the intricate and subtle points of his mother-tongue and presumes that others must also be acquainted with them. This is a source of much trouble and annoyance to foreigners. The Indians therefore retrieved this defect by compiling dictionaries in Persian to suit their own needs. I give below a list of such Hindu lexicographers.

Tēk Chand Bahār was a Khatri by caste and a worthy pupil of Siraj-uddin Ali Khan Ārzū of Allahabad. He had a consummate knowledge of Persian, having enjoyed the company of erudite scholars and Iranian linguists. He compiled several dictionaries, viz., *Bahār 'Ajam*, *Nawādir-ul-Maṣādir* and *Jawāhir-ul-Hurūf*, of which the former is still popular. In its introduction he writes that from childhood till the age of fifty-three he spent his life in research in Persian and was engaged for twenty years in compiling this dictionary, which he drafted and altered seven times, and still could not complete it during his lifetime. At last his pupil Munshi Indraman re-wrote it for the eighth time, and after writing an introduction and epilogue, he completed it in Shah 'Ālam's reign in 1184 A.H. All Persian scholars acknowledge it as a trustworthy authority. The compiler has quoted verses of standard poets to support the authenticity of idioms and proverbs.

Sialkoti Mal Wārastā is better known by his pen-name Wārastā. He was an author of *Rajm-ush-Sheyatin*, which, as mentioned before, is a counter-reply to the criticism made by Ārzū on Ḥazīn's poetry. To take part in literary disputations of learned scholars is a proof of sterling merit. Love of the Persian language inspired Wārastā to go to Iran, where he lived for thirty years. In his sojourn there he wrote *Mustaleḥāt-us-Shu'ara* and *Ṣifat-e-Kaiynāt*. The former is a dictionary consisting of four hundred pages, compiled after a labour of fifteen years. Wārastā writes in its introduction: "I had observed some strange idioms in Persian poetry, which I wanted to understand, but could not find them in any dictionary. At last I came to Iran, and spent fifteen years in making researches. Whatever I have learnt here, I have thought proper to write for the general benefit."

Ganga Bishun—Details of his life are not known, but he wrote a dictionary of Persian and Arabic words entitled *Sheer-o-Shakar*.

Kashi Raj Khatri compiled in 1315 A.H. *Lughat-i-Punjābī*, which is a dictionary of the Punjabi language with Persian and Hindi equivalents.

Girdhari Lal compiled *Ganj-ul-Lughat* in 1241 A.H.

It may not be out of place to mention here that *Farhang-i-Anand Raj* was written by a Muslim scholar, but I cannot help paying tribute to Anand Ram, a Rajah of Madras, who had it compiled at a heavy cost. This is the biggest and the most voluminous Persian dictionary, consisting of several volumes and many thousand large pages. It comprises not only

pure Persian words, but Arabic exotics also. From the compiler's introduction we know that money was spent freely by the said Rajah, who procured books from distant places, established a special library, and had the book printed at his own expense.

Munshi Kāmtā Prasād Nādān of the Deccan and Maindu Lal wrote *Haft Gul* and *Bahār-i-'Ulūm* respectively, which are treatises on Persian Grammar.

V

HINDU TRANSLATORS

THE best way to unite the cultures of two different nations is to synthesize their respective literature, which can be done by means of translations. The Muslims in the past realised this and did much to achieve this end. I will not refer in detail here to their contributions. for the present article is devoted to the achievements of the Hindus only, who also translated a great number of books into Persian from their mother-tongues.

At Akbar's wish, Muslim and Hindu scholars collaborated to translate the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, *Singhasan Battisi*, *Lailavati*, *Nal Daman*, *Tajik*, *Harbans*, *Atharveda*, etc., into Persian. The names of the Hindus who took part in translating some of these works were Gangadhar, Mahesh, Mahanand, Kishun Joshi and Bhawan.

With the march of time the Hindu scholars engaged in these tasks not at the instance and orders of any king, but of their own accord. For example, Girdhar Das, a Kayestha and a native of Delhi, translated the *Ramayana* into Persian in 1036 A.H. Makhan Lal also translated this Epic into Persian and named it *Jahān Zafar*. Lachmi Narayan translated Shanker Acharya's *Pothi Apar Dikha Banauti* into Persian as *Hadāiq-ul-Ma'rifat*; Anandghan Gosāin translated *Pothi Kashi Khandas*; Anand Kunwar Dharam Gayān Sagar; Zurawar Singh Babadar Binah; Murli Dhar Sri Bhagwata and Gopal Sri Bhagwata and the *Ramayana*. Amar Nath abridged the accounts of the world from the four Vedas into Persian under the title *Kheyālāt-i-Shaidā*. Ram Prasad, a Treasurer in Nawab Nazim Muhammad Darab Khan's government versified *Amt Charitra* into Persian as *Makhzan-ul-'Irfān*. Rao Dalpat Singh, who served in the government of Maharaja Jagat Singh, the ruler of Jai, translated the *Diwān-i-Ĥāfiz* into Hindi which was a great literary achievement.

VI

HINDU SCHOLARS OF RATIONAL SCIENCES

HINDUS have always had a great liking for mathematics. During the Muslim rule also, the majority of them consisted of mathematicians. We

are sorry not to know any details of those Brahmans who utilized the researches of the Arabs through Al-Beruni, nor do we know the names of those Hindu scholars who devoted their attention towards them in later centuries, but there is ample evidence in Sanskrit literature of the influence of Arab rational researches. "After the eleventh century A.D." says Le Bon, "by Indian Science was meant Arab learning. Indian Science, which began in the fifth century A.D., with the mathematical researches of Aryabhata, later on improved in 7th century A.D. by Barhamgupta, dealt only with those problems which were introduced to India by the Greeks and the Muslims."

Abul Fazal is the only historian who has given full details of his Emperor's reign. In his *Ain-e-Akbari* he has given a list of one hundred and forty-two scholars of different branches of learning. In this list the names of the Hindu scholars of rational sciences are Narayan, Madho Bhat, Sri Bhat, Bishun Nath, Ram Kishun, Balbhadra Misir, Basudeva Misr, Bahan Bhat, Bidya Niwas, Gauri Nath, Gopi Nath, Kishun Pandit, Bhattacharji, Bhagirath, and Kashinath Bhattacharj.

The Hindu scholars who translated Mirza Ulugh Beg's *Zich-i-Jadid* (a collection of astronomical researches) into Hindi were Kishun, Joshi, Gangadhar, Mahut and Mahanand.

Muslim rulers carried out astronomical observations in all corners of the world where their civilization prospered. They founded many observatories in India also. Firoz Shah Bahmani and later Shah Jahan commenced the work but it was left to Muhammad Shah to complete it.

Raja Jai Singh Kachhwaha of Ambar, who was a distinguished military officer in the times of Aurangzeb and his successors, and the Governor of Agra and Malwa in Muhammad Shah's reign, was a learned scholar in Arabic and an ardent lover of astronomy. He compiled *Zich Muhammad Shahi* (Muhammad Shah's Almanac) after the models of Ulugh Beg's *Zich Jadid*, (that is, Modern Almanac), Mulla Chand Akbari's *Tashilat* and Mulla Farid Shah Jehani's *Zich Shah Jehani*, and presented it to the court. It was at this time that the Raja received the king's orders to call for the Muslim, the Brahman and the Christian astronomers of the country and lay the foundation of a new observatory in Delhi in 1137 A.H. which was constructed under Mirza Amirullah's supervision. In this observatory there were some such instruments as were used in Ulugh Beg's observatory in Samargand, and some were quite new, invented by the Raja himself. He built similar observatories in Jaipur, Mathura, Benares and Ujjain, to corroborate the observations made simultaneously in different places. Hindu, Muslim and European scholars worked in these observatories for seven years, after which some were sent to Europe under Padre Manoel's guidance for further researches. When they returned, they compared the eastern method with the western and supported the latter. The researches made in these observatories helped the compilations of *Zich Muhammad Shahi*, which consists of three sections (a) current eras (b) regulation of time and (c) motions of the planets and

stars and their positions.

The Raja made one most important contribution. He got standard Arabic books on astronomy translated into Hindi, on which he spent large sums.

Maharaja Mitrajit Singh of Tikari, who flourished thirty years before the so-called Mutiny, was also a learned scholar in Persian and Arabic. His court was a rendezvous of the Hindu and the Muslim lovers of learning. One of his courtiers, Ghulam Hussain of Jaunpur was a renowned mathematician. He writes of the Maharaja that 'there was not a single branch of knowledge with which he was not conversant.' One day the Maharaja said to his literary group that learning was deteriorating due to the fact that most of the learned books were in Arabic, which the Persian-knowing people could not read. It was therefore expedient that there should be a book in Persian, which should cover the principles and the fundamentals of every branch of learning. Three hundred years previously such a book was written by Abdul Ali Barjandi, but no one had attempted to write a similar book since that time. He, therefore, ordered Maulana Ghulam Hussain to take up this task, and the latter wrote accordingly a comprehensive book, entitled *Jamī'a Bahadur Khani*, which is perhaps a unique work in Arabic. This can better be called *Encyclopædia of Mathematics*, containing discourses on algebra, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, optics, etc. It consists of 714 pages of 25 lines each. It was commenced in 1248 A.H. and finished in 1249 A.H. In it the time of the rising and setting of different stars were recorded according to the observations made in the fortress of Tikari. The author has also compared antique researches with up-to-date informations available from Europe.

Raja Ratan Singh Zakhmī was also well skilled in astronomy. He was born in Lucknow in 1197 A.H. His family served the court of Oudh for three generations. After his education, which he received in several madrasas of Lucknow, he served for some time under the East India Company, but later on filled his hereditary post as a Dewan in Muhammad Ali Shah's government and was honoured with the title of Fakhr-ud-Dawlah Dabir-ul-Mulk Hoshiar Jung. An eminent scholar, he knew Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Sanskrit and a little English. He was a poet in Persian also. But he is best known for his book *Hadāiq-un-Najūm*, which is a treatise on astronomy written at Muhammad Ali Shah's order. The chief characteristic of the book is that the author supplemented the old Arab knowledge of astronomy with the modern researches of the west. It is regarded by Muslim astronomers as one of the most reliable authorities.

Other notable scholars were the following :

Rupa Narayan was the author of an arithmetical treatise *Shash Jehāt*, which is still valued. He died in 1129 A.H.

Indraman was Tēk Chand Bahar's pupil, a native of Hisar, but lived in Shahjehanabad. It was he who gave the finishing touches to *Bahār-i-'Ajām*. He was a past master in mathematics, and a great scholar in Arabic

and Persian. In 1180 A.H. he compiled a book on mathematics entitled, *Dastūr-ul-Hisab*.

Maidnimal was a Kayestha, and an adept in rational sciences. He wrote an excellent treatise on arithmetic based on the Sanskrit work *Lailawati* in 1074 A.H., the third year of Aurangzeb's reign.

Ram Prasād compiled a book on arithmetic entitled *Miftāh-un-Nāzirīn*, which was printed in Calcutta in 1250 A.H. He was a native of Patna.

Dewan Kanjhi wrote *Khazinat-ul-'Ilm*, which is a treatise on mathematics. He also belonged to Patna.

Rai Munnū Lal was a philosopher, a scientist and a poet with the nom-de-plume of Falsafi. His family were eminent in wealth and education since Shah Jehan's time, as is learnt from the history of his family written by his son Kundan Lal Ashkī. He served first in Nawab Faizullah Khan's government, after which he joined Nawab Āsaf-ud-Dawlah's court. Later on he accepted service under the East India Company and learnt some English. He died in 1248 A.H. and left a multitude of works on different branches of learning, such as : *Gulistan Aram*, *Bostan Hairat*, *Tanqih-ul-Akhhbār*, a geographical treatise, a *diwan*, *Sadid-ul-Istekhrāj*, *Hikmat-i-Angrezi*, and *Mufradāt-i-Ṭib*.

His son Kundan Lal Ashkī was also a learned scholar, who received education in Arabic and Persian first from his uncle and father, and then in various educational institutions of Bareilly, Rampur, Delhi and Benares. He learnt Sanskrit from Sri Kab Indra Jha. He served for some time under the East India Company, but afterwards joined the court of Muhammad Ali Shah of Oudh on the kind recommendation of Nawab Muntazim-ud-Dawlah Nazimul Mulk Mahdi Ali Khan, and got a mansab of four hundred. He was appointed in the Secretariat. After Muntazim-ud-Dawlah's death he resigned his office and lived a secluded life in Benares. He was well versed in Islamic Jurisprudence, Tradition, and philosophy, as well as in mathematics. He compiled *Zich Ashkī* in astronomy and *Hikmat-i-Hindia*, *Aksir-e-Sa'adat* and *Qastas* in philosophy. The latter work is an Encyclopædia of Learning, which consists of four parts, the first and the second consist of Hindu and Greek philosophy, the third deals with the learning of the Arabs and the fourth is on the modern sciences of Europe.

Other works on astronomy were *Risala-i-Najūm* by Birbal (?) *Khas-un-Najūm* by Khushwaqt Rai, son of Bhupat Rai, *Kashf-ud-Daqā'iq* by Sada Sukh Kōle, son of Kewal Ram Kōle, *Jawāhir-e-Aflāk* and *Jawāhir-e-Adrāk* by Jawahir Singh.

Hindu scholars wrote on finances also. Chhilar Mal, son of Ray Pran Chand Munshi composed *Dewan-i-Pasand* which is divided into four sections. The first deals with land, manuring, production and settlement ; the second with book-keeping and accounts, the third with cultivation, and the fourth with financial administration. A manuscript of the book dated 1225 A.H. is in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Many

treatises on book-keeping were also composed, such as : *Siyāq* by Jagpat Rai, *Majmu'ai Siyāq* by Madan Lal and *Siyāq Nāmah* by Nand Ram.

The Hindus, under Muslim rule, made remarkable progress in medicine also. Before the advent of the Muslims in India, the knowledge of Hindu physicians was limited to certain popular books on medicine such as : *Charaka and Shushrut*. On the other hand, the medical science possessed by the Muslims was a quintessence of Arabian, Iranian, Greek as well as Indian researches, so its superiority was unquestionable. Still, unlike other conquerors, the Muslim rulers did not neglect the medical science of their subject races. They had scores of medical books in Hindi translated into their own language and arranged to propagate their own knowledge amongst the natives. The nature and disposition of a patient counts much in the course of treatment, so the Muslims tried to standardise Indian medicine for the natives. Sultan Sikandar Lodi was told by one of his courtiers, Khawāsh Khan, that Greek medicine was not suitable to the climate of India, so he ordered a change of medicine from Indian to Persian. Accordingly Budh b. Khawāsh Khan accomplished this task by writing *Ma'danu'sh-Shifā Sikandar Shahi*. Abul Qasim Ferishta also wrote a book *Ikhteyārāt-i-Qāsmī* on Indian medical science. The medical sciences found today in Indo-Persian literature and the prescriptions treasured in various families of hereditary physicians are of Indian origin. Similarly, the Hindu Ayurvedic physicians also borrowed prescriptions, medicines and the laws and the principles of treatment from the Muslims. These interchanges produced methods and courses of treatment suited to the climatic conditions of India.

The Hindu physicians knew only those medicines which were easily available in India, but the Muslims introduced here drugs and herbs which had been tried and found useful in different parts of the world, and the Indians learnt their curative effects and made appreciable additions to uncompounded medicines. The Muslims also introduced essences, powders, *ma'ajun*, and *qairūtī*, which were not known to the Hindus. They taught them the treatment of small-pox which was believed to be the result of the evil influences of either gods, goddesses, ghosts or evil spirits. It was an Arab who first wrote a book on the malady of small-pox.

The Hindus did not lag behind in learning Indo-Muslim medical science and ere long Hindu physicians enjoyed honourable positions in the courts of the Muslim rulers and their nobles. Sri Bhatt was a meritorious physician in the court of Sultan Zaynul 'Ābedin, the ruler of Kashmir, who educated him personally. The physicians who were attached to Akbar's court were Mahadeva, Bhim Nath, Narayan and Sivji. Sukhraj was employed as a physician in the service of Syed Ali Hussain Khan, the famous Amir-ul-Umara of the later Moghul period. Tulsi Das, a renowned physician of his time, was much loved by the princes of Lal Qila in the last days of the Timuride rule, although he lived a life of a recluse. He was an adept in administering *kushta* (a preparation of mercury) and in the treatment of chronic maladies, particularly leprosy and

gout. He was a master of music and a poet also, using the pen-name of *Ṣamīm*.

The Hindu physicians wrote a large number of books on medicine. Munshi Ram Prasād, a native of Patna and a Head Ameen under the East India Company, composed in 1247 A.H. a treatise *Me'yar-ul-Amrādh*, in which he describes fully the diseases of all parts of the body, from the hairs of the head to the nails of the feet. Bachchu Lal of Hyderabad compiled a work on specifics in two volumes. Lala Chand was the author of *Kuhl-ul-Abṣār*, a treatise on ophthalmology. Mahtab Narain wrote an analytical study of the properties of medicine in *Zaruri-ut-Tib*. Deya Narayan translated into Persian *Paka Hui Kali*. The manuscripts of these compilations are found in the Asafia Library, Hyderabad.

This is a short list of the Hindu physicians who wrote in Persian, but there are scores of authors who translated works on medicine from Persian into Hindi, Mahratti, Bengali and Telugu. The names of such Telugu authors may be seen in the catalogue of the Asafia Library, Hyderabad.

The Hindu scholars wrote books on morals and mysticism also. Baba Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was well-conversant with Persian. This is why a multitude of Persian words and verses abound in his Granth. He was a lover of the verses of Rūmī, Hāfiz and other mystic Persian poets. He was also the author of two Sufist books *Elāhī Nāmah* and *Dil Ṭalab* in Persian, and a versified treatise *Munājāt*.

Other works on the subject are *Muḥit-e-Ma'arfat* by Ras Sati Das, *Mulfuzat-i-Baba Lal Guru* by Lalji Dās, *Jōg* by Bhairo Mal, *Shew Paran* by Bishun Singh, *Akhlāq Nāmah* by Rai Mukkhan Lal, *Shariq-ul-Ma'arfat* (a translation of *Jog Bishust*) by Swami Beyas. This list can be supplemented by the names of the mystics and saints mentioned in *Ain-e-Akbari*. Madho Srioti, Madhusadan, Baba Bilas, Narayan Asram, Baba Kapur, Bhan Chand, Harji Sur, Damodar Prat, Ram Tirath, Nursingh, Prem Inder, Adit, Ram Bhadra, Bijay Sen Sur. Jehangir had a great regard for Jadnip Gosain and other Hindu mystics whom he mentions repeatedly in his *Tuzuk*.

It will not be irrelevant, I think, if I mention here the achievements of the Hindus made in the domains of music and painting under Muslim rule. The list of such musicians is too unwieldy to be surveyed easily. The art of music was in vogue in India from time immemorial, but with the advent of the Muslims in India, Iranian and Turanian influences produced some novel features in Indian music.

In pre-Moghul days there existed numerous Hindu musicians, who received encouragement and support from the Muslim rulers and nobles in Delhi, where they had to vie with the skill and excellence of Amir Khusrau, the versatile musician of his age. The most famous of these Hindu musicians was Gōpāl, who was always accompanied by his twelve hundred disciples. He came to 'Alauddin's court followed by the same dignified retinue. Kashmir had been an abode of music under the fostering care of Sultan Zaynul 'Ābedin, who was himself a skilful musician. Singers

and musicians flocked to his court from Iran and different parts of India, so much so that Kashmir, says Ferishta, was looked upon by foreign countries enviously. It was at his instance that Bodi Butt (perhaps Devs Pat) wrote a treatise on music, which he designated *Zayn* after the Sultan's name. Being much pleased with the treatise, the Sultan bestowed upon him high favour. Besides, being a skilled musician, Devi Pat was noted as a scholar in Persian also, for he knew the whole of *Shah Namah* by heart.

The Hindu musicians who adorned Akbar's court, were Baba Ram, Sur Das, Rang Sēn and Tān Sēn (who was a convert to Islam). 'For the past one thousand years,' says Abul Fazal, 'no musician like Tān Sēn was born.'

The Hindu musicians of later period were Ajodhya Prasād, a native of Lucknow (died in 1234 A.H.), Matthan Lal, a native of Delhi, who invented some new musical instrument, Raushan Lal *Shauq* and Tulsi Das *Samīm*, who was a past master in playing the *sitār*.

Muslim authors wrote several books on Indian music, such as *Rag Durpan*, *Chandrika*, *Madhnayak* and *Singar*, but the names of Hindu authors on music are not recorded. Of course Bhupat Rai wrote a treatise *Risala-i-'Ilm Mūsīqī* in the nineteenth year of Muhammad Shah's reign, but it is the solitary instance known to us.

In ancient times the Hindus made remarkable contributions to the art of sculpture, which are evident from the temple and statues of the Buddhists and the Jains. The caves of Ellora and Ajanta are still objects of great admiration. But the Hindus made little or no achievements in the domains of painting. Muslim rule in India ushered a new era in this art also, and "very soon things which were not even thought of in India," says Abul Fazal, "were transformed into realities." And the Hindus, who thought little of painting, had then no rivals in foreign countries, says the same historian, who, of course, was not acquainted with western painting.

The names of Hindu painters of Akbar's court were Basawan, Daswanth, Keso, Lal, Makund, Madho, Jagan, Mahesh, Khemkarn, Tara, Sanwla, Harbans and Ram. Basawan was, according to Abul Fazal, unrivalled in his time. Daswanth, son of a palanquin-bearer, exhibited his natural tendency in painting from his childhood by drawing lines and figures on the walls of the Royal palace. This attracted Akbar, who placed him at once under the tutorship of Khwaja 'Abduṣ Ṣamad, the famous calligraphist of his court, and as a sequel to this training he became an undisputed master of painting.

Jehangir excelled his predecessors in patronage and love of this art. Bishun Das was a highly skilled painter of his court. Jehangir writes in his *Tuzuk* that 'he (Bishun Das) was unequalled in similarity-drawing.'

In the fourteenth year of his reign, Jehangir sent Bishun Das in Khan 'Ālam's company to Iraq, so that he might paint the picture of Shah Abbas Ṣafavi and his court. The pictures he drew were excellently well and Jehangir mentions them in his *Tuzuk* with great admiration mingled with

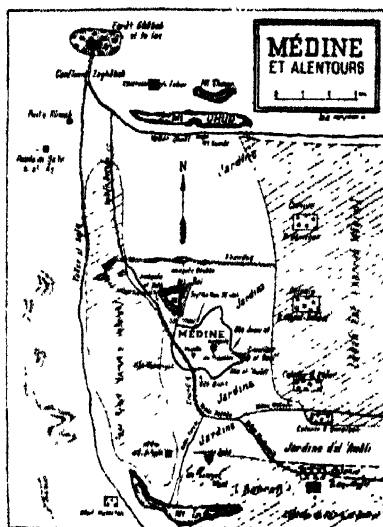
a sense of pride.

Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, whose library was more than a museum, employed the service of a Hindu painter Madho, who was, as the author of *Maāthir Raḥīmī* writes, unexcelled in painting similarity-drawing and planning. Most of the books of the library contained pictures and illustrations made by him.

In Muhammad Shah's reign there was a Hindu painter named Goverdhan who drew the picture of the whole town of Delhi on one leaf of narcissus. (Vide *Mirat-ul-Iṣlāḥ* by Anand Ram in the Oriental Library, Bankipore).

SYED SULAIMAN NADVI.

Pl. I.



MAP OF MEDINAH
with acknowledgement to R. F. I.
prepared by the author

SOME ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF MEDINAH OF THE EARLY YEARS OF HIJRAH

IT was only by accident that I came across the inscriptions on which I am going to speak this afternoon.¹ I must confess in the very beginning, that I am neither an archæologist nor have I had any training in or previous experience of the sort of work I had to do in this connection. As these inscriptions are in Medinah, and ordinarily European scholars do not get the opportunity of visiting this region, I decided that it would be worth while to attempt to study them as best I could rather than wait indefinitely for the arrival of persons better qualified for the task. And I feel grateful and honoured to find myself amongst you and to address this learned gathering.

After my wandering in Hedjaz for about three months, I came to Medinah in February last. I was studying the site of Mount Sal' just outside the northern wall of the city of Medinah; and this in connection with a lecture which I had to deliver at the Sorbonne on the battlefields of the time of the Prophet.² When I was climbing a rock of this mountain, I noticed several old writings on it. At first I thought they were merely inscribed by passers-by from among the thousands of the pilgrims who have been visiting Medinah for the last thirteen centuries. On a second visit to the same site, I discovered a host of other inscriptions even on the heights of the mountain. Accidentally I deciphered the names of Abū-Bakr and 'Umar together in one of these inscriptions, and it was enough to provoke a more serious study. I searched for the other inscriptions which I had neglected previously and tried to decipher their contents. I found about a score of them on the various rocks of Mount Sal', of which only four or five are legible. Others are almost wholly effaced by the work of sun and rain and the disintegration of the rocks. There may be many more and one may still decipher them all by a painstaking study coupled with experience and mechanical facilities. I possessed none of these. Even with my small camera I am not very expert. I venture anyhow to present before you the results of this first effort of mine.

When you leave the city of Medinah from the northern gate, called Bāb-ash-Shāmīy, you see at a distance of about a furlong or so a big

1. Lecture delivered at St. John's College, Oxford, on 11th May 1939, at 12 noon.

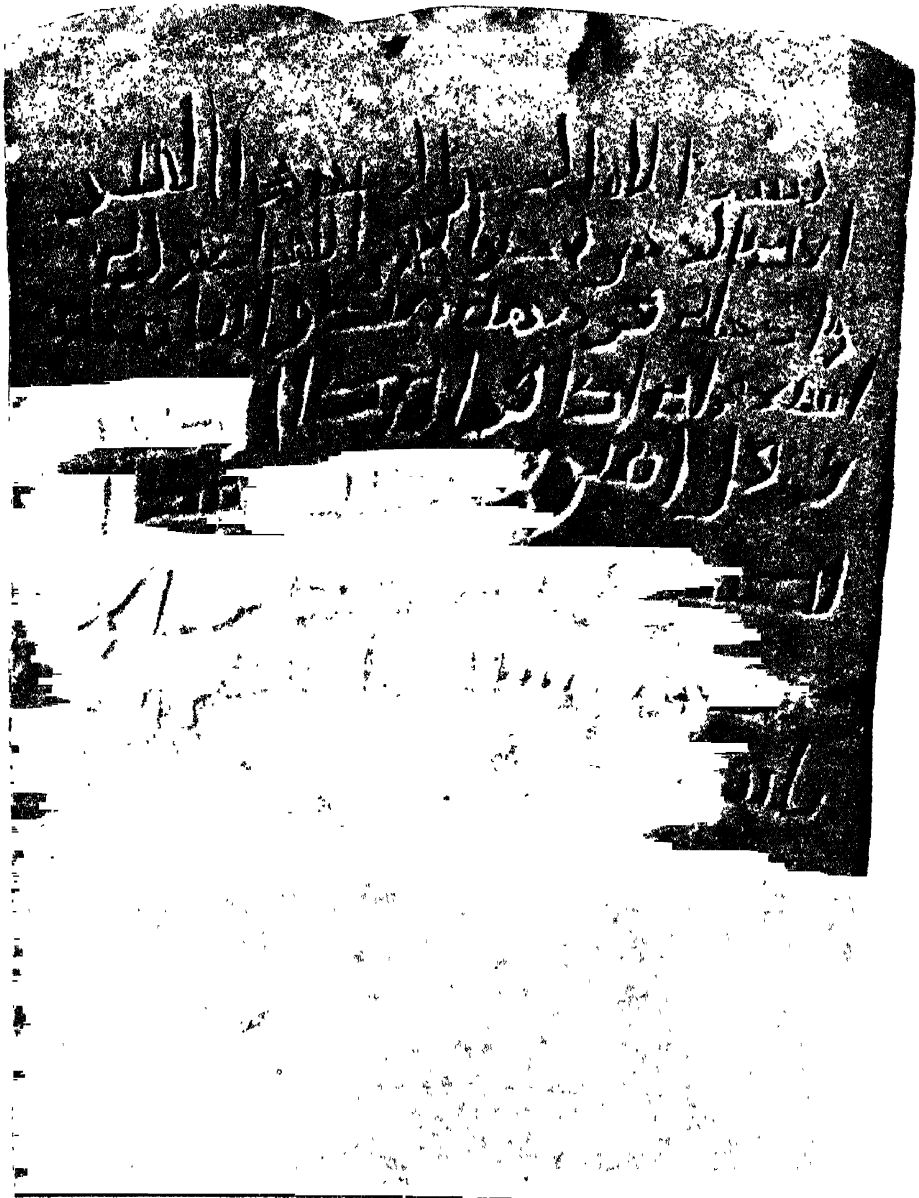
2. *Les Champs de bataille*, etc., published in the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1939.

mountain rising on your left hand. There is a magnificent fort on the summit in a commanding position, still in good repair and garrisoned, and consequently one cannot in the ordinary course of things get the facility of visiting the summit of the mountain but one must content oneself with the slopes around. Taking your route to the west along the city-wall, you soon reach a small pass in the mountain leading to the historic colony of the tribe of Banū-Ḥarām. The graveyard of the tribe still exists; and a pavilion, constructed not very long ago, commemorates the site of their meeting-place or club. It is on both sides of this pass and also towards the summit that one finds inscriptions most numerous. It is the inscriptions of the southern corner of the mountain on which I am going to speak presently. There are others on the western slopes, but their writing is much obliterated.

In the year 5 H., when a coalition of the Meccans, the Kinānah, the Ghatafānids and others besieged Medinah, the Prophet Muḥammad had just completed the digging of a trench along vulnerable points of the city. There has been much divergence of opinion among Muslim savants of recent years as to where exactly this *khandaq* or trench was dug. After these 1,353 lunar years since this siege, no traces of the trench may be expected to exist. Even the authors of the early eighth century of Hijrah found no remnants of it. In tracking the site, I have followed the classical historian of the city of Medinah, al-Maṭariy. He was born in the last years of the seventh century and wrote a classical history of the monuments of the City of the Prophet. This work has ever proved indispensable to all later writers on the subject. I saw in the Shaikhul'islām library at Medinah a magnificent MS. of this work called *At-ta'rīf bimā ansat al-hujrah min ma'ālīm dār al-hijrah*. According to this and other historians, mount Sal' was the base of Muslim operations during the siege of Medinah in the year 5 H.

We know from the historic constitution¹ of the city-state of Medinah, promulgated by the Prophet soon after his migration to that place, that the Muslim volunteers in war were to fight and were to be relieved by a sort of relay system. Again, in a siege of several weeks, fighting could not have gone on incessantly, and the soldiers passed their leisure hours in the club of the Banū-Ḥarām and elsewhere. Hence no wonder if some of these inscriptions originated at that time, and if some of the digging and boring implements were improvised for engraving writings on the rocks around. The first question that arises in this connection is whether the people of Medinah could at all read and write at this early date. There is an interesting passage in the *Miftāḥ as-Sa'ādah* of Tāshkoprizāde (I, 74-75) as to the introduction of writing in Mecca and Medinah. He mentions that Abū-Sufyān-ibn-Umayyah, uncle of the famous Abū-Sufyān-

1. Text in Ibn Hishām's *سيرة* and Abū-'Uбайд's *كتاب الاموال*. For detailed discussion see my paper in the Proceedings of the first conference of Dā'iratul-Ma'ārif and Wellhausen's *Gemeindeordnung von Medinah*.



Text:

TOMBSTONE OF CAIRO dated year 31 H.

- (١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا القبر
 (٢) لعبد الرحمن بن أحمد الحجري الأحمري
 (٣) وأدخله في رحمته آمين وأما معه
 (٤) استغفر له أدام هذا الكتاب
 (٥) وقبر آمين وكتب هذا
 (٦) الكتاب في جمادى الآ
 (٧) سنة ٣١
 (٨) ثلثين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

والحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

والحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

والحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

والحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

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والحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

والحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله
المرحوم الذي سلا حده في عهد الله
الحمد الذي لا اله غيره و يسبحك االا لا لا
الله والحمد لك وسكه ور لا ممفا فالك اا
الله عز وجل ما ه ع لافف فاها سبك د هم طم
لعل و شا مرع ممتد اط و م سد سم
ار سر عدوا نوا على كى ر الله اك مد سد
و حمد ما بر - للمسلمين ما اسلموها ثلله وعد
ار ب - ن سل معه و اد معها صطلم علم مرعد لم حمل
ما مر على و تسميه ولما الكرم



ibn-Harb, had studied Arabic writing in Yeman and from him many young men learned it in Mecca, including his nephew Abū-Sufyān and the son of his nephew, the future Khalīfah Mu'āwiyah. And it was from the father of Mu'āwiyah that the future Khalīfah 'Umar learned it. The people of Medinah, however, first learned it from a Jew, and at the time of the migration of the Prophet about a dozen people, whom the author names, could read and write there. The Prophet gave a great stimulus to literacy in Medinah and in the year 2 H., he went so far as to demand from his prisoners of the battle of Badr a promise to teach writing to Muslim children at Medinah as a ransom. About the same time the Quran (2:282) enjoined that all transactions on credit should be made by means of written documents. In an article which I have recently contributed to our Hyderabad quarterly magazine, *Islamic Culture*, on the Educational Policy of the Prophet, who although himself supposed to be an *Ummī*, illiterate, had had his very first revelation with the command to read (*iqrā' bismi rabbik*). In brief, there is every reason to believe that many people could read and write in Medinah in the year 5 H., the time of the siege of Khandaq with which we are now concerned.

We must be very cautious in dating the inscriptions, especially early Arabic ones which have not yet been greatly studied and the characteristics of which are little known.

It is a commonplace that there was no era among the Muslims of the time of the Prophet or even until the year 16 H., and no wonder, therefore, that our inscriptions bear no dates. The only means of determining the date of such inscriptions will be, I suppose, a comparison with the writings of early Arabic papyrus, and the few inscriptions, documents and coins we have until now recovered. The condition of the rock is also to be considered.

Leaving aside the inscription of the year 17 H., which though published, has not yet been studied by me personally, the earliest Islamic inscription known to me is the tombstone of a certain 'Abdurrahmān bearing the date of the year 31 H. and now preserved in the Arab Museum of Cairo (Cf. Pl. 2). I am grateful to Prof. Wiet, the Curator of this museum, who furnished me with a photograph of this inscription. Again, we have two¹ pretended originals of the letters of the Prophet addressed to foreign potentates in the last days of the year 6 H., I mean the letter of Muqawqis of Egypt, (Pl. 3a and b) and the letter of al-Mundhir-ibn-Sāwā of Bahrain, (Pl. 4). The former was published in the J. A. (1854) and the latter in the ZDMG (1863). Further, we possess also the copies of the Quran

1. Prof. Margoliouth was kind enough to draw my attention and introduce me to a Scotch Orientalist Mr. Dunlop who has acquired the pretended original of the letter of the Prophet addressed to the Negus of Abyssinia. Mr. Dunlop assures that he is going shortly to publish the document in the JRAS. He has sent me a handwritten copy of the contents of the letter and has very obligingly promised to furnish me soon with a photographic copy of the same. It would not be courteous on my part either to utilise this photo or to express my opinion on it before Mr. Dunlop publishes his promised article along with the document.

attributed to the 3rd Khalīfah 'Uthmān, and preserved until the great war in Medinah (Pl. 5) and Tashkend.

We can also profitably study in this connection the gradual development of the Arabic alphabet, with the help of the inscriptions of Zebed (dated 511 A.C.) and of Ḥarrān (dated 568 A.C.) and the script of the Umayyad coins of the last quarter of the 7th century (second half of the first century of Hijrah). We have to fill the gap between the date of the inscriptions and the coins, a gap which coincides with the period with which we are now concerned, from imagination.

The *Encyclopædia of Islam* (s.v. Arabia) has furnished us with a comparative table of the letters of the alphabet employed in these inscriptions and on coins and papyrus. A young Egyptian Semitist, Mr. Khalīl Nāmī, who is actually working on south Arabic inscriptions, has also recently published a work on the history of the Arabic script with the title *Aṣl al-khatt al-'arabī wa ta'rīkh taṭawwurihi ilā mā qabl al-Islām*, containing similar tables. One may disagree with certain minor details of the tables of both these works and one would like corrections as well as additions. In a brief discourse like the present one further reference is, however, not possible.

I think it will suffice this afternoon to speak on some of the salient points of the material I have just referred to. I begin with the two original letters of the Prophet which were written only one or two years after the battle of Khandaq.

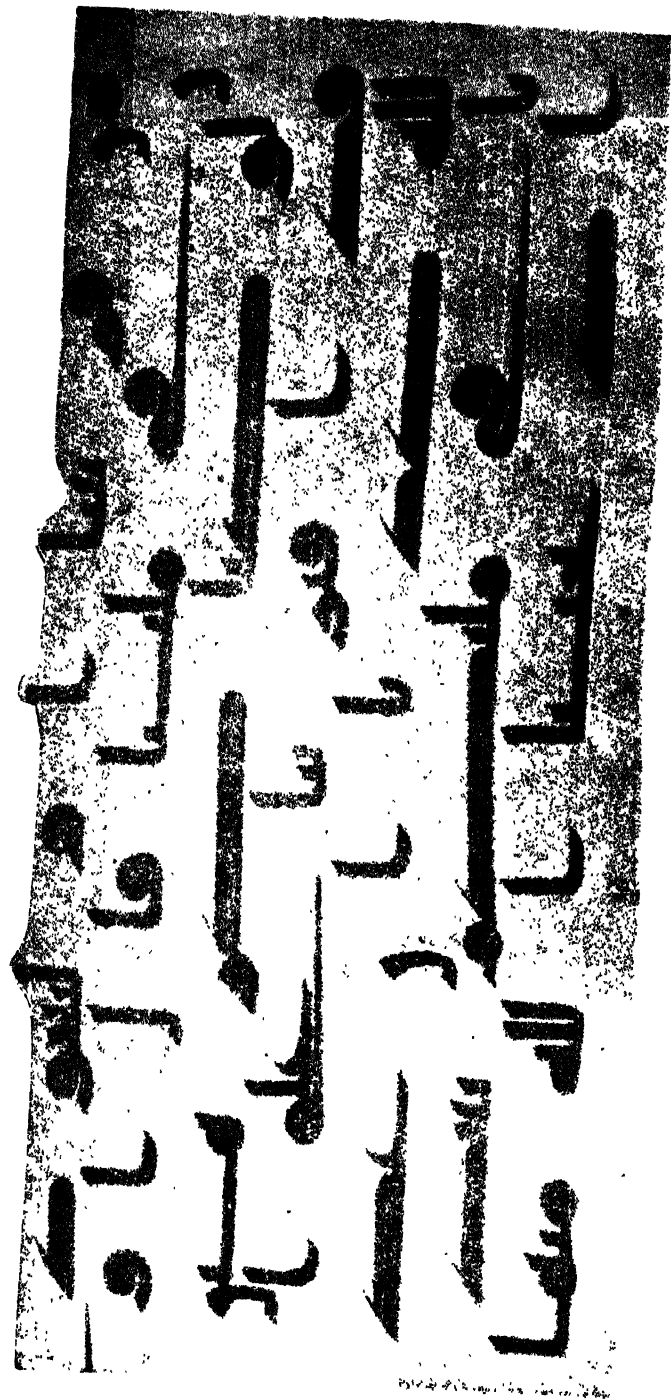
First the famous letter addressed to the Muqawqis of Egypt. (Cf. Plates 3a and b).¹ As is known, it was accidentally found in a convent near Akhmīm in Upper Egypt. Barthélemy, the French Orientalist, found in this convent a MS. the binding of which was effected by pasting several papers one upon the other on two sides of a sheet of parchment. These papers bore Coptic letters and curiosity led Barthélemy to disjoin them all carefully. The innermost stuff, the parchment, bore Arabic characters and was later deciphered as the letter of Muḥammad addressed to Muqawqis.

The author of the article *Muḥawqis*, in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* has given an imposing list of those who have studied the parchment in question and rejected its authenticity. I must confess, I was very much disappointed when I consulted the works referred to in the *Encyclopædia*.

First Becker. He has only one line in the introduction to his *Papyrus Schott Reinhardt* (I, 3, n. 3) to the effect that "Probably it is a leaf of some note-book of hadith (*Traditionszettel*)."² I am afraid the late German Minister of Education had not even seen the photograph of the original. A *Traditionszettel* cannot bear the mark of a seal at the end of the letter.

Amélineau (J.A., 1888, p. 392) has no more solid basis for his passing remark on this parchment than the following words: "But I cannot accord this letter any historic value; I regard it even as completely

¹1. One may notice there the difference between a traced copy and a photograph.



Reduced copy of the lower half of a page from the original transferred by an Afghani to Istanbul during the Cino War.

- (٢) ت في معش قل او
 (٣) قل اوتوا علي
 (٤) في وانشكم حد
 (٥) من قريش ان يكون
 (٦) لو كان كبره
 (٧) بته كانه ان حد
 (٨) د عجب الله منها

apocryphal. The important rôle which Muqawqis has played, renders it easily comprehensible why a legend was created at his expense." No more reasons are given.

Karabacek had promised in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazjaditen*, (Leipzig, 1874, p. 34-35) to write on the subject a special monograph, but to my knowledge he has not been able to do so. All that he has written along with this promise is that it was in his opinion written in a script not so old as the early years of Hijrah. May I be permitted to remark that opinions may differ, but I must not take your time with a comparative study of the scripts here.

Jirjizaidān dared to deny in 1904 (cf. *الاحوال Monthly Magazine*, Cairo) the very fact that the letter was published in 1854 in J.A. I do not know if he has ever written anything on the subject after Prof. Margoliouth had assured him of the fact in a letter.

Caetani (cf. *Annali dell'Islam*, anno 6) has also nothing to say on the subject of the parchment. He resents only that a patriarch should have sent two Christian slave girls to a pagan Arab—meaning the Prophet—and murmurs at the difficult question of the identity of Muqawqis.

Prof. Wiet, in a note on the passage concerned in the *Khīṭaṭ* of al-Maqrīzīy, has mainly two objections, viz.:—

1. The letter of Muqawqis, with the exception of the address, is word for word identical with the contents of the letters supposed to have been addressed by the Prophet to the Negus and to the Emperor Heraclius.

2. In spite of the fact that the letter in question is known to have been sold to Sultān 'Abdulmajīd I, a similar letter is still to be found in the possession of an Egyptian gentleman in Cairo.

But Prof. Wiet has not given any further details of this second copy. As for his first objection, regarding the identity of the contents, may I not reply that the three letters in question were written on the same day, addressed to three princes all of whom were Christians, and were written for exactly the same purpose of exhorting them to embrace Islam. Such similarity of text is not excluded even in 20th century diplomatic correspondence.

Lastly, Nöldeke, in the first edition of his *Geschichte des Quran*, (1860, p. 140) remarked : " there is nothing to doubt as regards the authenticity of the letter, whose text is to be found in so many of the best Arabic sources." But Schwally, in the 2nd edition of the same work (p. 190, n. 3) has formulated three objections which I shall consider one after the other :—

1. " In those days *Tonsiegel* was in use, that is, the seal was stamped on a sort of clay, and not a seal with ink."

Schwally has given no reference as to the source of his information. Ordinarily a clay-seal could be used for the envelope and not for the inner letter. Further, Ibn-'Asākir assures us that the Prophet had recourse to clay-seal only once because he had not then his seal at hand and this for

the treaty of Ukaidir. (Cited by Ibn-Hajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v. Wahb-ibn-Ukaidir.) I am afraid, even this one instance is doubtful and may be attributed to false deciphering of the MS. on the part of the editor of Ibn-Hajar's work. For the passage in question has also been cited in *Kanzul-'ummal* (V, Nos. 5660, 5661, 5704) on the authority of the same Ibn-'Asākir, and we read there *ختمه بظفره* (i.e., sealed it with his nail-impression—an antique usage¹ among the Semitic people, especially of Hīrah the country of origin of Ukaidir)—and not *ختمه بطينة* (i.e., sealed it with clay) as in the printed edition of Ibn-Hajar. The similarity of the graphic forms of the two words *ظفره* and *بطينة* in manuscripts is not difficult of demonstration. Further, a classical author (Ibn-Rustah in his *Geography*, p. 192, cf. also ath-Tha-'alabīy in his *Laṭā'if-al-ma'ārif*, cited by al-Kattānīy) assures us that a clay-seal was first used among the Muslims by the Khalīfah 'Umar. Moreover, the incident recorded by Ibn-Hajar has been mentioned by Ibn-Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, p. 120) and al-Wāqidiy (*Maghāzī*, MS. Brit. Mus. fol. 231 a) and they both agree on the word "nail-impression." Unfortunately the abridged edition of Ibn-'Asākir's *تاريخ دمشق* (vol. 1, p. 115), when mentioning the treaty of Ukaidir, does not mention the seal at all.

2. "Such a formal letter must contain the name of the scribe and the name of the bearer."

I am afraid Schwally was thinking of the 20th century credentials or at least the foreign department of the Byzantine Empire. The Arab Foreign Office of the time of the Prophet, when only six years had passed since his migration to Medinah, was in fact called upon for the first time in the Arabian history to address a letter to a foreign prince, and it was even with difficulty that the Prophet was persuaded to have a seal engraved for him bearing his name.

3. "Probably the script of the documents in those days was not so definitely Kufic as in the pretended original."

I need not take up your time in discussing a point on which the author himself is not sure.

In fact, the document in question needs to be re-studied by competent scholars before we can finally dispose of it.

As regards the second original, the letter addressed to al-Mundhir-ibn-Sāwā, Persian governor of the province of Bahrain, (Pl. 4.) there is only the small note of Fleicher, the editor of ZDMG, which was later included in his *Kleinere Schriften*. This note has been characterised by Schwally (op. cit.) as a "vernichtende Kritik," an annihilating criticism. Let us see what it was.

In fact, Fleicher had received a letter from the attaché of the German Embassy in Constantinople saying that an Italian had brought there from Damascus a document on parchment, for sale. The German correspondent enclosed also the photo of a traced copy (*Durchzeichnung*) of the original

1. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, 179. Also Krückmann, Ch. Edwards and others.

which Fleicher reproduced in the ZDMG along with his remarks. The editorial note began by saying that the Italian owner seemed to have wished to ascertain whether the hen still lived which had given such a nice golden egg to the seller of the letter of Muqawqis. All that Fleicher has to say may be analysed as follows :—

1. It is known that the Prophet sent a letter to al-Mundhir yet its text is nowhere preserved in Arabic histories.

2. The first few lines are clear and legible, consisting of the name of the sender and the addressee yet the rest is nothing but lines imitated after Arabic script.

3. In this latter portion there are a few Arabic words which one can discern yet there are such grave spelling mistakes that they cannot be attributed to an Arab scribe.

The first objection that the text of the letter has not been preserved in Arabic sources, is due to lack of search. For as-Suhailiy, Ibn-Ṭūlūn, al-Qalqashandī, Ibn-al-Qaiyim and a number of others have quoted the complete text of the letter ; and such an old author as Ibn-Sa'd has given copious extracts. Our sources are quite unanimous in the wording of the contents of the letter which is perfectly corroborated by the original in hand.

The second objection must be simply set aside because with a little pain one can read every word of it from the beginning to the end. The admission that in what appeared to be Arabic-looking nonsense one can still discover some phrases in good Arabic script, is enough to suggest that what remains can also be deciphered ; and is in fact deciphered.

That there are spelling mistakes may be due to bad tracing and nothing else. Fleicher had found only four such instances in the document concerned. Of these al-Mundhir (first word from the right of the second line) is written with (ﺝ) and not with the correct (ﺪ). This is clearly due to the age of the document, and the ink has faded out, as is evident from many other portions of the document. A dash of hardly a millimetre distinguished between these two letters. I think the same reason must be attributed to the double sign for the letter (ﻱ) in غيره (cf. 3rd line, fifth word from the right). The folding of the document may have produced this sign which the tracer regarded as forming part of the writing. Or is it merely a mistake of the copyist ?¹ That the (ﻩ) in (اشهد) is written with a (ﻋ) (cf. 1. 3, 7th word), is not true. For the scribe has always,—and to be precise, 6 times in this document,—used the same figure for the letter (ﻩ). The same shape of (ﻩ) repeats itself in the letter of Muqawqis which I have just spoken of. The last spelling mistake is said to be the word *fa-ammā* which has been written with (ﻋ) instead of the correct

1. Incidentally I may refer you to an old Arabic inscription, discovered in Palmyra by Prof. Sauvaget. We find there a similar mistake and the word آمين has been written آمين cf. *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre* par J. Cantineau, p. 51 (Beyrouth, 1933)].

(¹) (cf. l. 4, 7th word). This is but a grave misapprehension on the part of the German Orientalist. For the misread (ع) belongs in fact to the preceding word and the (ع) of Fleicher is in fact the (له) of the word (رسوله). It is curious that Fleicher reads the first circle as (ع) and the second circle in the same word as (م). In fact the scribe has always written the letter (ه) in this document with similar circles. I may point out that there is very little difference between the final (ه) and the middle (م) in this document (cf. l. 2 المنذر and l. 10 الجزية).

I must again repeat that this criticism of mine does not signify that I am fully convinced of the authenticity of the document concerned. I simply want to emphasise the need of further study of it, since what has up till now been written is not free from grave doubts and the points raised in these studies may easily be explained.

A comparative study of the script of our inscriptions with that of the documents to which I have referred in the beginning, will not be possible here. I prefer that some expert and more competent scholar should undertake the task. I should like at once to pass to the inscriptions which are the main object of the paper.

As remarked above, these inscriptions are considerable in number. Of these, near the summit of the southern end of Mount Sal' (Pl. 6) we find about half a dozen inscriptions not very far from each other. There are places in this part of the mountain where the rock does not require evening for the purpose of inscribing words. It resembles slate-stone. It is in fact on such portions of the rock that we find these inscriptions.

Near the summit, of which I have just spoken, there is a big rock in the shape of the capital letter L. The lower part or the base presents a big couch on which a dozen of people can easily sit and take rest (Pl. 7). The perpendicular part of the rock bears on the right hand an inscription of 4 lines (Pl. 8), which I have read as follows :—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Night and day 'Umar | امسى واصبح عمر |
| 2. and Abū-Bakr take shelter (?) | وابوبكر يتودعان (يتوبان؟ يتضرعان؟) |
| 3. with God from every | الى الله من كل |
| 4. thing unpleasant. | مايكروه |

Its dimensions are 28½ inches broad and 21 inches high.

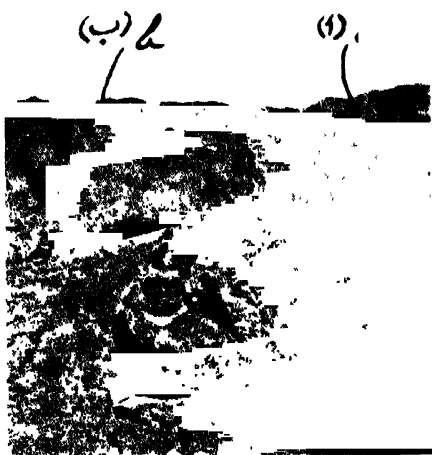
About fifteen years ago, this inscription was discovered and first published in the *Mir'āt al-ḥaramain* of Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāsha, who accompanied his Khedivial master in the Hajj. His rendering of the last word of the second line is (يشكون) in which I differ from him. In 1935, a young scholar of Medinah, 'Abdulquddūs al-Hāshimīy, too, published this inscription in his history of the monuments of Medinah (*Āthār al-Madīnah*). He has reproduced the photo of Ibrahīm Pāsha's work, which has become

PI



SOUTHERN END OF MOUNT SA

PI



SITE OF INSCRIPTIONS A & B.



DESCRIPTION A



illegible, and he has quoted the reading of the same author without any further remarks. Mr. Ibrāhīm Ḥamdī Qarpūtlī, present Curator of the Shaikhul-Islām Library of Medinah told me personally that it was he who had first discovered this inscription. I am afraid the visit of so many enthusiasts has led somebody to scratch on the writing to render it clearer for photography, and in fact I found the writing fresher here than elsewhere.

On the left hand of the same rock, there is a double inscription (Pl. 9), in at least two handwritings. The right-hand portion, written in magnificent Quranic type, has suffered much owing to the disintegration of the rock. I could decipher only as follows :—

1. Wise.

حكيم

2. And believes in the.

ويؤمن بالـ

3. 'Umar son of al-

عمر ابن الـ

4. Bakr.

بكر

The left-hand portion, a big inscription of about a score of lines, consists of signatures, many of which have been effaced by the hand of Nature. Probably part of the right-hand portion has crossed this inscription and consequently they cannot date from the same time. The dimensions of the whole of this double inscription are 63 inches broad and 47 inches high. In this first communication, my reading must naturally be defective. It is as follows :—

1. I am 'Umārah

انا عمارة

2. son of Ḥazm. I am

بن حزم انا

3. Maimūn....

ميمون ..

4. I am Muḥammad son of

انا محمد بن

5. 'Abdullāh. I am M....

عبدالله انا م....

6. son of 'Awsajah.

بن عوسجة

7. I am Khalaf.

انا خلف

8. I am Sulaimān al-Aḥmar (?) I am..

انا سليمان الاحمر (؟) انا ..

9. I am Sahl son of....

انا سهل ابن ..

10. I am Ma'qil al-Juhanīy. I ask...

انا معقل الجهني اسعد

11. O God .. I am...

يا الله انا (؟)

12. I am Sa'd son of Mu'ādh.

انا سعد بن معاذ

13. .. son of .. I am... انا ابن انا

14.

15. I am 'Alīy son of Abū-Ṭālib.

انا علي بن ابو طلب

16. M Muhammad.

م محمد

I have not found time, since my return from Medinah, to make a close study for the identification of these personalities. All these names are very common among the Muslims of the early days. The jolly fellow 'Umārah-ibn-Hazm, who tops the inscription, had according to historians taken an active part in Badr as well as Khandaq. Al-Wāqidī records that when Zaid-ibn-Thābit was sound asleep after some digging of the *khandaq*, 'Umārah did not hesitate to conceal the clothes and armours of Zaid, who was terrified when he awoke. As for Khalaf, he is better known as the father of Aswad. He was the son of 'Abd-Yaghūth, and not unnaturally he did not like to associate himself with such un-Islamic polytheistic names. As regards Sulaiman al-Aḥmar, the reading is doubtful. It has, however, been suggested to me by an eminent Professor in Paris that we are dealing here with Salmān-al-Fārsīy with a *kunyah* not known to us. With the exception of Ma'qil-al-Juhanīy, other names occurring in the inscription are too well known to require mention.

I have still grave doubts in dating this inscription. If someone like to take it as originating from the time of the battle of Khandaq, it will be easy for him to explain the name of the Prophet Muḥammad-ibn-'Abdillāh and also the grammatically false 'Alīy-ibn-Abū-Ṭālib. For during some leisure when relieved from duty, some soldiers first may have inscribed their names, saying that I am so and so and their comrades followed suit. The Prophet may have passed by the spot during his inspections, noticed his soldiers busy inscribing, and in order to participate in their enjoyment asked some of his companions to add his name also. Many others present may very likely have filled the space at once with their signatures. Moreover, the importance of the expression انا (i.e., I am so and so) should not be lost sight of.

At almost the end of the left-hand portion of the inscription, I have deciphered 'Alīy-ibn-Abū-Ṭālib. Apparently this is a grave mistake of grammar, something like saying "corpus christus" instead of "corpus christi." But I can refer you to the following quotations to explain it:—

1. Al-Balādhurīy in his *Futūḥ* (p. 60) quotes:—

”وقال يحيى بن آدم: وقد رايت كتابا في ايدي النجرانيين كانت نسخة شبيهة بهذه النسخة وفي اسفله: وكتب علي بن ابو طالب - ولا ادري ماذا اقول فيه“

The editor of *Futūḥ* has added here in a foot note a remark of Ibn-'Asākir citing further cases of documents containing "ابن ابو."

2. Aṣ-Ṣafadīy in his *Wafī-bil-wafayāt* (I, 39) says:—

”وبعضهم: يكتب علي بن ابو طالب رضى الله عنه ويلفظ به ابي - بالياء“

3. Al-Kattānī quotes in his very interesting work called :

” التراتيب الادارية والعمالات والصناعات والمتاجر والحالة العلمية التي كانت على عهد تاسيس المدينة الاسلامية في المدينة المنورة “

(Vol. I, p. 155) as follows :—

” وقد ذكر ابن سلطان في شرح الشفا في مبحث فصاحته عليه السلام ان ابن ابي زيد حكى في نوادره عن الاصمعي عن يحيى بن عمر أن قريشاً كانت لا تغير الاب في الكنية : تجعله مرفوعاً في كل وجه من الجرو النصب والرفع . هـ - اى كما يقال على بن ابوطالب . وقرئ تبت يدا ابولهب “

4. Further, while editing the letters of the Prophet, I came across four or five instances when ibn-Abū-Ṭālib or ibn-Bū-Quhāfah has been written. (Cf. my *Documents sur la Diplomatie musulmane à l'époque du Prophète et des Khalifes Orthodoxes*, documents No. 21, 22, 33 and 80). The letter of Tamīm-ad-Dārīy preserved by Faḍlallāh al-'Umarīy in his *Masālik'al-abṣār* will, however, be found in the document No 33 of my Corpus.

5. The well-known Iranian scholar Mr. M. A. Qazvini told me recently in Paris that there is a Quran preserved in some shrine of Irān which bears the words (وكتب على بن ابوطالب) at the end. The pious and orthodox possessors had much embarrassment and took pains to explain that in ancient times the letter (ى) must have been written in the shape of the modern (و). I have not seen this copy of the Quran personally nor its photographs, yet concerning the name of a scribe at the end of this copy of the Quran I may refer you to the article *al-Juhanīy* in the *Ansāb* of as-Sam'ānīy, which says that in the time of the author of this work there was extant a copy of the Quran at the end of which was written (وكتب عقبة بن عامر بيده), and that the owners were sure that it was written by that famous companion of the Prophet. I mean to emphasise that the name of the scribe in the copies of the Quran was not rare in classical times.

6. Mr. Qazvini has further drawn my attention to the common expressions Bāyazīd, Bū-Sa'id, Balhārith, etc., which never change in the different cases like the City Bukair in Egypt. Ibn-Jubair, however, being a stranger, had made it in his *رحلة* *Travels* to decline.

Coming to some other inscriptions ; some feet below this rocky couch there are several other inscriptions. My readings are as follows :—

1. Inscription C :—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. May God accept from 'Umar ! | يقبل الله عمر |
| 2. May God treat | الله يفعل |
| 3. 'Umar with forgiveness ! | عمر بالمغفرة |

2. Inscription D :—

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. .. the believers. Admit me in the pious ! | المؤمنون الحق [ن]ى بالصلح [ين] |
| 2. May God make 'Umar from the people of paradise, | يجعل الله عمر من اهل الجنة |
| 3. [him and] Abū-Bakr, on account of the believers-like acts ! | [و] ابو بكر بعمل المؤمنين |

As for the expression "yaj'al Allāh... Abū-Bakr" instead of the more correct Abā-Bakr, I may refer back to what I have just mentioned in connection with the expression Ibn-Abū-Tālib, and also to Ibn-Hishām (p. 344 : ان الله جاعلني برواقي ومحمد) and Ibn-Sa'd (I/2, p. 28-29 : ان الله لكم (جار ومحمد). (Dimensions : 31 inches by 9½ inches).

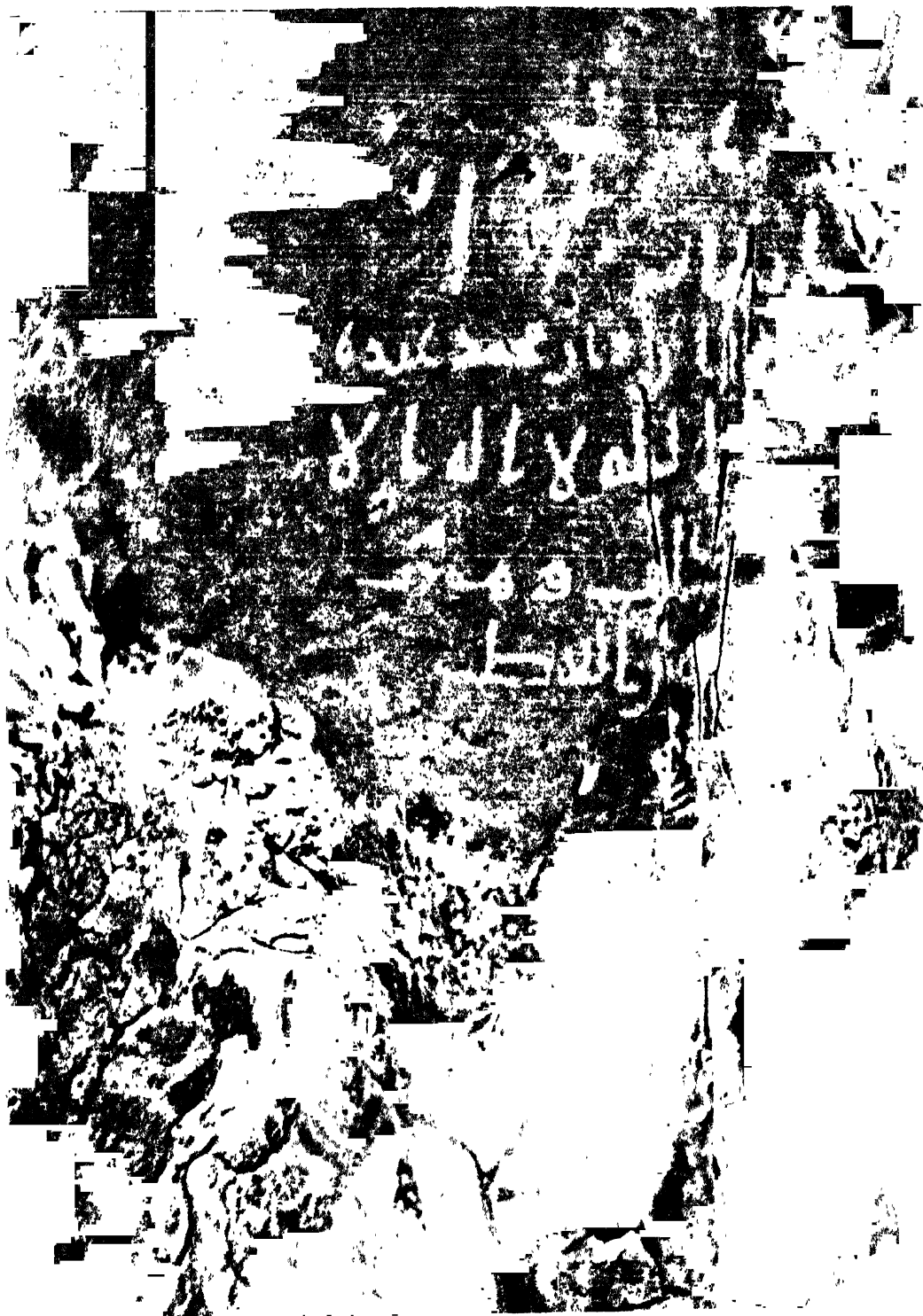
3. Inscription E (cf. Pl. 10) :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. لا اله الا الله محمد عبده | × × × × |
| 2. I testify that there is no God | اشهد ان لا اله |
| 3. [but G]od and I testify that that (sic) Muḥammad is His servant. | [الا اله] الله واشهد ان ان (sic) محمد (sic) عبده |
| 4. [and] His [Messenger]. With Thy mercy O God. There is no God but | [ورسول] به برحمتك يا الله لا اله الا |
| 5. [Him, I]n God is my trust and He is the Lord. | [هو عدا] الله توكلت وهو رب |
| 6. of the Exalted Throne. | العرش العظيم × × |

Apparently there are signs and words not belonging to the text of this inscription from which they differ even in handwriting and visibility. I have no great difficulty in finding myself in accord with Prof. Kraus of Cairo that some more ancient, perhaps a pre-Islamic or an uncouth inscription was effaced to find place for the one now existing. Or perhaps a man with bad handwriting began to inscribe and another, more proficient, completed the work.

Note the expression (ان محمد) and not the classical (محمد).

It is interesting to note that almost everywhere the name of 'Umar is present. If we have here the handwriting of the famous Khalifah, I shall not be astonished, because of his restless nature and his mastery of calligraphy of which he was among the foremost of those who had learnt this art at Mecca before the advent of Islam. His intimate friendship with Abū-Bakr and the veneration which he had for his senior friend, explain the combination of these two names in several of these inscriptions and the precedence given to Abū-Bakr's name. And in fact al-Wāqidī in



INSCRIPTION E.

his *Maghāzī* says that during the campaign of Khandaq Abū-Bakr and 'Umar never parted: they worked together, they walked together and they sat together. And that Abū-Bakr often climbed the summit of Mountain Sal'.¹

This is my first communication of the inscriptions of which only one has previously been published. I hope to be able to continue the study of the subject with the help of scholarly suggestions which I trust will not be lacking in aid of this scientific work in these difficult times.²

M. HAMIDULLAH.

”وكان ابوبكر وعمر لا يتفرقان في عمل ولا مسير ولا منزل ينقلان التراب في ثيابهما يومئذ
من العجلة اذ لم يجدوا مكانا لتلجأ اليه المسلمين .. ورايت ابا بكر وعمر واقفين على راسه
(محمد i. e.) ينحيان الناس ان يمر وابه فينهبوه .. فكان ابوبكر رضى الله عنه يقول ..
لقد كنت اوافى على سلع فانظر على بيوت المدينة فاذا رأيتهم هادين حمدت الله

(MS. Brit. Mus. fol. 103, 105. cf. also *Sirah Shāmiyah* (MS. Qaraviyīn.)

2. P. S. These words uttered in May last, are truer still now that a war has broken out in which my own State has joined hands with its British and French allies. At that time, however, I had in my mind the decreasing interest shown by European countries in Oriental studies.

NOTES ON ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY¹

4634

Foll. 405. 9.4" × 6.3" (7.7" × 4.8"; 7.3" × 4.5"); 23 & 27 lines : two hands, the first (foll. 1-76) a cursive Indian *nasta'liq*, the second a scholarly Persian *ta'liq*; rubrications; water-stained; dated, the first part, at Burhānpūr, 12 Rabi' ii, 1023/22 May 1614, the second part, 7 Rabi' ii 862/22 February 1458. [Per.]

ظفر نامہ

ZAFAR-NĀMAH

THE celebrated history of Timūr (771-807/1370-1404) and Khalīl Sultān (807-814/1404-1411), compiled first by Ibrāhīm Sultān, and then elaborated into its final form by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī "Sharaf" Yazdī (d. 858/1454) and completed in 828/1424-5. This copy was transcribed only four years after the author's death : it is preceded by the *Iftitāh* or *Muqaddimah*, a genealogical account of the Turkish Khāns with a history of Chingīz Khān and his successors, completed by Sharaf al-Dīn in 822/1419.

Beginning of *Iftitāh* (fol. 1 b) :

افتتاح تاریخ جهاندارى و ابتداء نامہ ظفر و بختیاری حمد و سپاس حضرت پادشاهی تواند
بود الخ

(1) Supplements to Loth's and Ethé's catalogues of the India Office collections of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, down to the beginning of 1936, are already in preparation : a hand-list of the Islamic manuscripts acquired during 1936-1938 is being published shortly in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The present article describes manuscripts acquired during the last five months, and may be followed from time to time by articles describing current accessions. The following are the principal abbreviations used :—

Ethé I. O. = H. Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (vol. i, 1903; vol. ii, 1937).

Storey = C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature : a Bio-bibliographical Survey* (in progress, 1927—).

H. Kh. *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum a Mustapha ben Abdallah Katib Jelebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalfa celebrato compositum* (ed. G. Flügel, 1835-1858, 7 vols.).

IvASB = W. Ivanow, *Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (1924).

Brockelmann = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (1898-1902, 2 vols.).

Brockelmann Suppl. = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Erster (Zweiter) Supplementband* (1937-1938, 2 vols.).

Beginning of *Zafar-nāmah* (fol. 79 b) :

حدا كثيرا مبارکالمن یؤتی الملك من یشاء

Ethé I. O. 173.

Storey pp. 284-287.

H. Kh. iv 175⁸⁰¹⁶.

4635

Foll. 283. 9.6" × 6" (6.4" × 3.7"); 25 lines in 4 columns; excellent, small calligraphic Persian *nasta'liq*; rubrications; gilt *jadwals*; water-stained in parts, some margins loose, otherwise well preserved; copyist, Luṭf Allāh al-Kātib; dated, at Kāshgar, Shā'bān 854/ September 1450. [Per.]

مثنوی معنوی

MATHNAWĪ-I MA'NAWĪ

A good well-written copy of the famous spiritual *Mathnawī* of Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Rūmī (d. 672/1273), in 6 *daftar*s. This copy lacks the prose prefaces.

Daftar i (fol. 1b) :

بشنو از نی چون حکایت کند از جدا ئیها شکایت کند

Daftar ii (fol. 47b) :

مدتی این مثنوی تاخیر شد مهلتی بایست تاخون شیر شد

Daftar iii (fol. 88b) :

ای ضیاء الحق حسام الدین بیار این سیم دفتر که سنت شد سه بار

Daftar iv (fol. 140b) :

ای ضیاء الحق حسام الدین توئی که گذشت از مه بنورت مثنوی

Daftar v (fol. 182b) :

شه حسام الدین که نور انجم است طالب آغاز صفر (!) پنجم است

Daftar vi (fol. 230b) :

ای حیات دل حسام الدین بسی میل میجو شد بقسم سادسی

Ethé I. O. 1060.

IvASB 490.

H. Kh. v 375¹¹³⁷⁰.

4636

Foll. 127. 7.4" × 4.6" (5.8" × 2.7"); 14 lines; clear Indian *nasta'liq*; thin blue paper; 19th century. [Per.]

تذكرة الأحوال

TADHKIRAT AL-AḤWĀL

The well-known autobiography of Muḥammad 'Alī "Ḥazīn" Iṣḥāhānī (1103-1180/1692-1766), down to the year 1154/1741. This copy was faithfully transcribed from F. C. Belfour's edition (London, 1831), and even preserves the date of impress.

Ethé I. O. 677.

IvASB 225.

Presented by me to the India Office Library.

4637

Foll. 99. 8" × 6" (5.8" × 3"); 13 lines; excellent vocalised calligraphic *naskh*; rubrications; corrected; marginal notes, copious on foll. 4-8; on fol. 4a a note dated 19 Rajab 1212/7 January 1798; late 18th century. [Arab.]

كتاب الشائل

KITĀB AL-SHAMĀ'IL

A systematic collection of Traditions illustrating the character of the Prophet, by Abū 'Isā Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Sahl (or Saurah) al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892). In the present copy the title is inscribed as *Shamā'il al-Muṣṭafā*, and an index is prefixed.

Beginning (fol. 4b):

الحمد لله وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى الخ

Brockelmann i 162, *Suppl.* i 268-269.

H. *Kh.* iv 70⁷⁶⁴⁰.

Presented by me to the India Office Library.

4638

Foll. 151. 7.8" × 5.4" (5.6" × 3.1"); 19 lines; clear Syrian *naskh*; rubrications; some marginal corrections and additions; 18th century. [Arab.]

بحث الطالب وحث الطالب

BAḤṬH AL-MATĀLIB WA-HATHṬH AL-ṬĀLIB

A grammar of the Arabic language, by Jabrā'il b. Farḥāt of Aleppo, a Maronite Christian and sometime Bishop of Aleppo (d. 1732). This copy

appears to have been transcribed in the early part of the 18th century, not long after the work was composed (1705): for a detailed description, see Ahlwardt 6792. The grammar was printed at Malta in 1836, and several times at Beirut.

Beginning :

الحمد لله الذى أصلح بكلمته الأنفس المحتلة الخ

Brockelmann *Suppl.* ii 389.

4639

Foll. 51. 8.3" x 6.7" (6 1" x 3.6"); 18 lines; good vocalised *maghribī*; headings in red, green and blue; *jadwals*; 18th century. [Arab.]

تحفة الحكام

TUHFAT AL-HUKKĀM

A poem in 1618 *rajaẓ*-verses on the principles of Mālikī jurisprudence, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad "Ibn 'Āṣim" al-Qaisī, Vizier of Granada (793/1391) under Yūsuf II (d. 829/1426). This curious work was published with a French translation by O. Houdas and F. Martel between 1883 and 1893, and editions have frequently appeared at Cairo and Fez.

Beginning :

الحمد لله الذى يقضى ولا يقضى عليه جل شأناً و علا

Brockelmann ii 264, *Suppl.* ii 375.

H. Kh. ii 226²⁵⁷⁷.

4640

Foll. 11. 11.2" x 9.1" (7.9" x 5.7"); 8-9 lines; fine modern calligraphic *nashkh*; gilt *jadwals*; fine medallion on fol. 1a, exquisite *sarlwḥs* on foll. 1b, 2a; copyist, William Morley; dated, at London, 10 October 1840. [Arab.]

شعر لقيط

SHI'R LAQIṬ

Two poems by Laqīṭ b. Ya'mar al-Iyādī, a pre-Islamic poet of Mesopotamian descent, with an anonymous commentary, preceded by a genealogical note by Hishām b. al-Kalbī. The contents of this manuscript are identical with those of Ahlwardt 7479, but it is of unique interest as being a magnificent example of *nashkh* calligraphy as practised by an Englishman. The volume was written for William Cureton, the well-known Semitic scholar, editor of *Shahrestānī's Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-Nihāl* and author of

numerous valuable works on Syriac and Arabic philology, who was born at Westbury in Shropshire in 1808 and died in 1864. The flyleaf bears the following note of presentation: "Gulielmo Cureton, hunc librum carminum *toû* Lakít al Iyádí, in amicitiae testimonium, d.d. Gulielmus Morley, exarator." William Hook Morley, the calligraphist of this remarkable manuscript, was born about 1815, studied for the legal profession, and was called to the Bar in 1840: he was an eminent oriental scholar and an authority on Indian law, and was Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1859, but died the following year. When this manuscript was written Morley was only 25 years of age, and it is most astonishing that he should then already have so successfully mastered the technique of Arabic calligraphy to the point of being able to write a volume which can bear comparison with the products of all but the most celebrated of Arab calligraphers. The title-page is written in *thulh*, the text in *naskh*, and the colophon in *shikastah*.

Title-page :

ديوان شعرلقيط بن يعمر الايادي وخبره رواية هشام بن الكبي

Beginning :

قال هشام بن الكبي كانت ايام بن نزار الخ

Brockelmann i 27, *Suppl.* i 55.

4641

Foll. 152. 10" x 7.1" (8.4" x 6"); 19-22 lines; irregular, largely unpointed cursive Persian *ta'liq*; a few rubrications; some marginal additions; worm-eaten and water-stained in parts; copyist, Muḥammad b. Nizām al-Dīn b. Muḥammad "Ibn Nizām"; dated 17 Dhū'l-Hijjah 889/5 January 1485. [Per.]

قصه ابو مسلم

QIṢṢAH-I ABŪ MUSLIM

A romantic history of the adventures of Abū Muslim b. Asad b. Junaid al-Marwazī, the leader of the revolutionary anti-Umayyad movement in Khorasan, and of his ultimate death in 137/755. This romance is based on the legends ascribed to Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarasūsī (or Ṭūsī), who is represented as the authority for numerous similar heroic accounts of Persian champions, such as the *Dārāb-nāmah*, *Qahramān-nāmah*, etc., see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, i 108. The author of this compilation gives his name as Ibn Nizām, and this copy is therefore an autograph, and in fact the manuscript bears all the signs of being an author's original draft. Blochet, in describing the only other copy of this work hitherto reported, gives as the name of the author "uncertain Taher Keurgueuzi," on the

basis of the following verse occurring in the author's introduction (in the present copy, fol. 4a⁶):—

روایت کند طاهر کورکزی زاخبار بو مسلم مروزی

In fact, however, the author gives his name two lines previously:—

بگیر از کرم دست ابن نظام رسانش بماوای دارالسلام

Presumably Ṭāhir Kūrkuẓī is to be identified with Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarasūsī, who is mentioned immediately afterwards (fol. 4a⁹):—

روایت کند بو طاهر بن حسین بن ابوموسی طرسوسی الخ

Beginning :

سیاس آفریننده پاک را که آراست این عالم خاک را

Bloch et 2064.

Other versions of the Abū Muslim legend are contained in Blochet 4062, 4063, 4065, Āṣafīyah i, 236⁴³², Bankipore 1st Suppl. 1760.

4642

Foll. 18. 8.5"×6.1" (7"×4.2"); 19 lines; inelegant Indian *ta'liq*; rubrications; corrections and additions; damp-stained; 18th century. [Per.]

لباب الحساب

LUBĀB AL-ḤISĀB

A short treatise on arithmetic, by 'Abd al-Karīm b. Maḥmūd, based on the *Khulāṣat al-ḥisab* of Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusain al-Āmilī (d. 1030/1621), and on various commentaries written thereon, composed with the assistance of the author's own teacher, 'Abd al-Raḥīm Bījāpūrī. The book was planned to consist of a *muqaddimah* and 8 *abwāb*, but the present manuscript appears to contain only the *muqaddimah*. Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī's arithmetic was a very popular book, and numerous commentaries upon it are extant (Brockelmann ii 415, Suppl. ii 596). An anonymous Persian translation of the work is described in the Bankipore catalogue (No. 1032): of the present adaptation no other copy appears to be recorded, and this copy may be an autograph.

Beginning :

الحمد لله رب العالمين..... اما بعد ميگويد كترين عباد الله المعبود عبد الكريم بن محمود..... كه علم حساب علمي است كه بيشتر از علوم ديگر بسوي او مفتقر اند..... نام اين رساله لباب الحساب في ترجمة خلاصة الحساب نهادم..... و مرتب شد بريك مقدمه و هشت باب الخ

4643

Foll. 10. 9.8" × 6.3" (8" × 4"); 15-19 lines; cursive Indian *nasta'liq*; marginal headings in Gujarati; early 19th century. [Per.]

اخبار

AKHBĀR

A short diary, beginning on 8 October 1816 and ending on 5 December 1817.

Beginning :

۸ هشتم ماه اکتوبر ۱۸۱۶ اراده جھتو پنداره روانه نمودن بہر خود بود الخ

4644

Foll. 109. 10.7" × 7.7" (8" × 4.6"); 27 lines; excellent Turkish *nashkh*; collated; rubrications; margins ruled; 18th century. [Arab.].

A valuable and highly interesting collection of controversial works relating to the mystical theosophy of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240).

(۱) نعمة الذريعة في نصرة الشريعة

NI'MAT AL-DHARĪ'AH FĪ NUṢRAT AL-SHARĪ'AH

Foll. 1-40a. A hostile criticism of the *Wujūdīyah* system as contained in Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, by Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, sometime Muftī in Istanbul, who died in 956/1549 at the age of 90: the author quotes *verbatim* from Ibn 'Arabī, and then criticises minutely (by قال and اقول). The text is preceded by a short biographical note, and by the *imḍā's* of Muftī Jawī-zādah 'Alī Efendī, Shāikh Muḥammad b. Ilyās al-Muftī, and Shāikh al-Islām Sa'd b. 'Isā al-Muftī.

Beginning :

الحمد لله رب العالمين وبعد فهذه إبحاث سنحت للخاطر الفاتر على مواضع من كتاب الفصوص قصدت بها نصرة الشريعة واهلها وبيان ضلال اهل الوجودية وجهلها الخ

Brockelmann ii 432; *Suppl.* i 794, ii 643.

H. Kh. vi 362¹³⁸⁹⁰, iv 429⁹⁰⁷³

(2) تسفيه النبی فی تنزیہ ابن عربی

TASFĪH AL-GHABĪ FĪ TANZĪH IBN 'ARABĪ

Foll. 40b-49a. A supplement to the preceding work, by the same al-Ḥalabī, composed in 945/1538 in detailed answer to the defence of

Ibn 'Arabī contained in the *Tanbīh al-ghabī bi-tanzīh Ibn 'Arabī* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505, see Brockelmann i, 448, *Suppl.* ii 195^{274c}).

Beginning :

الحمد لله الذى بنعمته تم الصالحات وبعد فقد ذيلت معلقته على كتاب الفصوص بما ذكرته اجوبة لفتوى السيوطى المسماة تنبيه الغبى بتزيه ابن عربى الخ

Brockelmann *Suppl.* i 802 (where the tract is stated to be anonymous).
H. Kh. ii 288²⁹⁷³.

(3)

فتوى

FATWĀ

Fol. 49b. A *responsum* given by Shaikh al-Islām Sa'dī Efendī Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭamūnī al-Qōnawī (d. 985/1577) to a question relating to the validity of claims to publish a certain book (i.e., Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*) on the authority of a vision of the Prophet during sleep. Shaikh Sa'dī rejects the claim. The *fatwā* is presumably extracted from the author's collected *responsa* entitled *al-Fatāwā al-Ḥamīdiyyah*.

Beginning :

ما يقول السادة العلماء ائمة الدين وهداة المسلمين في هذه المسائل في كتاب بين اظهر الناس يزعم مصنفه الخ

Brockelmann ii 434, *Suppl.* ii 645.

(4)

?

Foll. 50a-51b ¹⁴. A short reply, without title, by one Muḥammad b. al-Saiyid Faḍl Allāh al-Ḥusainī to a treatise by a certain Aḥmad b. Kamāl in defence of Ibn 'Arabī.

Beginning :

الحمد لله الواجب الوجود وبعد فيقول محمد بن السيد فضل الله الحسينى انى رأيت رسالة لعامة الروم احمد بن كمال تجاوز عن همواته الله المتعال في تنزيه ابن عربى الذى لا شك في زندقته الخ

Not in Brockelmann ?

(5) الرد والتشنيع على كتاب الفصوص

AL-RADD WA'L-TASHNĪ' 'ALĀ KITĀB AL-FUṢŪṢ

Foll. 51b ¹⁵-72b. A polemical treatise attacking the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, by the well-known Mas'ūd b. 'Umar Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389).

Beginning :

الحمد لله المتعالى عمايقول الظالمون علوا كبيرا الخ

Brockelmann i 443, *Suppl.* i 794.

(6) مرتبة الوجود ومنزلة الشهود

MARTABAT AL-WUJŪD WA-MANZILAT AL-SHUHŪD

Foll. 73a-102a ¹¹. A tract by 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī' al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605) attacking Ibn 'Arabī's theosophical system and especially the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.

Beginning :

الحمد لله الذى اوجد الاشياء شرها وخيرها الخ

Brockelmann i 443, *Suppl.* ii 540.

H. Kh. iv 430 ⁹⁰⁷².

(7) فتاوى

FATĀWĀ

Foll. 102a ¹²-104b. A small collection, compiled by 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd Allāh al-Su'ūdī (d. 736/1335, see Brockelmann ii 9) of *responso* on the subject of Ibn 'Arabī's heretical tendencies as exhibited in his *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.

Beginning :

الحمد لله رب العالمين قال الفقير الى الله تعالى عبد اللطيف بن عبد الله السعودى هذه مقدمات الفتاوى وما اوجب ذلك من الكتاب والسنة ظاهرة لأهل البصائر والفتنة وما اجاب به السادة العلماء التابعون بخاتم الأنبياء من تكفير صاحب الفصوص الخ

Not in Brockelmann.

(8) رسالة فى إيمان فرعون

RISĀLAH FĪ IMĀN FIR'AUN

Foll. 105a-107b ¹¹. Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm b. 'Abd al-Salām "Ibn Taimīyah" al-Ḥarrānī, the famous Ḥanbalite theologian (d. 728/1328) is asked whether in his view there is any sanction in *Qur'ān* or *ḥadīth* for the doctrine that Pharaoh became a believer, and replies in the negative.

Beginning :

الحمد لله رب العالمين ما تقول السادة العلماء رضى الله عنهم فى قول فرعون
الجواب الحمد لله كفر فرعون وموته كافرا وكونه من اهل النار وهو ما علم بالا اضطرار من
دين المسلمين الخ

Not mentioned in Brockelmann.

(9) نتيجة التوفيق والعون فى الرد على القائلين بصحة إيمان فرعون

NATIJAT AL-TAUFIQ WA'L-'AUN FI'L-RADD 'ALĀ
'L-QĀ'ILĪN BI-ṢIḤḤAT IMĀN FIR'AUN

Foll. 107b¹²-109b. A tract attacking the doctrine that Pharaoh became a believer, completed on 16 Muḥarram 1103/9 October 1691 by Badrān b. Aḥmad al-Khalilī.

Beginning :

الحمد لله الذى دعا عباده كافة على السنة رسله الى دار السلام..... وبعد..... فلما رأيت بعض
علماء العصر من اتبع الضعيف من الاختلاف جزم بإيمان فرعون الخ

Not mentioned in Brockelmann.

4645

(1) Foll. 1-106. 11.8" × 7.8" (8.1" × 4.7"); 27 lines; excellent vocalised *maghribī*; rubrications; slightly worm-eaten; marginal notes; early 18th century. [Arab.]

المنح البادية فى الأسانيد العالية والمسلسلات الزاهية والطرق الهادية الكافية

AL-MINAH AL-BĀDIYAH FI 'L-ASĀNID AL-'ĀLIYAH WA'L-
MUSALSALĀT AL-ZĀHIYAH WA'L-ṬURUQ AL-HĀDIYAH
AL-KĀFIYAH

A unique copy of an interesting and highly valuable work by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Qādir (according to Brockelmann, 'Abd Allāh) al-Fāṣī (d. 1134/1722), in which the author, a Ṣūfī, enumerates the *isnāds* of all the books studied by him, with the names of his various teachers, followed by a similar list of the different Ṣūfī *ṭarīqahs*. This work was utilised by Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bābilāwī (fl. 1317/1899) in his *al-Anwār al-sanīyah* (see Brockelmann *Suppl.* ii 703).

Beginning :

الحمد لله الذى رفع حجاب الغفلة عن قلوب اصفياه اما بعد فيقول العبد المذنب
القاسى محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن عبد القادر القاسى هذه بعض الاسانيد لبعض التأليف العلمية الخ

Fol. 2a

القسم الاول فى اسانيد التأليف العلمية

Fol. 43a

القسم الثانى فى المسلسلات

Fol. 75b

القسم الثالث فى كتب التصوف وطريق القوم وأسانيدهم

Fol. 97a

خاتمة فى لبس الخرقه وتلقين الذكر

End :

انك حميد مجيد وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد النبي الأُمى السيد الكامل وسلام على المؤمنين
والحمد لله رب العالمين

A note on the margin of fol. 106b, in the hand of 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Arabī b. 'Alī al-Saqqāt, states that he finished reading this book with his teacher, i.e., Shāikh 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Salām, on 25 Jumādā, ii 1137/11 March 1725 : numerous marginal notes throughout the volume confirm this, while on fol. 43a there is a marginal note in the same hand dated Rajab 1160/July 1747.

The text is followed by a number of *ijāzāt*, (1) by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī himself, dated 26 Jumādā ii 1127/29 June 1715 in authorisation of the aforementioned 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Salām, transcribed from the original, fol. 107a ; (2) by Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Saiyid al-'Arabī b. Sulaimān al-Andalusī, on behalf of the same, dated 18 Jumādā ii 1127/21 June 1715, transcribed from the original, fol. 107b ; (3) an autograph authorisation of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Salām Lūqas himself on behalf of 'Alī al-Saqqāt aforementioned, dated 1 Rajab 1137/16 March 1725, fol. 108a ; (4) another authorisation of the same for the same, in another hand, dated Jumādā ii 1143/December 1730, fol. 109a ; (5) a note in the hand of 'Alī al-Saqqāt, testifying to the authorisation of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Salām, and giving his own list of *isnāds*, fol. 110a.

Foll. 111-115 are blank.

(2) Foll. 116-122. 11.8" x 8" (8.9" x 5.2"); 28-38 lines ; cursive *maghribī* ; rubrications ; marginal notes ; copyist, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Arabī b. 'Alī al-Saqqāt ; dated Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1160/November 1747. [Arab.]

A general *ijāzah* issued by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (the father of the author of the above work) on behalf of his father, 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī, in favour of all his pupils, including his sons 'Abd al-Raḥmān (the author of this *ijāzah*) and Muḥammad, authorising them to teach the works which they had studied with him, and detailing

his own chains of transmission. The copyist transcribed this authorisation from an original in the hand of his father, Muḥammad al-ʿArabī b. ʿAlī al-Saqqāṭ, dated 3 Shauwāl 1082/2 February 1672.

Not mentioned in Brockelmann.

4646

Foll. 32. 11.2" × 8.6" (9.2" × 6.2"); 31 lines; clear old *maghribī*; rubrications; marginal notes; water-stained; foll. 26b-32 a later supply; 14th century. [Arab.]

A collection of 4 works by the celebrated Ṣūfī theologian Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/837).

(1) شرح المعرفة وبذل النصيحة

SHARḤ AL-MAʿRIFAH WA-BADHL AL-NAṢIḤAH

Foll. 1b-6a²⁴. A treatise on self-knowledge and the ten characteristics of spiritual perfection, untitled in this copy, which represents a recension different from the usual.

Beginning :

اعلم رحمنا الله واياك ان العباد لا يصلح لهم الحياء من الله الا بالمراقبة له والمراقبة هي باب المعرفة بالله تعالى وهي فرض من الله على العباد الخ

Fol. 2b

باب معرفة الله تعالى

Fol. 3a

باب معرفة نفسك

Fol. 3b

باب معرفة العمل و اخلاصه

End :

فاجعل يا انى هذا الكتاب نصب عينيك فى احوالك كلها فلم اترك شيئا من النصيحة الا وقد بذلته والسلام عليك والرحمة والبركة ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلى العظيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم تسليما

Brockelmann i 198, *Suppl.* i 352.

(2) أحكام التوبة

AḤKĀM AL-TAUBAH

Foll. 6a²⁵-9a²². A tract on penitence and pious conduct, entitled in the colophon *Kitāb al-Taubah wa-radd al-maẓālīm*. Only one other rather modern copy of this work is recorded.

Beginning :

كتاب احكام التوبة ورد مظالم العباد والخلاص منها قبل الميعاد تاليف ابن عبد الله المحاسبى
رحمه الله تعالى اعلم ان التوبة من الذنوب فريضة من الله تعالى الخ

End :

وبالجملة ان كل ما تواعد الله ورسوله عليه النار فهي كبيرة مثل الكذب على الله ورسوله
وكذلك الاصرار على صغار الذنوب كبيرة وكذلك السحر كل ذلك من الكبائر

Brockelmann *Suppl.* i 353.

(3) كتاب المسترشد

KITĀB AL-MUSTARSHID

Foll. 9a²³-12b⁷. Rules of right behaviour. Only one other rather modern copy of this work is recorded.

Beginning :

الحمد لله الاول القديم الواحد الخليل الذى ليس له سبيه ولا نظير اعلم ان الله تبارك وتعالى
اصطفى من عباده المؤمنين ذوى الألباب وهم اهل آل عوقل الخ

End :

الرقعة على وجهين تكون الرقة بالبكاء وتكون بالرأفة والرحمة واذ لم يكن بكاء وهذه اقوال اهل
المشاهدة وبالله التوفيق ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلى العظيم

Brockelmann *Suppl.* i 353.

(4) كتاب النصائح

KITĀB AL-NAṢĀ'IH

Foll. 12b/8-32b. A book of religious counsels : this copy appears to be imperfect, and is inflated in the latter part, thus there is a quotation from Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) on fol. 31a.

Beginning :

الحمد لله الأول قبل كل شىء والخالق له والحمد لله الآخر بعد كل شىء والوارث له اما بعد
فقد انتهى اليانا ان هذه الأمة تفرق على بضع وسبعين فرقة الخ

Brockelmann *Suppl.* i 352.

4647

Foll. 55. 10"×6.8" (8.1"×5"); 27 lines; clear Persian *naskh*; rubrications; water-stained; copyist, Aṣmin al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī; dated 8 Dhu 'l-Hijjah 862/17 October 1458. [Arab.].

طرق الوسائل وتملق السائل

ṬURUQ AL-WASĀ'IL WA-TAMALLUQ AL-SĀ'IL

A treatise, in an unnumbered collection of *faṣūl*, of Ṣūfism and ethics by 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām b. Aḥmad " Ibn Ghānim " al-Maqdisī al-Wā'iz (d. 678/1279). Each *faṣl* is complete in itself, and contains a separate meditation on a distinct subject: there are numerous passages of original verse.

Beginning :

الحمد لله الذي ضرب للناس الامثال وتقديس عن المثيل والتمثال الخ

Brockelmann Suppl. i 809.

4648

Foll. 38. 9.6"×7" (7.8"×4.9"); 21 lines; scholarly Egyptian *naskh*; a few rubrications; marginal corrections; water-stained; 14th century. [Arab.].

كتاب الزهد

KITĀB AL-ZUHD

A large fragment of a very rare* work on abstemiousness as exemplified in the lives of the Prophets, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), the celebrated traditionist and founder of the Ḥanbalī school. This copy, which is bound up in some disorder (foll. 29-38 should follow fol. 8) and is incomplete, contains an introductory *isnād* in which the earliest date mentioned is 443/1051 and the latest 708/1308. The following headings occur :—

Fol. 11b

زهد سليمان

Fol. 12b

زهد ايوب

Fol. 15a

زهد آدم

Fol. 16a

قصة لقمان

Fol. 17a

قصة نوح

* We understand that the work has been published recently.— Ed. I. C.

Fol. 19a

من مواظب عيسى

Fol. 22b

اخبار موسى

Fol. 27b

زهد داؤد

Beginning :

اخبارنا الشيخ الجليل العدل ناصر الدين ابو عبدالله محمد بن يوسف بن محمد بن عبد الله الدمشقي الشافعي عرف بابن المهتار قراءة عليه ونحن نسمع في شهر سنة ثمان وسبع مائة قيل له ابا خبركم الشيخ الامام الثقة تقي الدين ابو محمد عبدالرحمن بن ابي الفهم بن عبد الرحمن اليلداني العباسي ثنا ابو القاسم يحيى بن اسعد بن يحيى بن بوش التاجر عن ابي طالب عبدالقادر بن محمد بن يوسف اليوسفي ثنا ابو علي الحسن بن علي بن محمد بن علي بن المذهب قراءة عليه في شهر ربيع الاول سنة ثلاث واربعين واربعائة ثنا ابو بكر احمد بن جعفر بن حمدان بن مالك القطيعي ثنا ابو عبد الرحمن عبدالله بن احمد بن محمد بن حنبل رضى الله عنه قال حدثني ابن احمد بن محمد بن حنبل بن هلال بن اسد بن كنانة ثنا يزيد بن هرون ثنا محمد بن مطوف عن زيد بن اسلم عن عطاء بن يسار عن ابي هريرة عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال من غدا الى المسجد او راح اعد الله عز وجل له في الجنة نزلا كلما غدا او راح الخ

Brockelmann i 183, Suppl. i 310.

H. Kh. v 91¹⁰¹⁶².

4649

(1) Foll. 1-30. 9.3" x 6.7" (6.8" x 5"); 25 lines; clear *maghribī*; headings in red and yellow; original text in red; copyist, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Abī 'l-Qāsim b. al-Qāḍī al-Tāsi'i; dated 7 Rajab 1250/9 November 1834. [Arab.]

شرح القواعد

SHARḤ AL-QAWĀ'ID

A commentary, by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azhārī al-Ba'lawī, on a short treatise by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azhārī al-Rifāwī on the duties of the *shaiḫh* of a Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah*.

Beginning :

الحمد لله وحده المطهر اهل البصائر قال العبد عبدالله بن عبد الله الملقب بالرفاوى
اللازهرى الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلم
اجمعين شيعى ان قال فعل ماض ومعناه المضارع الخ

Brockelmann *Suppl.* ii 996.

(2) Foll. 29-59. 9.3" × 6.9" (7.4" × 4.9"); 26 lines; rather thick *maghribi*; rubrications; damp-stained; 17th century. [Arab.]

نظرة التذكرة ونهضة التبصرة

NAZRAT AL-TADHKIRAH WA-NUHZAT AL-TABŞIRAH

A practical guide to the Šūfī life, by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Sāhilī al-Mālaqī al-Mu'ammam (d. 754/1253, see Brockelmann ii 265, *Suppl.* ii 378), in 5 *abwāb*.

Beginning :

الحمد لله الذى فيه الفطر السليمة من سنة استغراقها.... اما بعد ايها الاخ الذى ظهرت عليه علامات
التوفيق والانا به الخ
باب الذكر وبيا نه

Fol. 32b

Fol. 33b

باب مفتاح الاسلام

Fol. 38b

باب مفتاح الايمان

Fol. 44a

باب الرابع فى مفتاح الاحسان

Fol. 49b

باب جامع لفصول لا بد لك منها ولا غناء لك عنها

No other copy appears to be recorded.

(3) Foll. 60-65a. 9.2" × 6.9" (6.9" × 4.8"); 24 lines; small, clear *maghribi*; rubrications; damp-stained; copyist, Muḥammad al-'Arabī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj; dated *Shawwāl* 1038/ May 1629. [Arab.]

نصرة الفقير فى الرد على ابن الحسن الصغير

NUŞRAT AL-FAQİR Fİ 'L-RADD 'ALĀ ABŪ 'L-HASAN AL-ŞAGHİR

A controversial tract by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥasanī al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486 or 895/1489) refuting the doctrine on matters of Šūfī practice of Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Şaghīr al-Miknāsī (d. 719/1319) completed at Tlemsen in 865/1461.

Beginning :

قال امامع وقبل وبعد فاني رأيت الهمم قاصرة عن الله تعالى الخ

Brockelmann ii 251, *Suppl.* ii 356.

(4) Foll. 65b-67a. Details as for preceding item.

الجوهرة

AL-JAUHARAH

A *maqṣūrah* consisting of pious counsels, by Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā b. Zakarīyā al-Yaurāsī.

Beginning :

مقصودة سميتها بالجوهرة صقل لما شأن الخ من الصدا

Not mentioned in Brockelmann or H. Kh.

(5) Foll. 67b-99a. Same details.

تمهيد قواعد التصوف وأصوله

TAMHĪD QAWĀ'ID AL-TAṢAUWUF WA-UṢŪLIH

A series of maxims, in sections called قاعدة, setting forth the general principles of Sūfism, by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Aḥmad "Ibn Zarrūq" al-Burnusī al-Fāsī (d. 899/1493).

Beginning :

الحمد لله كما يجب لعظيم مجده وجلاله وبعد فالقصد بهذا المختصر وفصوله تمهيد قواعد التصوف
وأصوله على وجه جمع بين الشريعة والحقيقة الخ

Brockelmann ii 253, Suppl. ii 361.

(6) Foll. 99b-100b. Same details.

رسالة في الطرق

RISĀLAH FĪ 'L-ṬURUQ

A brief tract on the mystical approaches to God, by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Khīwaqī (d. 618/1221).

Beginning :

الطرق الى الله تعالى بعدد انقاس الخلائق وطريقنا الذي نشرح في شرحه اقرب الطرق
الى الله تعالى الخ

rockelmann i 440, Suppl. i 787.

H. Kh. iii 418 ⁶²²².

4650

(1) Foll. 1-88. 8" × 5.8" (6.2" × 4.1"); 25 lines; clear, regular Syrian *naskh*; rubrications; dated *Shā'bān* 1205/ April 1791. [Arab.]

بهجة الناظرين الى تراجم المتأخرين من الشافعية البارعين

BAHJAT AL-NĀZIRĪN ILĀ TARĀJIM AL-MUTA'AKHKHIRĪN
MIN AL-SHĀFI'ĪYAT AL-BĀRĪ'IN

Biographies of later *Shāfi'ī* theologians, by *Radī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad "Ibn al-Ḡhazzī"* al-'Āmirī al-Dimashqī (d. 864/1460), begun in 839/1435. This copy was transcribed from a manuscript which had itself been copied from the author's autograph. The work is very rare, and the only other copy recorded is a photographic facsimile in Cairo: it is of great biographical interest, since the author confines himself to the lives of *Shāfi'ī* scholars with whom he had personal contacts. The copyist has added a short biography of the author.

Beginning :

الحمد لله مدبر الا مور.... وبعد فهذا مختصر لطائف قصدت به ترجمة الأئمة من اصحابنا الشافعية المتأخرين واعنى بهم من ادركتهم واجتمعت بهم من العلماء البارعين.... لا أترحم الا من تأخرت وفاته الى هذا القرن التاسع الخ

Brockelmann *Suppl.* ii 31.

(2) Foll. 90-137. 8" × 5.8" (6.6" × 3 9"); 29 lines; rather coarse Egyptian *naskh*; rubrications; dated *Ramaḍān* 1115/ January 1704. [Arab.]

ذيل لواقع الأنوار

DHAIL LAWĀQIH AL-ANWĀR

A supplement, written in 961/1554, by *Abū 'l-Mawāhib 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Sha'rānī*, the great Egyptian mystic (d. 973/1565), to his own biographical dictionary of *Ṣūfī* saints. In this supplement, which is given on the flyleaf the alternative title *al-Ṭabaqāt al-ṣuḡhrā*, the author recounts the lives of men with whom he had been personally acquainted: the work is divided into 3 chapters.

Beginning :

القسم الثالث في ذكر مناقب جماعة من العلماء الذين صحبناهم الخ

Brockelmann *Suppl.* ii. 466.

H. Kh. v 340 ¹¹²⁰⁶.

(3) Foll. 140-187. 8" × 5.8" (6.3" × 4.1"); 25 lines; same hand as (1), but more cursive; late 18th century. [Arab.]

لطائف المنّة في فوائد خدمة السنة

LATĀ'IF AL-MINNAH FĪ FAWĀ'ID KHIDMAT AL-SUNNAH

Biographies of his own teachers and ancestors, by Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Āmirī al-Dimashqī, a descendant at seven removes of Ibn al-Ghazzī, the author of *Bahjat al-nāẓirīn* described above, who was born (fol. 152b) on 18 Sha'bān 1096/20 July 1685. The work is planned in 8 chapters, but the present copy, apparently unique, contains only the first two. The author gives a lengthy autobiography (foll. 152b-158a), which is however incomplete, foll. 158b-163a being left blank to mark the lacuna.

Beginning :

الحمد لله ذى الآلاء والمنن اما بعد فيقول محمد ابو المعالي بن عبد الرحمن ابي الفضل
زين الدين هذا ثبت اذكر فيه مروياتي ومشايخي وتراجمهم وتراجم من اجتمعت به من
علماء بلدتنا دمشق الشام وغيرها الخ

Fol. 141b

الباب الاول في ذكر نسبي وتراجم من وقفت على ترجمته من سلفي

Fol. 163b

الباب الثاني في تراجم ابائي في الدين الذين هم مشايخي الاعلام

Not mentioned in Brockelmann.

A. J. ARBERRY.

THE NATURE OF THE STATE IN MUGHAL INDIA

IN the dust of controversy raised over the religious policy of the Mughal Emperors in India, the nature of the Mughal State has become very much clouded. Sometimes it is described as an 'oriental despotism,' sometimes as a theocracy. Some have even gone to the length of claiming a Divine Origin for it ; others have invested its kings with Divine Rights. Unfortunately most of these conclusions have been arrived at without critically examining the original materials now at our disposal with regard to the State in *Mughal India*. The theories of early Arab jurists, the practices of Muslim kings elsewhere, and the verbose discussion of writers outside India, though certainly useful in giving us a background, do not help us much in understanding the exact nature of the Mughal State in India.

Let us, first of all, clear the ground by examining the 'Divine' claims made on behalf of some of the Mughal kings by contemporary chroniclers and modern writers. Akbar¹ and his successors are very often described as the Khalifas of God by contemporary writers, particularly their official historians. Jahangir himself claims divine sanction for his being the ruler of India when Khusrau, his son, rebelled.² Shah Jahan described himself as 'the Shadow of God' in one of his letters to 'Adil Khan of Bijapur.'³ Aurangzeb speaks of himself as a 'Wakil' (agent) of God on earth.⁴ On the surface, these claims seem to establish the Divine Right of kings. Yet examined closely they do not amount to much more than a mere assertion of the usual Muslim belief that whatever happens in this world is ordained by God. They do not constitute a claim to any status higher than that of mere men. Nor were they intended to confer on those who made these claims either a sacerdotal office or spiritual status. They did not acquire a privileged position thereby as many contemporary European kings did by becoming 'the Lord's anointed' at their coronation. The difference between the Mughal concept and the contemporary ideas of the Divine Rights of the kings in Europe can be best understood by examining the

1. *Akbar Nama*, III, 97.

2. *Tuzak*, 24.

3. Lahauri, volume 1, part 1, page 174.

4. *Nigar Nama Munshi*, 157.

history of England in the seventeenth century. When James I claimed Divine Right for the royal office, it produced the religious doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience to the King. To rebel became not only a crime punishable by the State, but a sin bringing about damnation in the next world. It led to the curious emergence of the Non-Jurors after the English Revolution, who held that James II 'across the Seas' was their only lawful sovereign, even though some of them had joined together in inviting William from Holland in order to put an end to James II's attempt at Catholicising England. Such a concept of the royal office was foreign to the Mughal period in India. No Qazi condemned Salim when he rebelled against his father, nor did the theologians damn Khurram with 'bell, book and candle' when he rose against Jahangir. It is true that on Aurangzeb's accession his Sadr-us-Sadur refused to read the Khutba in his name and thus proclaim him emperor because his father Shah Jahan was still alive.¹ But this did not imply any 'divinity hedging round the (Mughal) crown.' Akbar, when his half-brother, Hakim, invaded India, had no 'Divine' protection to display against him and had to depend on his military strength to make good his claim to Babar's empire. Thus whenever 'Divinity' is dragged in either as an attribute of the royal power or the source of imperial authority, it is more or less a trick of the trade, a play upon words, a mere assertion that, like everything else, royalty must trace its origin to Divine dispensation.

This brings us to the second aspect of our problem. How far and in what sense was the Mughal Government an Oriental Despotism? That in itself raises the question of the true significance of the so-called Oriental Despotism. That there was any special variety of despotic rule manufactured in the East, and presumably on that account, more despotic than the variety obtaining in the West, is open to serious doubt. In this form of government there was neither East nor West. If Louis XIV could claim in France that he was the State, an Aurangzeb could go no higher and sometimes not even as high as that.

Despotic the Mughal Emperors certainly were. There were no popular institutions acting as checks on them. But we shall risk forming a wrong idea about the extent of their power if we take this to mean that they had the right or the authority to issue commands concerning the entire life of their subjects or even concerning all their political activities. They were never recognized as masters of the Law, though they had to concede very often that they were its servants. The entire field of the personal law of their subjects was covered by the Hindu and the Muslim Law which, the emperors admitted, they had no authority to change. The only known invasion of this field occurred under Shah Jahan, when he took measures to secure that family pressure should not prevent a Hindu from being admitted into Islam.² This might possibly, have involved a change in the Hindu Law of property whereby an apostate was given a share in the

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 248.

2. Lahauri, I, ii, 535; Qazvini, (MS.), 401, 402, & 405.

family estate, contrary to Hindu Law. No change in the Personal Law of the Muslims seems to have been either attempted or carried out.

This explains the curious observation of some contemporary European travellers who declared that the Mughal possessed no written law. The law was certainly written, but the Mughal State has had no hand in making it. No *Mughal* Laws could be discovered because none such had been made. But of written laws there was such a multiplicity that Aurangzeb was driven to codify them—not by his authority as the Mughal Emperor, but as a serious student of Muslim Law who felt that it was very difficult to pick one's way in the intricacies of the Law as it then stood. The *Fatawa 'Ālamgiri* that resulted from the labour of the theologians he employed owed nothing of its authority by being called after his name ; its compilers had to cite authority for every view they advanced or adopted.

Of course several Sanskrit Digests of Hindu Personal Law were prepared during the period. Again they owed nothing of their authority to the emperors. Kamlakar, Raghu-Nandan, Mitrmisra, Narsingha, and a host of minor writers, laboured hard in the various branches of the Hindu Law, deriving their opinions from ancient Lawgivers or sometimes striking out new paths for themselves in order to get out of the confused growth of the multiplicity of opinion expressed by their predecessors. The Hindus were in a further position of advantage in this respect. They had courts of their own—the Panchayats—for deciding cases turning on the interpretation of their Personal Law. It is very difficult to discover any imperial attempt at modifying either the composition of these courts or their law of procedure during this period.

The criminal law was again Muslim. The relation between the subjects themselves as also between the State and its subjects were fundamentally governed by Muslim Law. Akbar made serious changes therein when he changed the religious policy of the State. His modifications, however, really concerned the field of Public Law. Even here they usually involved a declaration by the State that it would not prosecute offenders—mostly non-Muslims—against certain laws. Sometimes this was extended to include the cessation of prosecution of Muslims for what can only be termed religious offences—their non-fulfilment of their religious duties.¹ One must admit that the Mughal Emperors exercised a good deal of authority here. Akbar was not, however, an innovator herein, as he is sometimes supposed to be. Before him, Ala-ud-Din and Muhammad Tughluq had started on paths of their own.² The so-called Infallibility Decree was mainly a concession to Orthodoxy rather than a valid instrument for changing the Muslim Law.³ Unlike Ala-ud-Din, who declared that he did not know the law and acted on his intuition, Akbar professed to act within the Law, adopting one of the so many prevailing opinions among experts in the Law. Strictly speaking, then, even Akbar did not

1. Cf. *Akbar's Religious Policy* by Sri Ram Sharma.

2. Cf. Barni.

3. Cf. *Akbar's Religious Policy*.

claim the right of changing the Muslim Public Law in theory, though he changed it by his practice as much as by his disuse of some of its provisions.

Under Aurangzeb this right to modify Muslim Law was surrendered. Time and again we find him not only consulting the theologians with regard to matters of civil or criminal law, but we find him extending his submission to it even in matters of taxation and regulation of trade and commerce. He broke the monopoly enjoyed by the manufacturers of wire at Ahmedabad and threw the trade open to all, in consultation with his theologians.¹ He gave up his attempt to regulate prices when he discovered that it was unlawful.² He even allowed his pet project of making converts to be endangered by remitting a case of murder to the Qazi rather than absolve the murderer when he offered to embrace Islam.³

That brings us to the alleged theocratic nature of the Mughal State. Whatever may have been involved in the practices of early Muslim rulers, under the Mughals the State could not be called a theocracy. This form of government involves the subordination of the State to the Church. Now Islam did not set up an organized church, nor did it recognise the custom of priests specially ordained for their office. It had no hierarchy of religious officials enjoying primarily a religious status. A theocracy in the ordinary sense of the term would have been impossible under Muslim rule, when no one at any time possessed the right of rendering infallible interpretation of the Muslim Law. Of course the Muslims did have a Khalifa, sometimes more than one of them. But the Khalifa was not a spiritual ruler in the sense in which the Pope is. He possessed no power of issuing *ex-cathedra* interpretations of Islam legally binding on all Muslims. The Quran interpreted in the light of the early traditions of the life of the Prophet or his companions was, and still is, the only lawful religious authority recognised in Islam. Change had been permitted by the provision that whatever was sanctioned by the entire Muslim world was lawful.

If this was the general position, it was much more so in India, and particularly in Mughal India. Muslim Personal Law here did not extend to the preponderant part of the Indian population. It is impossible to think of a State as a theocracy where such a large part of its population was admittedly left to its own devices in matters of such great importance. Even Aurangzeb made no attempt at introducing any changes here.

But there was one matter in which the Mughal State came dangerously near to recognizing the authority of an ecclesiastical dignitary. The Sadr-us-Sadr was the chief theologian in the State, presumably the most learned doctor of the Law, and its most pious practitioner. All the Mughal emperors agreed in leaving to their Sadr the authority to declare the Muslim Law. Akbar alone claimed for himself as the righteous ruler the

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 292, 293.

2. *Khafi Khan*, II, 395

3. *Akhbari-Darbar-i-Mu'alla* (MS.), of May 16, 1700. For Aurangzeb's attitude towards the theologians, cf. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 293; *Khafi Khan*, II, 257, 258, 343, 444 & 445; *Kazim*, 1075-76; *Jaipur Records* (MS.), VI, 260, 261; and *Akhbarai*, (Provincial Series, Gujarat) MS. year 46, page 22.

power to adopt one of the many conflicting views on a matter under the Infallibility Decree. But even this did not profit him much without a change in the holder of the office. It was necessary for him, even after this declaration, to dismiss Abdun Nabi and install Sadr-i-Jahan as his Sadr-us-Sadur. The declaration itself had been made only when the Sadr-us-Sadur had signed it. Thus here was a curious situation. The Sadr-us-Sadur had the right of declaring the law when in office. This was however more in the nature of judicial pronouncement rather than *ex-cathedra* judgment. But the emperors appointed the sadrs and could dismiss any incumbent. Thus while in office the Sadr-us-Sadur was independent of the Emperor, who could however dismiss him from office. This was well illustrated in connection with Aurangzeb's accession. His Sadr-us-Sadur refused to legalise his accession because his father was still alive. Aurangzeb got out of it by dismissing the Sadr-us-Sadur and finding a convenient successor who declared in advance that the Khutba could be read in Aurangzeb's name in his father's lifetime because his father was incapacitated from acting—presumably because he had been imprisoned by his son.¹ Thus it was necessary for the Mughal emperors to be sure of securing a theologian learned enough to be raised to the position of the Sadr-us-Sadur in order to justify their conduct. The position of the emperor with regard to the Law was recognized in a very interesting manner under Aurangzeb. *Wakils Shara'* were appointed to enable his subjects to sue him and get justice done according to the Law. This only enabled the presentation of what we call Petitions of Right in English Constitutional Law for the redress of private wrongs. It had nothing to do with the administrative policy of the country. It gave no one any right to control the political institutions of the country.

But if the Mughal empire was not a theocracy, the Mughal emperors in several ways undertook to act as the agents of Islam. In theory they were nothing more than that—in the case of Aurangzeb above all that. Akbar took pride in his conquests as the means of making ordinances of Islam known far and wide and the authority of the Prophet spread to territories where even his name had not been heard of before.² Jahangir and Shah Jahan considered themselves as the guardians of the true faith and watched over its legitimate interests.³ Aurangzeb's supreme ambition was to promote the Muslim way of life not only among the Muslims but, at least in outward conduct, among the non-Muslims as well, though even he was compelled to make a concession in favour of the Christians' habit of drinking.⁴

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 292, 93.

2. *Insha-i-Abul Fazl*; Akbar's letter to the ruler of Turan.

3. Cf. *Jahangir's Religious Policy* by Sri Ram Sharma in *Islamic Culture*, January, 1938; and *Religious Policy of Shah Jahan*, in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1937.

4. Cf. *Aurangzeb's Religious Policy* by Sri Ram Sharma in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June and September, 1936.

The fact of the matter is that Muslim political theories, depending not mainly upon the Quran but partly on the practices of the later Muslim kings and partly on the traditions of the Persian non-Muslim rulers, were not easily applicable to India. Was India a Dar-ul-Islam, the home of the Faithful, or Dar-ul-Harb, a target for Muslim attacks? Even in such a simple matter it was impossible even for an Aurangzeb to apply Muslim traditions of the Law arising elsewhere to Indian conditions. Still further earlier Muslim kings in India had sometimes presumed to act beyond the strict letter of the Muslim Law. Early in India's contact with Islam it seems to have been realised that it was impossible to dream of her accepting Islam wholesale. The matter was left there and with it came several modifications in Muslim Law and practice in India. Naturally this destroyed the theory that the Muslim rulers in India were to rule here *entirely* as the agent of Islam.

To revert to the nature of the Mughal State then, it was a despotism of a limited nature where the ruler generally claimed to act as the agent of Islam, the exact demands of which they left themselves free to decide. It was a despotism that left a very wide margin to its citizens' choice, in theory as well as in practice.

It is necessary however to remember one very important factor. Limited though the authority of the Mughal emperors was in certain ways, if they decided to overstep those limits there was nothing in the political institutions of the State to serve as an effective check on them. But popular rebellion was always there as a well-recognised method of expressing disapproval of a ruler's policy. It did not carry with it the same religious taint as it did in contemporary England for example. Still further, hereditary monarchy, as such, was unknown to the early Muslim Law or practice, though the Shi'ite schism was based on an assertion of such claims. The early Muslim ruler—the Khalifa—was an elect of the Faithful. Neither the Quran nor the Tradition, except among the Shias, recognises the principle of hereditary succession, so much so that there is no recognised law of succession for the State. The personal claim to the State was not recognised, it was not property in the legal sense of the term. Naturally no law of inheritance, as such, was necessary or valid. Earlier Muslim kings in India got out of this difficulty by denying in theory their sovereign position. They held power and exercised authority not in their own right but as officers appointed by some far distant Muslim ruler who claimed to be the Khalifa.¹ Babar and his successors refused to cling to that useless fiction particularly because they themselves were among the greatest Muslim rulers in the world at that time. But even the support of the Khalifa, though useful sometimes as a convenient fiction to support an existing ruler, failed to provide any valid rule of succession. Where the Law failed the monarchy, practice proved of no better help. The death-bed of almost every Mughal emperor saw a feverish activity

1. Cf. *Some Aspects of Muslim Rule in India* by Tripathi.

for settling the question of succession. While Babar lay dying, his Prime Minister was busy conspiring to keep out Humayun. Humayun's death was too sudden and the Mughal position in India too precarious at that time to admit of much disputing about succession. Akbar's death was followed by Jahangir's accession; but Khusrau, Jahangir's eldest son, contested his own father's right to succeed. The later part of Jahangir's reign was disfigured by conspiracies of various types about succession. After his death the unfortunate Bulaqi was chosen to keep his place warm for Shah Jahan, who was absent in the South. Shah Jahan's arrival saw Bulaqi murdered and Shah Jahan sat on his father's throne after wading through the blood of his all possible rivals. Aurangzeb paid him back by imprisoning him and ruling, not in Shah Jahan's name, but in his own, even while Shah Jahan was alive. Thus the Mughal practice closely adhered to the contemporary Muslim ideas about succession to the State. It was not successful rebellion resulting in violently upsetting any recognised law or practice that was responsible for these incidents. It seemed to be the normal course of things and was the result of the absence of Law on the subject.

It is also necessary to remember that the Mughal emperors left a very wide field of their citizens' activities alone. In Europe it was the period when political authorities—whether ruling princes or kings in Parliament were busy dictating to their subjects even the variety of religious belief they were to hold. Those who governed on behalf of Edward VI, for example, said that the religion of the English people should be Protestant and England became Protestant. Then came Mary after some years and, as if by magic, England reverted to Roman Catholicism. With Elizabeth the wheel turned again and England emerged Anglican out of the struggle. Howsoever accustomed we might be at the present moment to the State's leaving the religion of its citizens alone—and even now, Hitler would not allow us to take this as a matter of course—in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century the religious beliefs of their subjects were very much the concern of their governments. The Mughals, therefore, formed an exception and not the rule, when they left the religious beliefs of their subjects alone. They passed no Acts of Supremacy, they enforced no Thirty-nine Articles, so far as the beliefs of the preponderant majority of the population were concerned. Even for the Muslims all that they did was to punish apostasy and extort outward conformity in certain matters of public conduct.

SRI RAM SHARMA.

SAINT MAGDALENE—OR BIBI RABI'A BAŞRI IN MOGUL PAINTING?

A SUBJECT which is to be found fairly frequently in Mogul paintings, especially of the later period, is the representation of a girl—or woman—kneeling on the ground with a halo round her head. Before her stands a candelabrum (*Zaurang*). On the ground lie some books. She herself seems to be roused from meditation by the approach of one or several angels coming from the side and offering her food and drink.

There has been up to now some obscurity as to the exact meaning of these pictures. In some galleries they are placed amongst the "Europe-anizing" pictures as representing some less known Christian subject.

One such painting was exhibited at the Coronation Durbar at Delhi in 1911¹ and was there entitled "The Virgin Mary with ministering Angels." But anybody knowing Christian paintings will hesitate to accept this interpretation, for never in the West has the Virgin Mary been represented in such a way.

Far more plausible appears at first sight the interpretation given by A. K. Coomaraswamy. In the first volume of his "Indian Drawings"² he shows another version of the same subject which he styles "Magdalene with ministering angels."

What we know historically about Mary Magdalene is that she was one of the most ardent followers of Jesus Christ. Together with Mary the mother of Jesus she stood near the cross and on Easter morning she was the first to arrive at the empty tomb, the first to see Jesus after His resurrection and to carry the great news to the Apostles.³

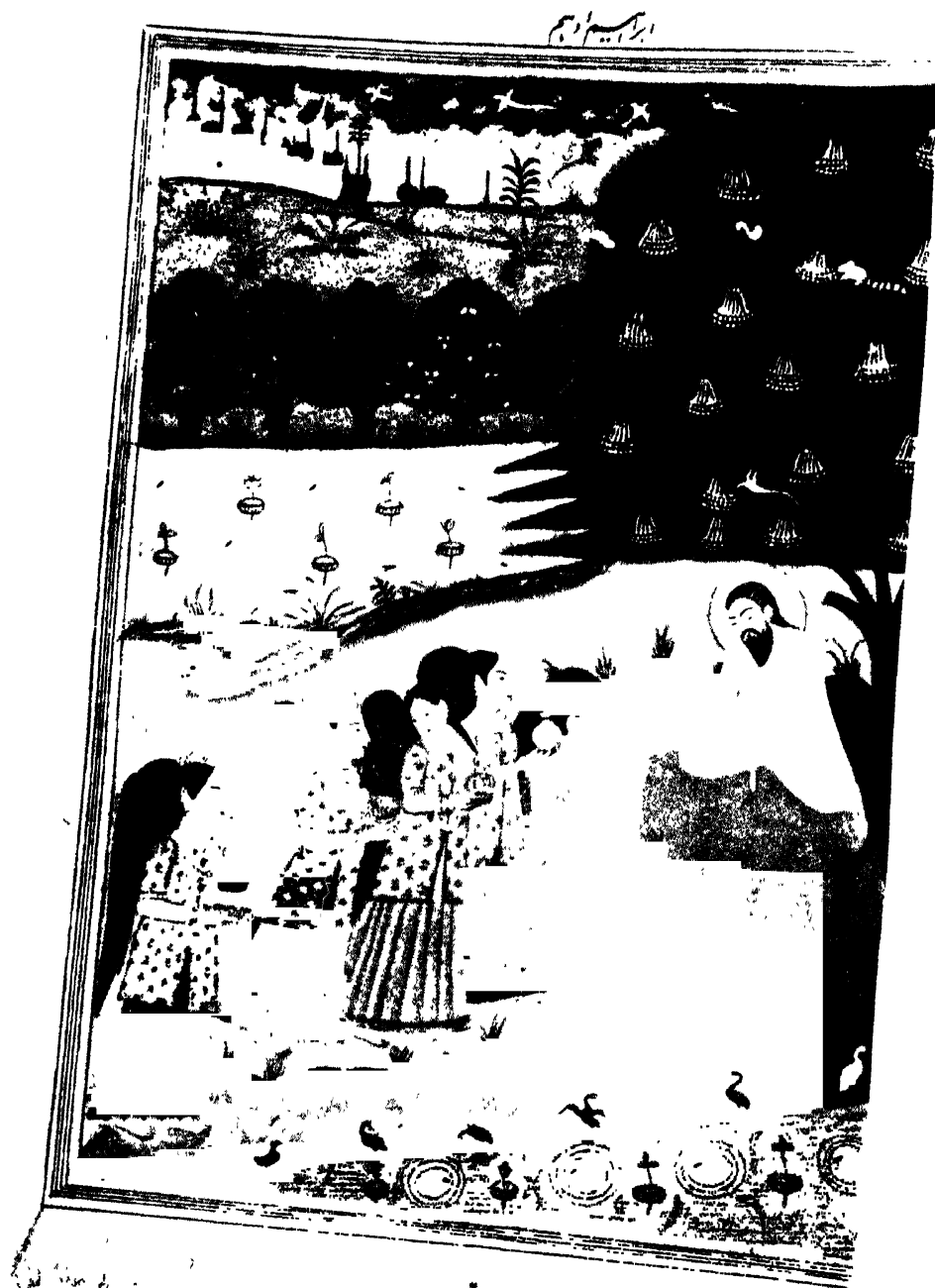
In all probability she is to be identified with that Mary of Magdala who a few days before the death of Jesus had poured the perfume over His feet.⁴ She had led a publicly sinful life until meeting with His purity and sanctity she was converted. That is what we know from history.

1. Cf. "Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911." Pl. LXIX.

2. Ibid. Pl. XVII.

3. Cf. Gospel of St. John, XIX, 25; XX, 1, 11 ff.

4. Cf. Gospel of St. Luke, VII, 36 ff.; VIII, 2.



Legend, however, or tradition continued the story of her life. After the ascension of Jesus Christ she is said to have lived a life of penance for her former sins. And in the south of France the legend arose that one of the islands near Marseilles was the scene of this lonely life. Separated as she was from all men, it was through the hands of angels that she received food and drink.

The historical fact of her conversion from a sinner's to a saint's life is the reason why in the Catholic Church she was always regarded as a patroness of reformed fallen women.

But in the 17th century the legend of that beautiful penitent in the desert captured the imagination of artists, and in this period many paintings represented "Magdalene in the desert." According to the sensuality that characterizes profane Renaissance painting and which managed to creep even into Christian art, she was often represented in such a way that the beauty of her body was but slightly veiled by the flowing tresses of her hair.

Now it is a fact that the Mogul paintings under discussion undoubtedly show a strong resemblance to the paintings of "Magdalene in the desert," such as those by Titian or by Ribera.

The conclusion, therefore, that we are here shown not the Virgin Mary but Magdalene, seems fairly convincing.

Fairly, I say. For there remains a doubt. Is it not surprising that just this "Magdalene" shows in so many examples hardly any or no traces of any European model? And, generally speaking, how is it to be explained that out of the vast number of Catholic saints just this saint—St. Magdalene—should have been represented so frequently? After all, would not other saints have offered greater interest than she? Besides, a closer study of our paintings shows that the Virgin represented cannot be a Christian, as in some of the pictures her costume is clearly Muhammadan. In a painting, for instance, at the Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala at Poona, under the transparent *sari* of the kneeling Virgin are clearly visible a pair of long Muhammadan trousers.

The angels, too, are represented in a very different style from angels in other paintings. Every student of Mogul paintings knows that winged angels are to be found not only in Christian but also in Muhammadan pictures. Personally, however, I am inclined to believe that we may go a step further and ascribe all angels executed in *this* particular style to a Muhammadan brush. This, however, is a point which needs further investigation.¹ It may be sufficient here to point out the striking resemblance between these pictures and another set of pictures which are equally frequent showing "Ibrahim Adham." Ibrahim himself is usually represented in a position different from that of the Virgin. He sits on the ground, his closed eyes indicating that he is in deep meditation. But the angels, their dresses, the style of their wings, the gesture with which they offer food and drink—all that is exactly the same as in our

1. On which I hope to give some further indications in a later publication.

pictures—(Plate I). As Ibrahim Adham is a well-known Sufi saint who lived in the 8th century, this seems to indicate that to identify the corresponding female saint we shall have to search the surroundings of this Ibrahim Adham.

The writer of these lines was therefore interested to find at Hyderabad (Deccan) two pictures representing the subject under discussion. One is in the private collection of Sir Akbar Hydari, the other in that of Nawab Salar Jung.¹ They both bear inscriptions which, as I am inclined to believe, definitely solve the problem :

“ BIBI RABI‘A BAŞRI .”

In both cases, especially in that of the picture belonging to Sir Akbar Hydari, there can be no reasonable doubt as to the genuineness of the inscription. The golden colour in which it is executed is the same as that employed in other portions of the picture, for instance in the halo of the saint.

Who is “ Bibi Rabi‘a Başri ” ? To the readers of this review she is too well-known to need any further introduction. Her real name was Rabi‘a al-‘Adawiya Basri being a surname taken from the town where she was born and where she spent the greater part of her life—Başra in Mesopotamia.

As a child she had been stolen from her family and sold as a slave. But she managed to recover freedom and renouncing marriage gave herself to a solitary life, partly in the desert, partly at Başra itself.

While Ibrahim represents rather the ascetic line of Sufism, Rabi‘a is one of the best known Sufi mystics. Many of her sayings have come down to us testifying to the greatness and purity of the love of God she attained. She died at the age of about 90 years in 801 A.D.

The similarity of style between the two sets of paintings seems to show that Rabi‘a and Ibrahim were closely connected in the minds of Indian Muhammadans of the 17th and the following centuries. At any rate this resemblance excludes whatever doubt there might remain as to the genuineness of the inscriptions : Our paintings really represent no other than Rabi‘a al-‘Adawiya. This being established, there still remains one question. How is it to be explained that Rabi‘a Başri is represented so frequently in the later Mogul period, whilst—as far as I can see she was never represented before ?—Why do her pictures often represent such a striking resemblance to contemporary Western representations of St. Mary Magdalene ?—In particular, how is it to be explained that in some paintings, as for instance in that in the possession of Nawab Salar Jung, the Virgin is represented half nude—which, as everybody knows, is extremely rare in Mogul painting ?

Is there not after all some truth in Coomaraswamy’s interpretation ? Is it not probable that there *does* exist some connection with the “ St. Magdalene in the Wilderness ” of the West ?

1. See Plate II & III.



PLATE III.



It is a general fact which is easy to prove—though up to now it has not found sufficient acknowledgment—that in the great majority of cases the Mogul painters did not merely copy European models, but inspired by some western picture, re-conceived the subject and reproduced it in their own way. It therefore seems not unreasonable to believe that Bibi Rabi'a originally *was* St. Magdalene. That is to say, seeing some picture of "Magdalene in the Wilderness" the Muhammadan painter adopted the general conception of the Christian picture and represented in the same attitude and style a saint of his own creed, whose life after all, according to legend, was not without some resemblance to that of St. Magdalene. This painting becoming popular amongst Muhammadans was reproduced again and again, severing in the course of the process more and more its connexion with the original painting from the West.

This is, of course, not more than a hypothesis, yet it seems to offer the best explanation of the facts.

FELIX LOEWENSTEIN.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN- ENGLISH VOCABULARY

ب

ب (prep.): "As regards, in." (Sh. N., IV., 1805).

یکی کهتری باشدش دوردست سواری سرافراز و خسرو پرست
بیالادراز و باندام خشک بگرد سرش جعد موی چومشک

The King has a subject far away, a stately cavalier, a loyal man ;
In stature tall, in body lean, with curly musk-like hair around his head.
[In description of Bahrām-e Chūbīn].

———"As." (Sh. N., IV., 1805).

بر فتم نزدیک خاقان چین بشاهی برو خواندیم آفرین

We approached the Khākān of Turkistan ; we offered him praises as King.

["As King "; lit., "with or in kingship"].

———"Towards." (Sh. N., IV., 1885).

برزی که کردی چنین گش مشو هنرمند بودی منی فش مشو
بدل دیورا یار کردی همی بزدان گنه گار کردی همی

Do not be so elated at the battle you have waged ; you have been accomplished and clever, do not be presumptuous.

In your heart you are becoming an associate of the demon ; you are becoming a sinner towards God.

———Sometimes before past participles, adjectives, and adverbs used superfluously. (Sh. N., II., 515).

بدو گفت گیوای جهاندار کی سرافراز و پیدار و فرخنده پی
همه شاد و روشن بپهر تو اند بنا دیده یکسر بپهر تواند

Gīv said to him: "O world-possessing King, exalted, vigilant, of auspicious footstep,

All men are glad and brightened by your face, all love you (even when) unseen (by them)."

(Cf. also بر prep.). ۱

با: "Towards"; as, conduct towards a person. (Gulistān, p. 101).

چگونه است که با هیچ کدام آن میل خاطر ندارد که با ایاز با وجود آنکه زیاده
حسن ندارد.

How is it that his heart is not so inclined towards any one of them as it is towards Ayāz, though the latter has no great beauty?

با or با وجود (bā vujūd-e) signifies, besides "notwithstanding," also "considering, taking into consideration."

باد

باد و دم: "Spirit and fire," (accompanied by excited cries). (Sh. N., II., 499).

چو رستم ز قلب سپه بنگرید دو گردد لیر گرانمایه دید
در آویخته بایکی شیر مرد با بر اندر آورده از باد گردد
بدل گفت رستم که جز پیلسم ز ترکان ندارد کسی باد و دم

When Rustam looked out from the centre, he saw two brave and noble champions.

Contending with a single lion-like man, with clamour raising dust unto the clouds.

"Of all the Turks," said Rustam to himself, "None save Pilsam has (this) spirit and fire."

[باد in the second hemistich of the second verse, translated "clamour," might signify the dust-raising "wind" caused by the rapid movements of the warriors].

بر باد آمدن (i.e., بر باد آمدن): "To be overthrown." (Sh. N., IV., 1790).

چو او بگزرد زین سرای سپنج از و باز ماند بگفتا رکنج
شود ز و جهان قرن تا قرن شاد جزایوان شه کان بر آید بیاد

When he (Muḥammad) passes away from this transitory abode, a treasure of words will be left behind him :

Through him the world from age to age will rejoice,—except the King's palace which will be overthrown.

[The coming of Muḥammad is predicted to Nūshīrvān].

بیاد بر آمدن : See بر باد آمدن.

بر باد شدن : "To be ruined." (Sh. N., IV., 1790).

سواری رسد هم کنون باد واسپ که بر باد شد کار آذر گشسپ
درین بود کآمد سواری چو گرد که آذر گشسپ این زمان گشت سرد

"Even now," (said Buzurjmihr), "will a horseman arrive with all speed (to announce) that the business of (the fire-temple) Āzar Gushasp is ruined."

As he thus spake a horseman swift as the wind came to announce that the fire of Āzar Gushasp was just then out.

["With all speed." The expression is باد واسپ : "With two horses," but I venture to take it as equivalent to دواسپه swift as the "wind"; lit., "Dust"].

بار و برگ (as بار و برگ) : "Fruit and leaves." (Sh. N., IV., 1791).

بخندید تموز بر سرخ سیب همی کرد با بار و برگش عتیب
که آن دسته گل بوقت بهار بمستی همی داشتی در کنار

July laughed at the red apple, and reproached its fruit and leaves :

"In time of spring," it said, "in wanton love you held that bunch of flowers in your bosom."

باریدن (often transitive) : "To rain." (Sh. N., IV., 1741).

تو گفتی هوا تیغ باردهمی بخاک اندرون لاله کاردهمی

It was as though the air were raining swords ; were planting in the ground anemones.

[Steingass gives باریدن اشک but does not emphasise the fact that باریدن is often transitive.

"Anemones" (or tulips), i.e., "blood" (shed in battle)].

بازار

تیز بازار (as گرم بازار) : "High valuation set upon a thing." (Sh. N. IV., 1816).

چو بشنید بهرام گفتار اوی بخندید ازان تیز بازار اوی

When Bahrām (-e Chūbīn) heard his words, he laughed at his high valuation of himself.

بازی

بازی نهادن : "To make a move, to play a game." (Sh. N., IV., 1852).

چنین گفت پس گردیده با سپه که ای نامداران جوینده راه

*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*

چه بینید یکسر بکاران درون چه بازی نهید اندرین دشت خون

Then Gurdiya spoke thus to the troops : "O famous warriors, eager for the road,

What are your views in general as to this? What game would you play upon this field of blood?"

[Gurdiya was the sister of Bahrām-e Chūbīn, the ambitious general who was seeking the sovereignty of Persia].

باسط as a Sūfī term means "(God) Who gives cheerful emotions." It is opposed to قابض.

باشتی (for به آشتی) : "In peace." (Sh. N., I., 412).

فرستم یکی نامه نزدیک شاه مگر باشتی باز خواند سپاه

I will send a letter to the King, (so that), perchance, he may in peace recall the troops.

بالا (with تشیب).

ز بالا تا تشیب : "Straight down" or "straight along." (Lit. "from high to low"). (Masnavī, II., 291).

گام پای مردم شوریده خود هم ز گام دیگران پیدا بود
یک قدم چون رخ ز بالا تا تشیب یک قدم چون پیل رفته پرورید

The footprints of distracted people are in truth distinguished from those of others :—

One step like the castle straight along ; one step taken obliquely like the bishop.

باور

باور بودن "To be believed." (with dative, or suffixed pronoun, it is equivalent to "to believe." (Sh. N., I., 349).

غمین گشت سهراب رادل بدان که جائی نیامد ز رستم نشان
نشان داده بد از پدر مادرش همی دید و دیده نبداورش

Suhrāb's heart grew sorrowful that nowhere any indications of Rustam appeared.

His mother had given him indications of his father, and he saw them, but he did not believe in what he saw.

بایسته : "Which must be." (Sh. N., IV., 1910).

ز تونیز هرگز ندیدم بدی نیازی بکزی و نا بخردی
و لیکن ز کار سپهر بلند نباشد شگفت ارشوی پرگزند
چو بایسته کاری بود ایزدی بیکسور و ددانش و بخردی

In you too I have never seen any evil : you do not aim at falseness or unwisdom.

But through the action of the lofty spheres it will be no wonder if you suffer misfortune.

Since the divine action is that which must be, knowledge and wisdom must be left aside.

بت

بت آرای "Idolater." (Sh. N., III., 1506).

بت آرای بیند چو ایشان بچین شکسته شود بر بتان آفرین

If an idolater should see them in China, his praise of idols would be broken off.

بتنهان is apparently equivalent to تنها as "Alone." (Sh. N., IV., 1895).

بتنهان او خود یکی لشکرست جهان گیر و بیدار و کند آورست

He alone, indeed, is a whole army ; he is a world-conqueror, he is vigilant, and bold.

چشم کردن . See چشم کردن (Ḥadīka).

بحر.

بحر طرابزون : "The Black Sea." (Haft Ik., p. 543b.).

بحر الروس : "The Black Sea." (Haft Ik., p. 543b.).

بحکم امتحان. See حکم.

بخشایش

بخشایش آوردن (with prep. بر) : "To be indulgent, kind, or liberal" (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1782).

چومن بگذرم زین سپنجی سرای جهان رایا ید یکی کد خدای
که بخشایش آرد بدرویش بر به بیگانه و مردم خویش بر

When I pass away from this transitory abode, a Ruler will be wanted for the world :

One who would be indulgent to the poor, to strangers, and to his own people too.

بخشیدن : "To divide, to distribute," (e.g., into categories). (Sh. N., IV., 1768). Cf. بخش کردن.

پرسید گفتار چندست و چیست که بهری همی زو بیاید گریست
دگر بهره تا جست و گنجست و نام ازان مستمندی وزین شاد کام
چنین داد پاسخ که دانا سخن بخشید و اندیشه افگند بن

He asked, "How many are the forms of speech, and what are they, some of which one must bewail,

Whilst others are crown, treasure, and name—from the former you are wretched, from the latter blessed?"

He thus gave answer : "The wise man has given thought (to the subject), and has divided speech into several categories."

بخشیدن (as بخشیدن with prep. بر) : "To be merciful" (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1835).

چو خاقان چین زینهارى شود ازان برترى سوى خواری شود
شهنشاه باید که بخشد بروی چو یکباره زودورش رنگ و بوی

Since the Ruler of Turkistan is now a refugee seeking protection, and in abasement after all his exaltitude,

The King must be merciful to him, since his power has altogether left him.

بدآمیز (equivalent to بد امتزاج) : "Wicked, of evil nature." (Sh. N., IV., 1862).

بد و داد مرد بد آمیز را چنان بد کنش دزد خون ریز را

He gave the wicked man over to him, one so iniquitous, a thief, a murderer.

(Cf. بی بن) : "Base, ignoble ; base-born." (Sh. N., IV., 1883).

تو از بد بنان یودی و بد نشان نه از تهم ساسان رسیدی بنان

You are of the base and wicked. Have you not derived your sustenance from the descendants of Sāssān ?

[Khusrau Parvīz is speaking to the ambitious general Bahrām-e Chūbīn].

بد کام : "Having evil designs." (Sh. N., IV., 2017).

بجوئید گفت این بلا جوی را بد اندیش و بد کام و بد روی را

"Search," said he, "this seeker of trouble, this malevolent man of evil designs and aspect."

بدل (badal).

بدل : "A word in apposition." (L. A., I., p. 325, ll. 19-21).

این را نیز باید در نظر داشت که مقتضای اعراب جر الامام و قسیمه است تا بدل یا عطف بیان از الناصرین باشند

This also should be kept in view that the laws of declension require that "al-Imāma" and "Kasīma-hu" should be genitives, as words in apposition to "an-Nāsiraini."

[See also عطف بیان].

بدل بودن (with prep. از) : "To be in apposition" (with). See بدل.

بدل کردن : "To change." (Masnavī, II., 521).

کرده مبدل تومی را از حدث جان مارا هم بدل کن از خبث

You have changed the wine from impurity (to purity). Change also our souls from (their) impurity.

بدمنش : " Nauseated, disgusted." (Sh. N., IV., 2002).

بایرانیان گفت این خون کیست نهاده به پیش من از بهر چیست
بدو گفت موبد که خون پلید کز بدمنش گشت هر کس که دید

He said to the Persians, "Whose blood is this, and why has it been placed before me?"

A Mūbid said to him, "It is foul blood, at which everyone who sees it is nauseated."

[Cf. منش زدن (گشتن ; کردن) : "To nauseate ; to have a disordered stomach." (Steingass)].

—"Ignoble, trivial-minded, sordid." (Sh. N., IV., 2004).

ز کار زمانه غمی گشت سخت ازان بد منش کودک شور بخت

He became sorely afflicted at the work of Fortune : at that ill-fated, trivial-minded boy.

[A Mūbid finds Shīrūya (Sīrōes), the son of Khusrau Parvīz engaged in very trivial pursuits].

Cf. too بی منش .

بدیهه : "An impromptu," (and some other nouns) may be used adverbially by omission of "tanwīn." (L. A., p. 277).

در آمد و بنشست و بدیهه این قطعه انشا کرد

"He entered, sat down, and composed this Fragment impromptu."

بر : "Before ;" (as it were, "in appeal to." (Sh. N., IV., 1920).

بران سان که بشنید نیرنگ ساز زنی ساخت با گیسوان دراز
هر آن کس که دیدی مرا و از دور زنی یاقتی شیفته پر ز نور
که بگریستی بر مسیحا بزار دورخ سرخ مژگان چو ابر چهار

The magician, in the way he had been told, fashioned a woman with long ringlets.

Whoever might see her from afar would find her a woman crazed with love and of brilliant beauty ;

Who wept piteously before the Messiah—her two cheeks red, her eyelashes like a cloud of spring.

[The Kaisar has had a talisman made to deceive the Persians. He pretends it is a (supposed) daughter of his, and that she is weeping for the loss of her husband but will not utter a word].

—“Beyond, in addition to.” (Sh. N., IV., 1895).

چو پیدا شود چاک روز سفید کم دل ز کار جهان نا امید
بیائیم با تو براه دراز بنزدیک بهرام گردن فراز
برین بر که گفتم نجوم زمان اگر یار مندی کند آسمان

When the streaks of white day appear, my heart shall give up hope of worldly interests ;

I will accompany you on the long journey to the presence of the exalted Bahrām.

I will not seek any delay beyond what I have spoken of, if the sky afford its favouring help.

[The words are supposed to be spoken by Khusrau Parvīz to his adherent Bandūy, to be repeated by him to Khusrau's brother Bahrām, who has pursued him to a fortress-monastery. They are really those of Bandūy, who has enabled Khusrau to escape, and who now speaks as if under his dictation].

—“As to, as regards” (Sh. N., II., 505).

میان را بکین برادر ببند ز فتراک مگشای هرگز کند
میاسای برکین از افراسیاب ز دل دور کن خورد و آرام و خواب

Gird your waist to avenge your brother ; never loosen your lasso from the saddle-strap.

Do not desist from hostility with Afrāsiyāb ; put from your heart (the thought of) food, rest, and sleep.

[Lit., Do not have done with Afrāsiyāb as regards hostility].

—“On account of, for.” (Masnavī, II., 229-30).

از حسد بر یوسف مصری چه رفت این حسد اندر کین گر گيست زفت
لاجرم زین گرگ یعقوب حایم داشت بر یوسف همیشه خوف و بیم

What befell Joseph of Egypt through (the) envy (of his brethren). This envy is a big wolf in ambush.

Jacob, gentle and clement, through this wolf had necessarily fear and apprehension continually for Joseph.

بر is sometimes, like به (ب), used redundantly before adjectives and adverbs. (Sh. N., I., 446).

فراوان برین نگذرد روزگار که بر دست بیدار دل شهریار
شوم زار من گشته بر بی گناه کسی دیگر آید برین تاج و گاه

A long time will not elapse before I, at the hands of the watchful King,
Shall, though innocent, be miserably slain, while another will come to
this crown and throne.

بر is used also to form adverbial locutions. E.g., بدیهه “Impromptu.”
(L. A., I., 278).

وقتی درری تذکیری گفت رفته بدو نیشند که مجلس کوتاه می گوئی و ما مشتاقیم بر بدیهه گفت

Once he was preaching in Rai. They wrote him a note saying : “ Your
sermons are short, and we are eager (for greater fullness).” (In answer)
he composed (a quatrain) impromptu. [Cf. too به بدیهه and بدیهه for بدیهته].

بر (bar-e).

بر : “ With, *aupres de*.” (Sh. N., IV., 1834).

درباره بگشای و زنهار خواه بر شاه کشور مرا یار خواه

Open the gate of the fortress, and seek protection ; seek my friendly
offices with the King of the country.

— “ Near.” (Sh. N., IV., 1835).

چونامه بیامد بنزدیک شاه بابر اندر آورد فرخ کلاه
فرستاد و ایرانیان را بخواند بر نامور تخت شاهی نشاند

When the letter reached King (Hurmuzd) he greatly rejoiced.

He sent and summoned the Persians, and seated them near the famous
royal throne.

شدن : “ To result in ” (something). Lit., (for something)
“ to come as a result.” (L. A., I., 234).

حاصل چرخ تیزرو بر لب جاه تو چیست جز آنکه قطره ازوی بر حباب شد

What does the rapidly revolving sphere, the sky, bordering on the
ocean, your lofty position, amount to but a single drop of it which has
resulted in a bubble ?

[From a Qasida by Faridu'd-Dīn of Yājarm].

بر (birr) : Performance of duty, especially in the rites of the pilgrimage.”
(Redhouse ; and M., II., 357).

حق آن حق که جانت دیده است که مرا بریت خود بگزیده است
کعبه هر چندی که خانه بر اوست خلقت من نر خانه سر اوست

By the truth of that God Whom your soul has seen, (O Bāyazīd), He has preferred me to His House (the Ka'ba) !

Although the Ka'ba is His House (appointed) for the performance of religious rites, my being is, above this, the house of His mysteries.

برابر (barābar-e) : " In comparison with." (H. P., p. 78).

من که خوردم شکر ز ساغر او شیر خواری بدم برابر او

I, who drank up the sugar from his cup, was but a suckling in comparison with him.

برات (used in sense of فرمان یافتن in فرمان یافتن) : A "mandate"; i.e., here, a mandate or decree from God to die. (Sh. N., IV., 1745).

شد از رنج و زبستگی شاه مات چنین یافت از چرخ گردان برات

The King, distressed and encompassed, was reduced to the last extremity, and thus he died by the decree of the rolling sphere.

[It need scarcely be mentioned that the rolling Sphere or Fortune acts only under the command of God].

بر آن : " To mean, intend, purpose." (Sh. N., IV., 1902).

وگر خود بر آنی که کوئی همی بدل راه کثری نجوئی همی
ز بند این دو پای من آزاد کن نخستین بخسرو برین یاد کن

If you really mean what you say, and in your heart you seek not the path of falseness,

Free these two legs of mine from fetters, and speak first of all to Khusrau of this matter.

بر تر منش : " Proud, impatient."

کسی کو بود تیز و بر تر منش به پیچد ز پیغاره و سرزنش
مبادا که گیرد بنزد تو جای چنین مرد اگر باشدت رهنمای

The person who is impetuous and impatient, who turns from reprehension and reproof—

Let not such a man find place near you, or be your guide.

برز (burz) : " Majesty, might." (B. K. شکوه و عظمت and Sh. N. Glos. (M., III., 39). شکوه و قدرو بلندی

چند کو بد زخمهای گرز شان بر سر هر ژاژ خا و برز شان

How often will the strokes of their maces and of their might fall upon the heads of idle speakers !

[I am conjecturing برز for the مرز of the T. Com. and the T. Trans. The only applicable sense of مرز (marz) is "slander," and "marz" besides being an imperfect rhyme would entail a different reference in the شان (shān) of the two hemistichs.

Those using the (metaphorical) maces are Munkir and Nakir].

سر بار or بر سرى : "A small loan put on top of the main load." (Cf. سر بار and سربارى). (M., II., 75).

(In the following passage, however, بر سرى may be adjectival).

مال ما خوردی مظالمی بری از چه بود این ظلم دیگر بر سرى

"You have," said they, "consumed our property ; you bear (upon you) our grievances (against you) ; for what reason then was this other wrong superadded ?"

برقرارى : "Continuance." (Beck, Pers. Gr., p. 445).

فرمان برقرارى موجب پدرمردمده

A "farmān" for the continuance of the emoluments of the deceased father (to his son).

برک

برک وشاخ : "Power, wealth, prosperity." (Sh. N., IV., 1762).

چنین داد پاسخ که دست فراخ همی نوکند مرد را برک وشاخ

He thus gave answer : "The open hand renews a man's prosperity."

برنشست : A "saddle-horse." (Sh. N., IV., 1800).

چنان بد که اسپى ز آخر بجست که بد شاه پرويز را برنشست

It so happened that a horse, the saddle-horse of the Prince Parvīz, escaped from the stable.

بزار (cf. زار as) : "Lamentably." (Sh. N., II., 536).

بخواهشگرى رفتیم اى شهریار و گرنه سرش را بکندى بزار

I used intercession, O King, otherwise he would have cut off his head lamentably.

بس

بس آمدن (with prep. با) : "To be enough" (for), "to suffice." (L. A., I., p. 265, ll. 12-14).

در کرم چنان گشاده دل و دست بود که دخل کان و یسار بحر با خرج یکر و زه یمین او بس نمی آمد

In generosity he was so open of heart and hand that the revenue of the mine and the wealth of the sea were not enough for one day's expenditure of his right hand.

بس کردن (with prep. از of the person or thing) : "To have no regard" (for). (Ĥadika, p. 12, l. 10).

از پی حفظ مال و نفس و نفس او ترا بس تو کرده زو بس

For the preservation of your property, your person, and your breath He is sufficient for you but you, you have no regard for Him.

بستن (with prep. بر of the person) : "To attribute" (to). (M., I., 410).

منکران گفتند هست این خود قدیم این چرا بندیم بر رب کریم

Materialists have said : "This indeed has been from all time ; why should we attribute it to a generous Lord ?"

—"To make, contrive, set ;" (as a talisman). (H. P., 76).

و آن طلسمی که بست در ره خویش و آن فگندن هزار سر در پیش
جمله در پیش فیلسوف آن گفت وین سخن را نداشت هیچ نهفت

The talisman she'd set upon her road ; her casting down before her thousand heads—

All he related there before the sage ; in naught did he the matter hide (from him).

بسیچیدن (basījīdan), (or بسیچیدن) is composed of the particle به (ba for bi) and the verb بسیچیدن but it has generally taken the place of the simple verb.

بك (An illustration of the word "Asylum."). (M., II., 420).

آدمی کو علم الاسما بکست در تک چون رق این بی نکست

Adam, who was the asylum (i.e., object) of (the words), "*He taught (him) the names,*" had no power against the lightning-like attack of this dog.

[" This dog " is *Satan*.]

بلاش : Explained by Steingass as "*bila-shayin,*" " without cause or reason, without a why or wherefore ;" but it probably is "*ba-lash*" (*bi-lāsh*), " as a mere nothing."

بلق , (? buluk) : " The sound made when something is thrown into water "flap." (M., II., 196).

اوزبانگ آب پر می تا عنق نشنود بیگانه جز بانگ بلق

At the sound of the water he is full to the throat of wine ; (but) the alien hears nothing but the sound of " flap."

بن (bun).

(بدن . See under *bad-bun*).

از بن دندان " with painful effort and reluctance," (in the locution *از بن دندان* " painful effort and reluctance "). (M., II., 426).

از بن دندان بگفتش بهر آن کرد مت بیدار میدان ای فلان
تاری اندر جماعت در نماز از پی پیغمبر دولت فراز

(Satan), with painful effort and reluctance, said to him, " Know, O you, that I awakened you to the end.

That you might be with the congregation, (and follow) in the prayers after the Prophet, whose state is exalted."

— " One's utmost effort." (in the same locution, *از بن دندان*). (M., II., 468).

هیچ چاره نیست از نفقه عیال از بن دندان کنم کسب حلال

(You say hypocritically), " I cannot avoid providing for my family ; with my utmost effort I earn that which is lawful."

[Cf. Redhouse ; *از بن دندان* " An extreme effort or resource."].

بن افگندن (with prep. *با* of person, and accusative of thing). " To arrange, make an arrangement " (with). (Sh. N., I., 419).

پراکنده گردد بد هر این سخن که باشاه توران فگندیم بن

This matter which I have arranged with the King of *Tūrān* would be spread throughout the world.

[The Prince Siyāvash is deprecating the breaking of faith with the King of Tūrān, Afrāsiyāb, whose daughter he has married].

—“ To conceive ” (an idea). (Sh. N., IV., 1914).

از ایشان چو بشنید قیصر سخن یکی دیگر اندیشه افکند بن

When the Kaiṣar heard their words he conceived a different idea.

[The advisers of the Kaiṣar have dissuaded him from helping Khusrau Parvīz].

—“ To begin,” (as a speech). (Sh. N., III., 1476).

ز بهرام بشنید منذر سخن بمردی یکی پاسخ افکند بن

Munzir heard the words of Bahrām, and began to speak in answer manfully.

“ To reach (its or their) limits.” (Sh. N., IV., 1852).

مجوئید ازین پس کس از من سخن کزین باره ام دانش آمد بین

Seek not, any one of you, further words from me, for as regards this matter, my knowledge and views reach their limits (in the words I have spoken).

“ To result in, to entail,” (lit., “ to bring at the end ”). (Sh. N., I., 471).

(Cf. “ To be anxious about the issue or consequences of a matter ”).

مفرمای اکنون ویزی مکن که تیزی پشیمانی آرد بین

Do not give such order now : be not precipitate ; for precipitation results in repentance.

[Pilsam is trying to dissuade Afrāsiyāb from executing Siyāvash].

“ To come to a definite issue.” (Sh. N., IV., 1915).

زهر گونه داستاها زدیم بران رای پیشینه باز آمدیم
کنون رای و گفتارها شد بین گشایم در گنجهای کهن

We have discussed the matter on every side ; we have altered our former judgment.

Our judgment and words have now come to a definite issue : I will open the door of my old treasures.

بند (band).

بند بند : "Link upon link, in links." (Ch. M., p. 34).

سنبلیدی دید بر چهره آفتاب پیچان حلقه حلقه چون زره بند بند چون زنجیر

He saw hyacinths twisting round the face of the sun, with ring upon ring like chain-armour, and link upon link like a chain.

[Description of the locks on the face of Ayāz, the favourite of Maḥmūd.]
ببند داشتن (with prep. با): "To confine" (to).

سپهد سپه راهمه پند داد همی داشت با پند لب را ببند

The general gave the army only counsel: he confined his tongue to giving counsel.

بند کردن : "To prevent, obstruct." (M., II., 76).

هم شدی توزیع کودک دانگ چند همت شیخ آن سخارا کرد بند

The division of the boy's claim among them would have been only a few "dāngs;" but the influence of the Shaikh's mind prevented that generosity.

بنیاد : "A site." (Sh. N., I., 442).

بجائی رسیدند آباد بود یکی خوب فرخنده بنیاد بود

هوا خشکوار وزمین خوب رنگ زدیسه زمینش چوپشت بلندگ

سیاوش به پیران زبان برگشاد که اینت برو بوم فرخ نهاد

برآرم یکی شارسان فراخ بدواندرون باغ وایوان و کاخ

They reached a place that was convenient, as being fit for cultivation and building, (a place that was well and happily situated).

The air was wholesome and the ground bright-hued, the ground like the leopard's back brocaded.

Siyāvash opened his lips and said to Pīrān: "Here is a region most happily constituted.

I will raise up a spacious city, in which shall be gardens, villas and palaces."

[See too under آباد].

[The Turanian King Afrāsiyāb is making preparations for war with Rustam who has killed the former's son Surka in revenge for the murder of Siyāvash the son of Kai-Kā'ūs.]

بوس

بر زمین بوس دادن : " To pay homage " , (lit., " to kiss the ground "). (Sh. N., II., 496).

چو بر کوهه پیل بر بست کوس همی آسمان بر زمین داد بوس

When he had fastened the drum on to the elephant's saddle, the sky paid homage, (i.e., the sky, as it were, bowed down in homage before curves more exalted than its own).

بوکه : (for بودکه buvad ki) : " In the hope that. " (M., II., 324).

بوکه استادی رهاوند مر ترا وز خطر بیرون کشاند مر ترا
زادئی میکن چو زورت نیست هین چونکه کوری سرمکش از راه بین

In the hope that a spiritual guide may deliver you, and draw you out of danger.

Having no strength, take heed you constantly put forth a plaint, and being blind, you disobey not him who can see the road.

بوی (بو)

بوی بردن (with prep. از) : " To get an inkling " (of). (M., II., 333).

چون ابوبکر از محمد برد بو گفت هذا وجه ليس كاذب

When Abū Bakr got an inkling of Muḥammad, he said, " *This is a face which does not lie.* "

[Abū Bakr being of like nature to Muḥammad could soon appreciate his truth].

—(M., II., 456—7).

این نشان چون داد گوئی پیش رو وقت آهنگست پیش آهنگ شو
پیروی تو کنم ای راست گو بوی بردی زاشتم بنما که کو

When he has given these indications, you will say, " Go on before ! It is the time for the undertaking ; you be the leader.

I will follow you, O speaker of truth ; you have got an inkling of my camel ; show (me) where (it is).

بوی گرفتن " To smell, " (trans.), may be deduced from بوی گیر g. v.

بوی گیر: "Smelling, a smeller," (trans.). (M., III., 38), (بوی گیر بودن): "To smell".

وای آن افسوسی کش بوی گیر باشد اندر گور منکر یا نکیر

Alas for that foolish and erring creature whose breath Munkir or Nakir smells in the tomb!

بویا: "Smelling, a smeller." (trans.). بویا بودن: "To smell," (trans.) (M., III., 38).

هان که بویای دهانتان خالقست کی برد جان غیر آن کو صادقست

Beware! for the Creator smells your breath—how can anyone escape but him who is sincere?

به (ba, be), preposition. See ب

به (bih).

به آمدن (with prep. از): "To surpass." (Sh. N., II., 529).

یکی تن به آید ز چندین سوار همانا که کین دارد این روزگار

A single man surpass so many cavaliers! Fortune is surely hostile and rancorous.

بهانه

بهانه آوردن: "To find a pretext" (for inaction), "to excuse one-self" (from action). (Ch. M., p. 137, ll. 12-15).

چو مرد باشد بر کار و بخت باشد یار ز خاک تیره نماید بخلق زر عیار
فلک بچشم بزرگی کند نگاه در آنک بهانه هیچ نیارد ز بهر خردی کار

When a man sets to work earnestly and Fortune attends him, he may show the people standard gold from dark earth.

The Sky looks upon him as great who does not find a pretext (for inaction) in that the work seems small.

بهانه بودن (with prep. از of person and بر of thing): "The possibility of cavilling (against) or objecting (to) a person (on the score of) something." (Sh. N., I., 398).

به بیشه یکی خوبرخ یافتند بر از خنده لب هر دو بشتافتند
بد یدار او در زمانه نبود ز خوبی بر و بر بهانه نبود

They found in the wood a lovely damsel with smiling lips; and both of them hurried on.

None in the world had so lovely a face : on the score of beauty there could be no cavilling about her. (Cf. بهانه جستن).

(بهانه جوی (جو) : " Seeking a motive, looking for an occasion or reason " (to act) ; almost equivalent to منتظر " expectant." (M., II., 319).

زاری و گریه قوی سرمایه ایست رحمت کلی قویتر دایه ایست
دایه و مادر بهانه جو بود تا که کی آن طفل او گریان شود

Lamentation and weeping are a weighty capital ; the universal mercy (of God) is the most potent fostering nurse.

The nurse or the mother seeks a motive : (she waits) until that infant of hers weeps.

بهانه داشتن (with prep. بر of person and به of thing) : " To be able to allege (against) on the score of." (Sh. N., I., 457).

بر و بر بهانه ندارم بید گر از من بدو اندکی بد رسد
زبان بر کشایند بر من مهان در فشی شوم در میان جهان

I could not allege against him any evil deed ; if I should do him any ill,

The great men would be loud in blame of me, I should become notorious throughout the world.

بهائی کردن (with accusative) : " To fix a price for." (Sh. N., III., 1465).

وزان پس بمنذر چنین گفت شاه که اسپان این نیزه داران بخواه
بهائی کنند آنچه آید خوشم درم بیش خواهم بایشان کشم

Then afterwords Prince (Bahrām) said to Munzir ;

" Send for the horses of these lance-bearing (Arabs) ;
Let them fix a price for any that please me, and I will give them much more (for them).

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بهر برداشتن : " To depart ;" [lit. " to take up (one's) portion "]. (Sh. N., IV., 2001).

چو از کوه و زدشت برداشت بهر همی رفت شادی کنان سوی شهر

When he departed from the hills and plain, he went in joyous mood towards the city.

(بهم بر زدن) (as بهم زدن) : " To mix, confuse." (Sh. N., III., 1413.)

دوبازی بهم بر نباید زدن می و بزم و تخییر و بیرون شدن

Two entertainments should not be confused : wine-drinking at the feast, and going forth to hunt.

[i.e., one should not hunt after indulging in wine-drinking.]

بودن بهم : " To be in common with, to be shared by." (Sh. N. I. 418).

چو رازش بهم بود با هر دو تن از آن پس که رستم بشد ز انجن
بدیشان چنین گفت کز بخت بد همی هر زمان بر سرم بد رسد

When his secret was shared by both those persons, (after Rustom had left the assembly),

He said to them " Through (my) ill-fortune some evil befalls me every moment."

کردن بهم : " To collect." (Ch. M., p. 172, ll. 2-4).

حدیث میر خراسان و قصه توزیع بگفت رودکی از روی نغز در اشعار
بدانچه داده بد او را هزار دیناری بنا و جوب بهم کرده از صغار و کبار
تو در هری بشی خسروا ببخشیدی زرم دور صافی دوبار بیست هزار

Rūdakī in his verses has boastfully told the story of the Amīr of Khurāsān and of his distribution (of money)—

In that he had given him a thousand " dīnārs " collected together unduly from people small and great.

(But) " you, O Prince, in a single night have in Herat given twice twenty thousand pieces of pure gold coin."

[Praise of Tughān Shāh, son of Alp Arslān, by Agrakī. The " Amīr of Khurāsān " is Nasr b. Aḥmad the patron of Rūdakī].

بی آزار : " Unharmed, without hindrance or trouble." (Cf. گزند. (Sh. N., IV., 2030).

بمی زان دو بالش بنوی بگشت بی آزار گردان بمرد گدشت
بدین گونه از شاد آورد می همی گشت تا شد بروی می

The quince moved gently from the cushions, passed rolling without hindrance to the throne,

And so from the throne of grandeur it went on till it reached the ground.

بی بن (equivalent to بد بن or بد اصل) : " Base, ignoble ; base-born " (Sh. N., IV. 1880).

چه گفت آن خردمند شیرین سخن که گری بنان را نشانی بن
بفرجام کار آیدت رنج و درد بگرد درنا سپاسان مگرد

What said that eloquent wise man ? " If you give firm footing to the base,

You will have pain and trouble in the issue—do not have any intercourse with ingrates."

[It is implied here that the base are always ungrateful].

بی تارو بود : " Disorganized, in disorder." (Sh. N., II., 522).

چو پیران بیامد بنزدیک رود سپه بد پراگنده بی تارو بود

When Pīrān came near to the river, his troops were scattered about in disorder.

—" Disturbed." (Sh. N., IV., 2001).

ز نالیدن بوق و بانگ سرود هوا گشت از آوازی تارو بود

The air was disturbed by the noise made by the blare of the trumpet and the loudness of the song.

بی رنج : " Inoffensive." (Sh. N., II., 504).

تو بی رنج را رنج منهای هیچ همه مردی و داد دادن بسیج

Give no pain to the inoffensive ; let your aim be naught but manliness and justice.

بسیت (b-est) : " Stand, stop, wait." Properly transliterated and explained by Steingass, who, however, transliterates incorrectly " istādan."

بسیت (bīst) : " Twenty." (Steingass, following the F. and Vullers, gives also " injured, damaged," senses evidently imagined by the Farhang-e-Shu'urī for a passage quoted from the Masnavī, in which " b-īst," (" wait"), is undoubtedly the correct reading. " Bīst " means nothing but " twenty."

بی شرط : " False to the conditions of a compact, or failing in accomplishing it." (cf. بی قول). (H. P., p. 74).

و آنکه زین شرط بگذرد تن او خون بی شرط او بگردن او

And whoso'er in these conditions fails, false to the terms, his blood be on his head !

بی کار : " Disengaged " (from some particular occupation). (Sh. N., IV., 1428).

بوسید پا و رکیب و را همی خیره گشت از نهیب و را
چوبی کار شد مرد خسرو پرست جهان جوی فرمود تا بر نشست

He kissed his foot and stirrup, and was dazed through awe of him.

When the loyal man was disengaged (from this act of devotion) the King ordered him to mount on horseback.

بیگانه : " Alien " (to the straight line ; i.e., deviating, as the third square of the knight's move in chess). (Sh. N., IV., 1745).

همان رفتن اسب سه خانه بود رفتن یکی خانه بیگانه بود

The knight's move was over three squares ; in the move, one square was alien (to the straight line).

بیگان : " Certain, assured." (Sh. N., IV., 1894).

چو بندوی شد بی گمان کاب سپاه همی باز تشناسد او راز شاه
فرود آمد و جامه خویش تفت پیوشید و بی باک بر بام رفت

When Bandūy was assured that the army (of Bahrām) did not distinguish him from the King,

He came down, and after quickly resuming his own clothes ascended to the roof again without fear.

[Bandūy, persuading Khusrau Parvīz to escape from the fortified refuge to which they have fled, assumes his clothes and insignia and displays himself on the roof to Bahrām's troops, who take him for the King].

بدمنش : " Nauseating, disgusting." (Sh. N., IV., 2003). (Contrast بدمنش which in Sh. N., IV., 2002 means " Nauseated, disgusted").

چنین گفت خسرو که شیرین بشهر چنان بد که این بی منش طشت زهر
کنون طشت می شد بمشکوی ما بدین گونه بویا شد از بوی ما

Thus spake Khusrau : " Shīrīn in (her own) country was even as the disgusting bowl of poison ;

She has now, in my palace, become (as) the (same) bowl (filled) with wine : thus has she become fragrant through my scent."

(بويا here is neuter and means " fragrant " ; in Masnavī, III., 38 it is transitive and means " smelling, a smeller ").

بی هنگام : " (Crowing) unseasonably," (in M., II., 394-5, and III., 40).

II., 394-5 :

لا جرم هر مرغ بی هنگام را سر بریدن واجبست اعلام را

Consequently decapitation should be the fate of every bird that crows unseasonably. As a notice (i.e., a warning) (to others).

III., 40 :

حرص دنیا رفت و چشمش تیز شد چشم او روشن گه خونریز شد
 مرغ بی هنگام آمد چشم او از نتیجه کبر او و خشم او
 سربریدن واجب آمد مرغ را که بغیر وقت جنباند در او

Worldly greed has gone and his eyes have sharpened ; his eyes have become clear at the time of (their) shedding blood.

Following upon his pride and anger when in health, his eyes are now as a bird that crows unseasonably.

The head of that bird that sounds its clarion out of season should be cut off.

[Rūmī speaking of the dying man who having visions of the punishment he will suffer weeps tears of blood for his former sins of pride and anger when he ought to have wept for them at the proper time].

(LATE DR.) C. E. WILSON.

(*To be continued.*)

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

EUROPE

Royal Asiatic Society

THE idea of founding a society with the object of furthering the cause of oriental learning and research in England was first formulated by Charles Wilkins in 1800, but it was left to his friend, H. T. Colebrooke, to become the actual founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1823. William IV was the Society's first Patron, and it has since enjoyed the uninterrupted patronage of Royalty. The present President of the Society is the Most Hon. the Marquess of Willingdon, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.: its Director is Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.

The Society's principal activities are twofold: the maintenance in London of a centre of oriental studies and research, focussed upon a specialist library of nearly 50,000 volumes, and a small but valuable collection of manuscripts, together with a regular programme of public lectures; and the publication of the results of original research in all the branches of oriental culture. The latter object is served by the publication not only of a quarterly *Journal* (first published in 1834, superseding the *Transactions* which commenced in 1827), but also, as funds permit, of volumes of texts and studies in the Society's various series. Since 1933, the following books with Islamic interest have been published:—

Prize Publication Fund.

W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, 1933.

I. Lichtenstädter, *Women in the Aiyam al-Arab*, 1935.

S. H. Taqizadeh, *The Early Iranian Calendars*, 1938.

Oriental Translation Fund.

J. Robson, *Tracts on Listening to Music*, 1938.

Royal Asiatic Society Monographs.

W. J. Fischel, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediæval Islam*, 1937.

P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, 1939.

J. G. Forlong Fund (in conjunction with the School of Oriental Studies).

R. O. Wingate and Sir E. D. Ross, *Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect*, 1934.

T. Graham Bailey, *Kashmiri Sounds*, 1937.

A. K. S. Lambton, *Three Persian Dialects*, 1938.

India Office Library

The Directors of the East India Company by a resolution passed in 1798 decided to create a "Repository for Oriental Writings" in their new buildings then being erected in Leadenhall Street. Early in 1801 the first Librarian was appointed: the choice of the Court fell on Charles Wilkins, the great pioneer of Sanskrit studies, who also had a sound knowledge of Arabic and Persian. The history of the subsequent growth and development of this institution is told in a small book recently published at the India Office: *The Library of the India Office* (price 2s. 6d.). The Library possesses upwards of 9,000 manuscripts in Arabic and Persian, and a similar number of Arabic and Persian printed books: since its foundation, it has been a well-known centre of Islamic research. Its manuscripts are lent to libraries and research institutes all over the world: Indian students working in London represent a considerable proportion of its regular readers. The majority of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts are already well known from the printed catalogues: the accessions are now being catalogued, and the Library has been fortunate in this connection in securing the expert services of Professor C. A. Storey and Dr. R. Levy. A catalogue of the Persian printed books has also been published, while plans are in progress for publishing a similar volume for the Arabic books. Another enterprise which is now going forward is the preparation of a catalogue of the Library's Persian and Indian miniature paintings: this collection, numbering some 1,500 separate items, is of special interest as including portraits of Moghul emperors and statesmen, some by renowned artists. There are also some fine specimens of calligraphy by many well-known exponents of this art.

British Museum

The monumental catalogues of Cureton and Rieu already demonstrated that the British Museum, in addition to its innumerable other treasures, possessed one of the finest collections of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the world. Accessions continue to come in, and a Short Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. acquired since 1912 (since the publication of the Handlist by A. G. Ellis and E. Edwards) is now in preparation, and may go to press within the next 18 months. A catalogue of the Turkish printed books is also being prepared, to take its place beside the invaluable catalogues of Arabic and Persian printed books. The Oriental Students' Reading Room, in its newer, brighter and more commodious quarters, continues to be a centre for scholars to work and meet. Among the manuscripts acquired during the present year are a fine old copy of 'Aufī's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and the oldest known copy of Daulatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'*.

CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. X, part 1, (1939).

W. B. Henning, *Sogdian Loan-words in New Persian*, pp. 93-106. Persian has an extraordinary power of absorbing foreign words (like Urdu, and, for that matter, English). The author gives a list of classical Persian words which can be shewn to have been borrowed from Sogdian: the commonest of these are *عوك*, *نوك*, *زبور*, and *يندار* (the Sogdian origin of which is proposed by the author for the first time).

S. H. Taqizadeh, *Various eras and calendars used in the countries of Islam*, pp. 107-132, concludes the author's previous communication on this subject (vol. IX, p. 922). In the present article 14 different systems of chronology are discussed, of which five are foreign eras used by Muslims or mentioned by Muslim authors.

A. S. Tritton, *The average man in early Islam*, pp. 133-140, assembles a number of anecdotes, the majority of which are taken from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, to shew that impiety, and even blasphemy, were not unknown among early Muslims. He concludes: "During the first three centuries not all Muslims were saints. Religion sat lightly on some. The worst offenders were confined to small groups yet there was an audience which took a horrified delight in their doings."

V. Minorsky, *A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 811/1476*, pp. 141-184. This is an abridged translation, with critical commentary, of the *'Arḍ-nāmah* of the well-known theologian and moralist Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502), of which a unique copy is preserved in the Hamidiya Library at Istanbul. The manuscript gives a complete list of the civil and military officers in Fārs who took part in a parade held by Sulṭān-Khalīl, of which Dawānī was an eye-witness, and other valuable statistical information besides. Professor Minorsky is at present writing a monumental work on Šafavid administration.

Miss Gertrude H. Stern, *Muḥammad's Bond with the Women*, pp. 185-197, discusses the nature of the "bond" made by converted women with the Prophet on the basis of *Qur'ān*, lx 12.

C. C. Edwards, *Calligraphers and Artists: a Persian Work of the late 16th Century*, pp. 199-211, describes a manuscript in his possession which contains valuable biographies of famous Persian calligraphers and painters. He states that another copy of this treatise, by Qāḍī Aḥmad (d. 990/1582), is in the library of Aqā Saiyid Muḥammad 'Alī of Hyderabad, and that it is the intention of Miss Zuhra Dā'ī-zāda to publish the work as her thesis for the M.A. degree at the Osmania University. As biographical information concerning the artists of Persia is notoriously scanty, the publication of this new source may be awaited with great interest.

S. A. Rochlin, *Aspects of Islam in Nineteenth-Century South Africa*, pp. 213-221, gives an interesting account of the struggle to establish a Muslim community in South Africa during the pioneering days.

Revue des Etudes Islamiques, Année 1938, Cahier IV

This number contains the concluding portion of the sixth series of *Abstracta Islamica* (pp. 37-153), covering sections I-V (History of Science, Philosophy and Kalām, Linguistics and Pedagogy, Sociology and Ethnology, Literature) and VII-XII (Law and Administration, Mysticism and Theology, Modernism, Colonization and Contemporary Politics, Muslim History, Bibliography and Biography). This series of bibliographical summaries is extremely valuable, covering as it does periodicals as well as separate publications, and it is to be hoped that the collaborators will continue their meritorious work.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 59, No. 2., June 1939

The only article of Islamic interest is H. N. Howard, *Preliminary Materials for a Survey of the Libraries and Archives of Istanbul*. The author enumerates the principal libraries and museums in Istanbul and elsewhere in Turkey, giving a short account of their history and contents. He refers to the beginnings which are being made towards cataloguing the great collections, but writes, "it should be added that while the Turks themselves are doing a splendid work in assembling and cataloguing their materials, within the limited means at the disposal of the administration of the libraries and museums, which is a section in the Ministry of Public Instruction at Ankara, little more than a real beginning seems to have been made." He pays tribute in this connection to the invaluable pioneering work of Dr. H. Ritter, who has not only published, in a series of articles (*Philologika*) contributed to *Der Islam* during recent years, details about especially important manuscripts touching the various branches of Islamic science and literature, but has also furnished Islamic researchers in all parts of the world with information about particular manuscripts in Istanbul and elsewhere: his services in this latter respect make of him a truly heroic character. Other German scholars, working under his direction, have from time to time furnished further particulars on special subjects: such as F. Tauer on the historical works, R. Walzer on translations of Greek medical authors. Nor should the work of Dr. O. Rescher be forgotten. What is already known of these incomparable collections only serves, however, to whet the appetite for further information: and it is much to be desired that ways and means may be found for publishing a complete and systematic catalogue of all the Islamic manuscripts preserved in Turkey.

A. J. A.

Journal Royal Asiatic Society, July 1939

Dr. Arberry publishes a list of recent acquisitions of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts made by the library of the India Office for which

we must be grateful even if not many items are of the highest importance. Such accounts are in reality a crying necessity when one considers that the numerous additions made to the library of the British Museum may become generally known only to scholars when most of us, who are now living, will long have laid down the pen.

No. 4559 contains a vocabulary of uncommon Persian words which Briggs collected when he prepared the first edition of the *Tārīkh-i Firishta*. It should be well worth examining.

No. 4574 *The Commentary of the Diwan of Imra' al-Qais* by aṭ-Ṭusi. Though a modern copy of an Istanbul manuscript it will enable us to dispense with the original as the scribe Ibrahim Haqqi is a competent living Arabic scholar. We should certainly get a clearer insight into the *Riwaya* of this the most famous of all ancient Arabic poets than from the commentary of the Spanish scholars al-A'lam. I hope to be able to report upon it at a later date.

No. 4599 contains selections from the *Dīwāns* of several minor Persian poets whose collected poems are either lost or extremely rare.

No. 4627 contains a similar collection only with much shorter extracts.

No. 4627 is a fine copy of the *Hamāsa* of Abū Tammām dated 507-537 with marginal notes derived from the autograph of the commentary of Tibrīzī.

R. Walzer in a learned article makes an attempt to identify the works of the Greek philosophers Aristotles and Palladios from whose writings passages are cited in the early mystic treatise 'Atf al Alif al-Ma'lūf 'alal-Lām al-Ma'tūf by Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad ad-Dailamī. These quotations by ad-Dailamī are a fresh proof of the knowledge of Greek authors perhaps through translations, existing in Persia in the fourth century of the Hījra. It was actually a predeliction of authors of that period to cite sayings of Greek philosophers, even Ibn Duraid in the *Mujtanā* cites sentences attributed to various Greek writers, while several works by Tha'alibī contains special chapters on such sentences. Ibn Hindū collected them in a special work "Kalimat Rūhaniya" which has been printed. Pp. 428-432 Poliak gives a concise account of feudalism under the Ayyūbī Sultans which in turn became the basis for the system of grants in the Mamlūk State. It supplanted the wicked system of farming out the land revenues as practised by the 'Abbāsī Calīphs which enriched a few immensely and must have pressed as a heavy burden upon the tillers of the ground.

Pp. 479-498 is a short account on the south-Arabian Inscriptions in Hadramaut photographed by Miss Freya Stark on her recent journey in that country. I rather think most of them were known before but not in photos.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, vol. 93, part I.

The first article in this part is by Prof. Fück with the title "Die Rolle des Traditionalismus in Islam" (The role of traditionalism in Islam). He points out that it is most fascinating to account for the spread of Islam after its modest beginnings in Mecca till it has become today a world-religion with over 250 millions of adherents. In spite of schisms dating from the earliest times and hardly ever supported by government Islam has spread mainly by the enthusiasm and efforts of private individuals. Like the Christian church the believers in the first decades were filled with the divine mission and did not trouble to collect the sayings of the master, but when in time the persons who knew him personally became scarcer, pious people began to collect his sayings and records of his deeds. At first not much stress was laid upon the actual wording to which later great attention was paid. It is significant that not only the orthodox but also men of widely differing religious opinions entered upon this task in Islam. Long and arduous journeys were undertaken to find out persons who had knowledge of certain traditions which were not current in the part of the world where the earnest enquirer lived. This was possible in the first three centuries after the Hijra when the Muslim Empire had a certain amount of political unity and it was through these very journeys that a continual contact with the most remote regions was obtained almost uninterruptedly. There were many searchers in the field and it was only long after they had died that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī and the other canonical books of tradition attained their claim to the first rank. These Imams were only some of the army of athletes in the struggle for arrival at a clear understanding of the aims of Islam. So the collections of Hadith became the handbooks for all sects however much they may differ in detail and these researches created a binding tie between all creeds and a guide for the expansion of Islam to this day.

There can be no doubt about the honesty of these searchers for truth and they did all in their power to eliminate anything which was not genuine, yet they were, by their methods, often unable to prevent the introduction of what was not genuine. It is to their credit that they fought an unrelenting struggle against such introductions. It is upon their labours that non-Muslim writers have based their criticism which, as a rule cling to morsels of what is spurious and on purpose ignore the mass of what is undoubtedly genuine.

On p. 152 Lentz reviews the recent publications of new Iranian dictionaries among them a German-Persian dictionary by Gh. A. Tarbiat and the Pashto dictionary "Di musauwade pi Daul Imarei Pashto sind, etc." published in Kabul 1356 (1937/8) which is intended to be a handbook for the introduction of Pashto in place of Persian as the official language of the country.

MOROCCO & TUNIS

ALTHOUGH the French have been holding sway over Northern Africa for a considerable time, it is only lately that they have paid any attention to the preservation of the collections of MSS. in the endowed libraries. In Morocco, not only the mosque schools but also *zawiyahs* (*khanqahs*) spread all over the country, have always contained valuable collections of Arabic MSS. Much has been lost during the last few centuries owing to incessant wars as well as the negligence of the administrators. Four years ago, the French government decided to bring all these endowed libraries under one control. Accordingly, at Rabât, a central *Bibliothèque du Protectorat* has been founded which already boasts the possession of several thousand MSS. the cataloguing of which is progressing rapidly. The cataloguing of the libraries concerned in all the nooks and corners of the country is being conducted under trained officials and a *Catalogus catalogorum* of the Arabic MSS. of the whole country is being made available at these central archives at Rabât. It is possible to obtain photographic copies of MSS. through this centre where necessary apparatus has been installed. This central library also publishes a French periodical, *Hesperes* specialising in documentation and welcomes exchange. The bigger libraries in the country are situated in Marrākush, Rabât, Fās, Tilimsān, Miknās, Tāzah, and Sūs in Morocco, and in Algiers, Tūnis, Qairawān, etc. Private libraries are also not a few in number. Those of Saiyid ‘Abdulhaiy al-Kattānīy in Fās and General Hasan Husni ‘Abdulwahhāb in Tūnis are perhaps the best and also the biggest. Other details will follow.

NORTH-WEST INDIA

CULTURAL ZONES; “I would like to see the Panjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan combined into a single State, self-governing within the British Empire. The formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India.” This scheme for the fullest cultural autonomy was proposed by Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal for the consideration of the future Federation, in his presidential address at the All-India Muslim League Session held at Allahabad in 1930. The proposal met with adverse criticism by the non-Muslim organisations of India, yet it was much appreciated and supported by the Muslims and later on shaped into a Pakistan movement on behalf of the Musalmans of the North by a group of young Panjabi Muslims. It was Dr. Sayed Abdul Latif of Hyderabad who drafted a scheme for the Cultural Future of India in 1938. Dr. Latif has divided India in his scheme into four Muslim Cultural Zones: 1. North-West Block. 2. Delhi-Lucknow Block. 3. North-East Block, and 4. The Deccan Block. Dr. Latif’s scheme is

different from that of Dr. Iqbal's *Muslim India Within India*. The recent publication of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's scheme has touched upon the future Federation of India on the basis of demarcation of the country into seven zones free from any communal consideration. The map of Sir Sikandar's scheme is as follows.—

1. Assam, Bengal, Bengal States and Sikkim. 2. Bihar and Orissa. 3. The United Provinces and United Provinces States. 4. Madras, Travancore, Madras States, and Coorg. 5. Bombay, Hyderabad, Western Indian States, Bombay States, Mysore and Central Indian Province States. 6. Rajputana States (minus Bikaner and Jaisalmer), Gwalior, Central Indian States and Orissa, Central Provinces and Berar. 7. Panjab, Sind, North-Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Bikaner and Jaisalmer.

The Panjab Muslim students dream of a *Pakistan Caliphate* in the North and Moulana Abdul Wadood of the Jamiat Ulema Sarhad envisages an independent Muslim State to be called *Eastern Afghanistan*. The proposed *Pakistan Caliphate* is to comprise not only Sind, Baluchistan North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir and the Panjab, as included in the original *Pakistan* scheme, but also embraces in its fold parts of the United Provinces and the Central Provinces and Berar running along with the Ganges right up to Bengal and Assam. Both the schemes aim at establishing an exclusively Muslim State in Northern India. The rest of India is described as *God's Country*. The Muslim Student Federation, which has propounded the scheme of *Pakistan Caliphate* claims the birth-right of Muslims in Northern India as their *homelands*, and in other words means exclusive rights for Muslims in territories which they predominate. The proposed Muslim State, according to its authors, will be ruled by a spiritual dictator who will be the shadow of God on earth *ظلال الله في الارض* in accordance with the injunction of the Holy Quran. The scheme has already found support among the tribes:—Mohmands, Afridis, Waziris, and various tribal areas.

In short, there are at present about seven schemes in the air to be considered with a view to come to a definite conclusion in the formation of the forthcoming federation of India. They are:— Sir Sikandar's Scheme, the Pakistan Plan, the Quinquupartite Scheme of the Nawab of Mamdot, the Pakistan Caliphate, Dr. Latif's Cultural Future of India, the scheme of the Muslim Student Federation, and the Eastern Afghanistan Scheme.

* * * *

THE LAHORE ART CIRCLE is well known in Panjab higher circles for its various activities to promote Art in all branches, such as music, drama, architecture, painting, etc. This year the programme included an interesting paper entitled *Some Aspects of Mughal Art*, read by Mr. R. B. Becket, I.C.S. (a joint contribution of Mr. Becket and Dr. M. A. Chaghtai). It was illustrated with slides and based on some rare and original illustrations of a very high order from an illustrated MS. of *Razm Nāma* in Mr. Becket's possession. These illustrations were

actually of Jahangir's period and some of them bore the signatures of some well-known artists of that period, viz., Abdulla dated 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.) and Fadhl. A brief history of pictorial art in India was traced. Before the Mughals no Hindu epics such as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were ever translated into Persian. It was only due to Akbar who showed an active interest in the ancient Sanskrit literature of India. Abul Fadhl says : "The *Mahabharata* is one of the epics of Hindustan which by the efforts of Naqib Khān, Mulla Abdul Qādir Badāuni and Sheikh Sultān Thāneswari was turned into Persian from Sanskrit, and it consists of one million verses. The Emperor has named this *Dāstān-i-Pāstān* (epic) *Razm Nāma*. Similarly the *Ramayana*, etc., are of the same group." This Persian adaptation of the *Mahabharata* has a preface by Abul Fadhl himself, whose one illustrated copy is in the Pothi Khana (State Library) of Jaipur State and it is dated 1588. It contains 169 miniatures. The development of book illustration at the Mughal court was fully shown when illustrated editions of the *Chingez Nāma*, the *Zafar Nāma*, *Akbar Nama*, the *Nal-Daman*, the *Kalela Damna*, the '*Ayār Dānish*, *Razm Nāma*, etc., were prepared by the court artists of the Mughals. Many illustrated editions of these are still preserved in various libraries.

* * * *

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN THE PANJAB are centred in the University Oriental College, Lahore, which is one of the foremost institutions of its kind in India. It was founded in 1870, with the object of promoting the diffusion of the vernacular languages of the Panjab, improving and extending vernacular literature generally, and affording encouragement to the enlightened study of Oriental classical languages and literature. The Panjab University may be said to have grown out of this institution, for it was the Oriental College which was constituted a University in 1882. The Panjab University has since maintained it in accordance with the provision of its statutes ; while the University professorships in the three principal Oriental classical languages, viz., Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, are tenable only at this institution. The College, which has a large and highly qualified staff, prepares about two hundred students annually for various examinations of the Panjab University in the different ancient and modern languages of the East. Several Madrasās and Vidyālayās in Lahore and in the districts are affiliated with the Oriental College, which exercises in this way a healthy and stimulating influence on its associated institutions favouring the creation of a uniformly high standard of study. The late Dr. Sir T. W. Arnold, Dr. A. C. Woolner and other distinguished Oriental scholars have been the principals of this Oriental College of Lahore. The present principal is Professor Muhammad Shafi who joined this college in 1919 as an Arabic Professor. He is a versatile scholar of an established fame both in India and abroad.

The College has its own organ, namely, the Oriental College Magazine, which was started in 1925 and has since then regularly made its appearance four times a year. It is edited by Principal Muhammad Shafi who

is assisted by his colleague Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Professor of Persian. This magazine contains original contributions to the literature of the various languages that are taught at the college by both the members of the staff of the college and other learned scholars. Several hitherto unpublished and rare works of great literary and historical value have appeared in successive instalments in the pages of this journal. For instance its two issues of February and May last contain important studies by Professor Hāfiz Mahmūd Shāirānī of this college for Urdu, and constitute a landmark in the history of Urdu scholarship. In about 100 pages he discusses a rare MS. of تاریخِ عربی in verse, an account of the early prophets as well as a complete biography of the Prophet Muhammad. It follows the Hindi rhythmical order and was composed in the years 1164-1170 A.H. Its author bore either عاجز or غریب as his *nom de plume* but his real name cannot be traced. This book is an early specimen of Urdu written in Bayana near Agra, and follows the teachings of Muhammad Mahdi of Jaunpur, but Prof. Shāirānī has confined his researches to the characteristics of the language along with historical references. Dr. Inayat Ullah of Multan College contributes a valuable article on European travellers and their missions into Arabia, which is quite a new thing of its nature in Urdu. Moulvi Abdul Qayyum, lecturer of the Gujrat (Panjab) College, has compiled indices of لسان العرب which include فهرس القوافی and اسماء الشعرا of the poets whose specimens of verses have been quoted as authority in explanation of the meanings of certain words. This most important work is meeting with appreciation by many great scholars both in India and abroad.

In the last issue of *Islamic Culture* the work of the Panjab University Arabic and Persian Society was introduced. This Society is also controlled by Principal Muhammad Shafi as its president. It has so far published many useful works but recently the publication of Ibn Al-Fuwatī's مجمع الاداب فی معجم الالقب (vide *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1937) and *Kamal Nāma* of Khwajū Kirmanī have begun in instalments.

Dr. Pir Muhammad Hasan, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Lahore Women's College, deserves our congratulations for his ardent efforts in preparing a critical edition of the *Nuzha-tul-Arwah* نزهة الارواح (Hukma al-Islam only) by Shams al din Muhammad bin Mahmūd al Shahrzūrī. It is based on five extant MSS. from different collections both in East and West. Pir Muhammad Hasan has edited it very carefully on the most modern, critical and scientific bases. He has embellished his edition with all necessary references to the sources of the biographies of the persons mentioned therein. The introduction of Dr. Hasan not only discusses the text and the MSS. used for this edition but also it contains a complete biography of Shahrzūrī with a criticism of his other works. The date of compilation of *Nuzhah's* is fixed between 586 and 606 A.H. In 606 A.H. the death of Fakhr al Din ar-Rāzī occurred. A comparison

of the *Nuzhah* and the *Tatimma Siwan al Hikma* of Ali bin Zaid al-Baihaqi is a special feature of this edition. All the passages, aphorisms, and verses are traced in other works. The most interesting chapter deals with the importance of the *Nuzhah*, in which the historiography of the collections of the sayings of the philosophers up to the time of the author is outlined. During the reign of Jahangir, the Mughal Emperor, Maqsood Ali Tibrizi prepared a Persian version of the book, which is discussed and its defects pointed out. Additions and variations found in some MSS. have been fully explained. Moreover, all necessary indices have been added at the end.. It is hoped that this important work of Dr. Hasan will shortly be published.

Sh. Mubarak Ali, Lahore, has recently published an English translation, *Akhlaq-i-Jalali* of Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Dawwani (d. 908 A.H.), by Sh. Hasan Din, Advocate of the Lahore High Court.

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LITERATURE ON IQBAL : It is a very pleasing feature that within a short period after the death of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal so many useful publications, in the Panjab as noted below, treating of both his writings and his life, have come into existence. But we feel thirsty for a Muslim Boswell to furnish us with a *Perfect Picture* of the great man in which we see the heavy form rolling, we hear it puffing ; and then comes the *Why Sir?* and then *What then Sir?* and the *No, Sir* and the *You do not see your way through the question, Sir.*

Iqbal's Educational Philosophy by Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saiyidain. *The Poet of the East* by M. Abdullah Anwar Beg for which a preface has been provided by Dr. Nicholson, formerly Professor at Cambridge. A special number of *Jouhar-i-Iqbal* (جوہر اقبال), the journal of the students and staff of Jamia Millia, Delhi, is devoted to articles on Iqbal. It is a book in itself and bears original contributions from the students and the members of the staff, who discuss many important sides of Iqbal's works.

Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Delhi's authoritative quarterly organ, *Urdu* brings out a special issue on Iqbal, written by distinguished scholars. It covers over four hundred pages. The contributors deserve our admiration for their labour, their great devotion to Iqbal and their constructive criticism of his writings. Dr. Kh. Abdul Hakim of the Osmania University writes an important article on *Rumi, Nietzsche and Iqbal*, which shows that Iqbal imbibed ancient, mediæval and modern philosophy, but created his own Islamic philosophy on comparative lines. Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan of the Osmania University discusses *Iqbal and Art* ; Dr. Qazi Abdul Hamid *Iqbal's Personality and his Message* ; Sayed Al Ahmad Sarwar, Lecturer, the Muslim University, Aligarh, says in his contribution *Iqbal and his Critics*, that Iqbal's original writings have enriched the language a good deal by coining new similes and metaphors. *Maqalat-i-Yaum-i-Iqbal* (مقالات یوم اقبال) Urdu and English articles, read on Iqbal Day at Lahore in 1938, by prominent scholars. *Sirat-i-Iqbal* (سیرت

(اقبال) by Moulvi Muhammad Tahir. Iqbal aur Uska Paigham (اقبال اور اسکا پیغام) by Dr. Tasuddaq Husain Khalid and Muhammad Rafiq Khawar.

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NADWA-TUL-MUSANNIFIN, DELHI, came into existence last year, and consists of a group of young scholars, mostly graduates of Deoband, with the following aims and objects.

- (a) Publication of Books on the Jurisprudence of Islam on modern lines.
- (b) To guide the European Oriental scholars working on Islamic problems in the light of Islamic scriptures.
- (c) Publication and Translation of historical works on Islam.
- (d) To present the Fundamentals and Moral Teaching of Islam in such a way that the general public be interested to study the spirit of Islam.
- (e) Publication of pamphlets for the propagation of Islam.

The monthly organ, *Burhān*, of this association has already been introduced to the readers of *Islamic Culture* and here is a brief survey of the same from Jan. to July 1939.

Prof. Abdul Aziz Maiman, the head of the Arabic Department, Muslim University, Aligarh, replies in a long article to a critic on his work *سبط الالٰی*. It was published some time back at Cairo. Moulvi Maiman is one of the ablest scholars of Arabic Literature. *عصمت انبیاء* *Immunity of Prophets* is a well-thought-out original contribution of Moulvi Hifz-ur-Rahman in the light of the Quran. Another contribution *Economic System of Islam* *اقتصادی نظام اسلام* is also by the same writer. *The Introduction of Islamic Law in India* *ہندوستان میں قانون شریعت کے نفاذ کا مسئلہ* is discussed by Sayed Muhammad Aqil. *The Wrath of God* *(عذاب الہی)* by Sayed abu an-Nazar Rizwi of Amrohah is a contribution worth reading. The editor Moulvi Sa'id Ahmad writes in a series of talks on the understanding of the Quran *فہم قرآن*. Prof. Ya'qub ur Rahman has discussed the life and work of Yahya bin Yahya, one of the early Spanish Muslim exponents, showing the advancement of scientific studies of Islam. From this brief survey of the work of the Nadwah it will be realised that the organisers are observing their aims and objects very sincerely. In addition to the publication of *Burhan* they have so far published some other useful works. 1. The position of Slaves in Islam *الرق في الاسلام* by the editor Sa'id Ahmad, in which he has successfully and carefully surveyed all the pros and cons of the problem. 2. A Complete Dictionary of the Holy Quran *مصباح الفرقان في لغات القرآن* which was much needed by the masses. Many other works are in hand.

M. A. C.

DECCAN

THE keen interest of His Exalted Highness the Nizam is alone responsible for the revival of the Yūnāni medical system in the State. A great Yūnāni Hospital, built at a cost of a million rupees and more, has recently been opened in the city of Hyderabad, and the Yūnāni Medical School (Madrāsah Tibbiyah) has also been promoted to the rank of a first-class college with a course extending over five years of study. The syllabus has also been changed fundamentally and prescribed in Hindustani, and arrangements have been made for practical surgery. Naturally this Government patronage has encouraged and even stimulated the members of the profession and they have announced a big Yūnāni Tibbiyah Conference, for which suitable arrangements are being made at the time of writing these lines.

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The silent workers of the Association of Hanafī Jurisprudence (Majlis Ihyā' al-ma'ārif an-nu'māniyah) of Hyderabad have added two more important publications to their credit. As is known, the Association aims at editing classical works of the Hanafī school of Muslim jurists. The present publications, the 5th and 6th respectively of the series, are both by Abū-Yūsuf (d. 182 H.) and are entitled *الرد على سير الازاعي* and *اختلاف ابى حنيفة وابن ابى ليلى*. The former is an important addition to Muslim International Law, since it is a polemic against the Syrian jurist Al-Awzā'iy, whose original writing has not come down to us. In fact Al-Awzā'iy, a contemporary of Abū-Hanīfah (d. 150 H.) compiled a monograph on the conduct of a Muslim State in time of war and peace in which he vehemently criticised the Persian jurist Abū-Hanīfah, whose lectures on the same subject were collected by his pupils Ash-Shaibānī and Hasan ibn Ziyād and others. Abū-Yūsuf has preserved a large number of quotations from Al-Awzā'iy which are entirely corroborated by other sources, and in fact the editor, Prof. Abulwafā (Head of the department of Fiqh in the Jāmi'ah Nizāmiyah) has added long and valuable notes to complete quotations from other sources or to explain the context.

It may be remarked that the Arab Muslims were the first people to make International Law an independent science, divorcing it from general politics, and we have now before us one of the earliest Arabic works on the subject.

It may be of interest to note that the Association has also edited the *Kitab al-Uṣul* by As-Sarakhsīy on Jurisprudence and the Principles of Legislation, and the work is in the press. Among the latest acquisitions of the library of the Association is a very rare work of Adh-Dhahabīy on the life of Abū-Hanīfah and his two pupils, Abū-Yūsuf and Ash-Shaibānī and it is now being edited. Twenty odd classical works, edited by the Association, are waiting publication, it is said, for lack of necessary funds.

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The Dā'iratul Ma'ārif of Hyderabad is also continuing its useful work. By the time these lines go to press, the second and the final volume of the *Kitab al-Mu'tabar* of Al-Baghdādīy will have been published. Prof. Sharafuddīn of the University of Istanbul (in Turkish), Dr. S. Pines (in French) and Sulaimān Nadwī (in Arabic) have written important monographs on this book and its author, a great and original Muslim Philosopher. The last-named article is contained in the Proceedings of the Conference of the same Dā'iratul Ma'ārif, also now ready for publication. The institution has reprinted some of its older publications, now out of print, and others are contemplated. Two volumes of the gigantic المتظم of Ibn al-Jawzīy have also appeared in its series.

The Institut des Etudes Islamiques of the University of Paris invited Dr. Hamidullah to deliver there a set of lectures. At the instance of its secretary, the Hon. Nawab Mahdi Yar Jang, the Dā'iratul Ma'ārif profited by the occasion to strengthen the cordial relations between the two institutions by presenting the Paris "Institut" with a large number of the publications of the Dā'irah.

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Arabic works by Indian authors have become now-a-days a rarity. The old traditions have now been revived by Prof. Saiyid Ibrāhīm of the Osmania University by his لامية الدكن المسماة مصمومة الزمن a poem of 213 couplets depicting in vivid manner the life of the Prophet and his family. The author has added useful notes explaining difficult words and other allusions. A fine imitation of the famous لامية العرب .

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Post-M.A. research work has been going on in the Osmania University for about ten years, and the research diploma has from this year been replaced by the degree of Ph. D. in the faculties of Theology, Arts, and Science. A three years' course has been prescribed for the purpose, and an interesting, though from the students' point of view perhaps not a convenient, feature is that all theses shall be submitted in both Hindustani and English.

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One of Dr. Hamidullah's French lectures at the Sorbonne on the Battlefields of the time of the Prophet, illustrated with maps, etc., has been published in the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*. His Oxford lecture on the earliest Arabic inscriptions is published elsewhere in this issue of *Islamic Culture*. He is now preparing illustrated monographs on Pre-Islamic Monuments of Madinah and a Contribution to the Geography of the Sirah (biography of the Prophet). His Arabic work الوثائق السياسية لعهد النبي والخلافة الراشدة with a long introduction on the study of Arabic diplomatic documents, is being published by the لجنة التأليف والترجمة والنشر of Cairo.

The work contains, besides others, some 250 letters of the Prophet, retrieved from MSS. etc. all over the world during the last six years.

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Preparations to hold the tenth All-India Oriental Conference at Hyderabad in December next are going apace. Mr. Ghulām Yazdāni of Hyderabad has been selected General President of the Conference, and Prof. Muhammad Ḥabīb of Aligarh, Prof. ‘Abdul Ḥaq of the Osmania University, and Maulvi ‘Abdul Ḥaq of Taraqqi-e-Urdu will preside over the sectional meetings of Islamic Culture, Arabic and Persian Studies and Urdu respectively. In all there are 17 sections in which the work of the conference has been divided. An interesting souvenir volume is also being prepared to show the contribution of Hyderabad to Oriental studies, Islamic, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Sanskrit, Mahratti, Telugu, and Kanarese, archæology, numismatics, historical documents, etc.

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The Hyderabad Academy completed in August last its first year of existence and has to its credit a volume containing articles on different scientific and historical subjects, contributed by its members. The arrangements for the publication of the Hindustani translation of the Encyclopædia of Islam are in progress.

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The Muslim Culture Society of Hyderabad is actually taking interest in the *Baitulmal* for Hyderabad and has made a strong case against escheat of the property of a Muslim dying intestate and heirless, since according to Muslim law such property must revert to the Muslim community and not to the general exchequers.

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The Russian Orientalist Mr. Ivanow was invited to deliver certain extension lectures in the Osmania University lately. His remarks on the present-day Irān were of such a general and provocative nature that they became the subject of strong protests and denunciations in the local press. It has been suggested in this press discussion that in future extension lectures should be scrutinised by a competent body before allowing them to be delivered.

H. U.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

HINDUSTANI as a medium of instruction is now-a-days a burning question in Bihar and the U. P. The Hindustani Committee appointed by the Education Minister of Bihar has done an appreciable amount of work in considering the problem in all its aspects and offering authoritative solutions. The Committee was entrusted with the task of : (1) Compiling two dictionaries, one general and another of technical terms in

Hindustani ; (2) preparing a Hindustani Grammar on modern lines, and (3) producing suitable text-books written by competent authorities.

So far as technical and scientific terms are concerned the above Committee has been drawing them from current Indian sources and not direct from Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian. If this method fails, scientific terminology of European countries is adopted, and in the last resort words are taken from Sanskrit and Arabic and equivalents from both are printed side by side to make the student familiar with both sets of terms. Five thousand scientific terms are now in preparation on these principles and it is expected that the entire work will be completed before the end of 1939.

A Hindustani dictionary for general use is being prepared under the supervision of the illustrious Urdu scholar Dr. Maulvi Abdul Haq and is planned to contain all the words of Arabic and Persian origin which were used by the standard Hindi authors as well as those words of Sanskrit derivation that occur in the writings of Urdu men of letters.

Special attention is being given to the compilation of new School Readers in Hindi and Urdu which will incorporate a "Hindustani" portion common to both sets of Readers.

The U. P. Universities Committee, which held its sitting in last July, have also arrived at a number of tentative decisions regarding Hindustani as a medium of instruction.

It recommends the establishment of a Board to co-ordinate the labour of all the important literary organisations in the country and to make Hindustani a compulsory subject in the degree course of the University education as well as the Public Service examinations.

The Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, has published two books. One is a history of Ethics in Islam and deals with the different aspects of the morals and ethics of the Muslims in the Holy Prophet's lifetime. Its second volume, which will be published in near future, will deal with the history of Islamic Morals in the Ommayyad and Abbasside period. In preparation for these two volumes the author has utilized every kind of available literature in Arabic and Persian. The work is expected to fulfil a long-standing need and will be no doubt highly appreciated by students of Islam.

(2) *The Naqush Suleymani* is a collection of Moulana Syed Suleyman Nadvi's articles, which he has written on Urdu literature during the last twenty-five years. This book will give an idea of the progress which Urdu has made in the 20th century. Some of its articles dealing with philological researches into certain old Urdu words are highly interesting and useful.

By the time the present issue of *Islamic Culture* appears, the Academy will have published two more books (1) History of Islam, Vol. I (2) History of Turkey, Vol. I.

The *History of Islam* begins with the Days of Ignorance and continues to the rule of the Four Caliphs. Unlike other histories of the period it gives prominence to the social, moral, cultural and literary conditions

obtaining then. It will be useful reading for students devoted to higher studies in Islamic history.

The present volume of the *History of Turkey* covers the period from Osman Khan to Sultan Selim. The History of the succeeding period down to the present-day Turkey will follow later on in another volume.

The Diwan of Reyāz Khairabadi, published by Maulana Talammuz Hussain from Gorakpur, U. P., has recently been evoking much interest in the U. P. Reyāz belonged to Khairabad in the Sitapur district, began his career as a police officer, and died in 1934 at the ripe age of about eighty. He was devoted to poetry, and a copious writer. The verses he left behind have been published in a diwan consisting of 724 pages. He sang, more often than not, the songs of wine and women, so to modern taste, his verses smack of gaiety and sensual proclivities. But Professor Amaranath Jah, the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University, in a critical and appreciative study of the Poetry of Reyāz, published in *The Leader*, Allahabad dated 11th and 18th July 1939, justifies his glorification, even deification of wine.

Regarding Reyāz's constant references to love of women, the learned writer says : " There are also some verses in which there is shy, playful, light-hearted banter and raillery ; indeed, there are many which express a mood of gaiety and laughter. Reyāz rarely adopts the plaintive, half-dead attitude which is often characteristic of love-poetry in Urdu. He never degrades the lover to the level of the pathetic beggar, thirsting for a look of favour, hungry for a crumb of consolation, ready to be trodden on and insulted."

As to the style of Reyāz's poetry the learned professor writes : " Opinion will differ on the merit of his poetry ; on the merit of his verse there can only be one verdict—that his technique was above reproach, his command and range of vocabulary remarkable, his ability to harness colloquialism to poetic use unique. He was a lord of idiom. His mimic muse did not stand in need of mere taffeta phrases or silken words precise. Again and again one is struck with an unexpected turn of phrase, a fresh combination of words, a surprisingly apt set of adverbs and epithets..... and as to metre, Reyāz can work miracles. Whether it be a long or short metre, however hard the metrical arrangement, Reyāz maintains his ease and grace and never seems to feel any difficulty."

The Hon. Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University is highly dissatisfied with the studies of History in his University, so he wishes to reorganise them. He does not consider it a healthy sign for an Indian student to be familiar with the history of ancient Greece, Rome, and of other countries in Europe, but to know little or nothing of the History of the East. It has pained him much to find that the students of his University are ignorant even in outline of the history of Japan or China, nor do they know anything about the rise of Modern Persia, Arabia, Turkey or Afghanistan. They have very little

opportunity to familiarize themselves with the heritage and culture of Islam in India and abroad, nor do they get any opportunity to learn anything about the renaissance of the great powers of the East. So he demands a revision of the curriculum in history and the introduction of Islamic History and Culture on a new and scientific basis. The Committee appointed by him to prepare a curriculum in Islamic history has recommended the inclusion of the following subjects in the higher studies of University education :—The History of Modern Islamic States, the Geography of Islam, Islamic religion, its principles and practice, Islamic Philosophy and its development, Islamic Society and policy, the Fine Arts, Architecture, Science and Literature as developed under various Muslim rules, historical as well as cultural, social and economic aspects of Islam in India, Islamic Jurisprudence, the comparative study of different Schools of Islamic law, and Muslim law as administered in British India.

A paper on a *Manuscript Copy of the Diwan of Dara Shikoh* was read at an ordinary meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal held in July 1939. The manuscript, as its name indicates, is a collection of poems composed by Prince Dara Shikoh, eldest son of the Emperor Shah Jehan. It is said that it is the only copy of the work in existence. It consists of 143 ghazals with 28 rubaiyat (quatrains) at the end. It is written in Shikasta script (running style) on Kashmiri paper, but bears no name of the scribe or date of transcription. The author of the paper thinks from the nature of the ink used that the manuscript was written at about the same period when the Diwan was composed (middle of the 17th century).

At another meeting of the above Society held in August; Shamsul Ulema Dr. Hidayat Hussain contributed a paper on The Conquest of Sholapur by Burhān Nizām Shāh I (914-961 A.H.) as described by Shāh Tāhir. The paper was based on a Persian manuscript written by Shāh Tāhir, a descendant of Khwandi Sayyids, who traced their origin from the Fatimid Caliphs of Egypt. While Burhān Nizām was King of Ahmadnagar, Tāhir was living in Goa. Tāhir's reputation as a great Islamic scholar reached the ears of Burhan Nizām Shāh, who welcomed him to his Court, and honoured him as his trusted friend. Consequently he served on many occasions as Burhān Shāh's political envoy to the courts of Gujrat, Khandesh, Bijapur and Golconda. Tāhir wrote the above manuscript at Burhān Shāh's instance, and copies of it were distributed to other Kings of the Country. But now there exists only a single copy of it, which is preserved in the Bankipore Library.

It is learnt from Tāhir's manuscript that Burhān Nizām Shāh made four raids to capture Sholapur, and succeeded in his fourth attempt by strengthening the bonds of alliance with Ramraj Rao of Vijayanagar, and securing the service of Chilpī Rūmī Khan, gunner of Sultan Bahādur of Gujrat, who bombarded the fort continuously for three months and at last reduced it in 955 A. H.

In the same meeting Dr. Hidayat Hussain exhibited a photograph copy of Khwand Mir's Humāyūn Nāmah, of which only one copy is known

to exist, preserved in the British Museum. Khwand Mīr was Humāyūn's Court historian. He was a native of Herat, but came to India in 1526, and served Bābar, and after him Humāyūn, till the end of his life. He accompanied Humāyūn on his military expedition to Gujrat, where he died in 1537 A. H. His book "Humāyūn Nāmāh" gives a vivid account of the system of administration which prevailed during the reigns of Bābar and Humāyūn, and the political ideas and the ideals which moulded and shaped those systems. Khwand Mīr was a careful observer of facts and events which came under his notice, and wrote his book after a thorough grasp of essential principles as well as the minute details of government. It is in view of the importance of the manuscript that the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, has decided to have this published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, for which permission from the Trustees of the British Museum has also been obtained.

Dacca is also on the eve of contributing some important publications and researches, viz., *The Evolution and Renaissance of Islam in India* by Dr. Mahmud Hussain of the History Department, Dacca University; *Bakhtiyar Khilji* by Kalikaranjan Sanungo of the same University, and the *Literary History of Bengal* by Shafa-ul-Mulk Hakim Habibur Rahman. In the latter book there is an account of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu Authors and Authoresses of Bengal. This work will be published by the Anjuman Tarraqi Urdu, Delhi.

S. S.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

ABU ISHAQ AL-SHIRAZI; *Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*; Baghdad 1356. 8vo. 166 p. with appendix: *Abu Bakr b. Hidayat Allah al-Husaini called Musannif*; *Tabaqāt al-Shafi'iya*. 110 p.

ABU Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Shīrāzī, one of the greatest Shafi'i lawyers, was born in Fīrūzābād in 393 and died in Baghdad on the 21st Jumada II. 476. Having studied under the most eminent scholars of the preceding age he was appointed the first professor at the newly-erected Nizāmiya University in Baghdad. When the university was opened in 459 he went into hiding and refused the honour and for three weeks Abul Nasr 'Abd al-Sayyid Ibn as-Sabbāgh held the position till Abu Ishāq was persuaded to lecture and assume the management. Several of his works have been preserved and his *Tanbih* (printed in Cairo 1329) has been the subject of many commentaries and has even been translated into German. Manuscripts of the *Tabaqāt* are by no means scarce, many probably better than the one which has been used as the basis for the edition. Though the biographies are as a rule short, Abu Ishāq does not confine himself to his own particular school. Beginning with the companions of the Prophet he attempts to give a summary of the gradual progress of all Madh-habs and gives many dates, which have been accepted by later authors like Subki, and also the titles of the chief works of the scholars of whom he gives biographies. A great difficulty in using his work is that so many persons are mentioned under their Kunyas or Laqabs and one has to know their proper names if one wishes to trace them in other works of biography which,

as a rule, are arranged according to the proper names. This difficulty is increased in using the edition by the fact that it contains far too many errors which could have been avoided if the editor had had some knowledge of history or consulted works dealing with the same biographies. At least some of the persons must be known to all who have devoted some time to the study of tradition or law. I will give a few examples. P. 72 read *ابو ابى تيممة* p. 76 read *ابو عيد القسم*. On the same page طراز is certainly wrong so is also طوان in the edition of the *Tarikh Baghdad* XIII, 230; The correct spelling is given by Ibn Khallikan *طرادى*, which is written *طراوة* in Suyuti's *Bughya* 394 and *طرادا* by Ibn al-Jazari II, 302. P. 77 read *مزاحم*. P. 78 *ابن* with R, his name is usually given as *محمد بن عبد الله بن اسحاق بن ابراهيم بن مخلد*. P. 81 *ابن* in the same biography read *ابن داود* which error is repeated in other places. On the same page *الربع بن سليمان* named after the place Gīzah opposite Cairo. P. 83 *الربع بن سريغ النقال* with Nūn. P. 84 line 5 *القلاس* with Qāf. P. 85 *ابو عبيد بن عثمان بن سعيد بن بشار*. P. 90 read *علي بن الحسين بن حرب* his name is *حربويه*. P. 94. 10 read *خمسين وثلاثمائة*. P. 95. 11 read *السنى*. P. 96 last line I have not succeeded in identifying him. Musannif calls him (p. 37) *ابو الحسن بن علي بن محمد* while in the *Kashf al-Zunun* (Const. edition II. 378) he is called *ابو الحسن علي بن احمد بن خيران*. P. 98, 2 read *بفيد*. P. 101. 11 read *ابو سعيد*. He died in Faïd on the return from the pilgrimage. P. 101. 17 read *ابو سعيد*. P. 102 *Al-Ardabili* is *Abul Husain Ya'qūb b. Mūsā*

(Subki II. 322) P. 102. 6 read **الباق** al-Baḥ. P. 103.3 Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir, his name was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. It may suffice that users of the book are advised to work through it before placing too much confidence in the text.

Al-Musannif Abū Bakr b. Hidāyat Allāh lived six centuries later. He was of Kurdish descent and died in 1014 in Persian Khurdistān. He is said to have written many works in Arabic and Persian. The work published is a collection of biographies of the most eminent Shāfi'i lawyers arranged in classes of fifty years each, beginning with the Imam al-Shāfi'i and ending with Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusain, author of the *Irshād al-Muhtāj*, who died in 976. This edition is based upon two manuscripts and is textually more reliable. The four persons who died in the tenth century apparently are not mentioned in the *Shadharat* of Ibn al 'Imād. The end chapter gives a list of the most renowned works of Shāfi'i law.

NUKHAB ad-Dakair fi Aḥwāl al-Djawāhir... par Ibn al-Akfānī transcription avec notes lexicographiques, scientifiques et littéraires par le P. Anastase-Marie de ST. Elie.... Le Caire 1939. 8 vo. 188 p.

MUHAMMAD b. Ibrahim b. Sā'id al-Akfānī was born in Sinjar and devoted his life to the study of mathematics, medicine and natural sciences, and his knowledge of history and poetry is also praised. His largest work, with the title *Irshād al-Qasid ila Asna l-Maqasid*, an encyclopædia of all sciences, exists in several manuscripts and is one of the sources for the *Miftāḥ as-Sā'ada* by Tāshköprüzādah. His knowledge of drugs was such that he was appointed inspector of the hospital in Cairo and the director was instructed not to purchase any without first consulting him. He died of the great plague in Cairo in 749 A.H. (For further details of his work see Brockelmann G. A. I. II. 137 and Supplement II. 169 and Durar al-Kāmina III. 280).

The present work has been published before in the Bairut journal *Al-Machriq* (Vol. XI, 751-65) but this edition is rather

faulty and corrections were published in the Egyptian journal *Moqtabas* and in the Z.D.M.G. For this reason Pere Anastase, who had at his disposal a fine manuscript written for some Egyptian royal personage has thought a new edition desirable. It is printed with an abundance of vocalisation, so desirable for works of this kind. The editor has added to the comparatively short text a considerable number of explanatory notes, in which he also finds fault with the edition of the book on jewels by Berūnī recently published by the Dairat al-Ma'ārif. The work of Ibn al-Akfānī is in no way comparable with the work of Berūnī which he apparently knew in scientific value and comprehensiveness. Berūnī is exceptional that he, as far as it was in his power, ascertained the specific weights of the precious stones and metals he describes, and so furnished a safe guide for distinguishing and valuing stones of similar colour. He also gives us descriptions of outstanding specimens, some of which must still be in existence as such pieces cannot easily disappear altogether. Ibn al-Akfānī only deals with sixteen kinds of precious stones, and the editor has added (p. 85 ff.) a number of other after Tifāshi and other sources.

A feature of the work of Ibn al-Akfānī is that he gives the talismanic qualities of several stones, superstitions from which Berūnī is singularly free. Another is that he gives the names in some cases in a different form from that which is usually found in works of this kind. So he calls the Spinel imported from Badakshan *Balakhsh*. The cause for the change of the letter *d* into *l* is due to the East Iranian languages displaying the same change: the Persian *dast* for *hand* become *lastin* Pashto. Strange is that he distinguishes between the *Zumurrud* and *Zabarjad* which according to Berūnī and all lexicographers, denote the same stone, the Emerald. As regards the *Billaur* (Christal) both the ancient Arabic lexicographers and the editor are wrong in asserting that the word is by metathesis derived from the Greek *beryllos*, for just the opposite is the case; the word is of Dravidian origin and has wandered through Persian to Greek. For the *Amethyst* he has (p. 67) the unusu-

al form *Jamaz* for *Jamast*. The same is the case with *Khurtūt* for which *Berūnī* has *Khuttū* (which the editor has in accordance with the indications of the *Burhani Qatī* altered into *Khuttū*). This is not a precious stone but, in my opinion, either mammoth or walrus ivory. It was brought to Persia from Northern countries, Siberia or Russia, and *Berūnī* records several legends which he repeats in his book on Drugs. As an appendix a number of notes by *Al-'Azizī*, Professor of Arabic at the catholic Madrasa in *Ammān*, are given in which the latter informs us of the names of various precious stones in that part of Arabia. The book is nicely and carefully printed, and the editor has added an alphabetical list in French with Arabic equivalents, several of which do not appeal to me as being correct.

A. S. ATIYA; *THE CRUSADE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES*. London 1938, 8vo. 603 p.

WORKS dealing with the Crusades proper are many, but the events after the fall of Akka, the last stronghold of the Franks in Palestine, in 1912, are dealt with only in general works of history. It required a scholar of exceptional ability to unravel the multifarious accounts of the happenings in the lands round the Mediterranean and one who was able to study not only Oriental sources, but also those in Latin, French, Catalan, German and other European languages. In addition it required arduous research in the libraries and archives of the Western world. All these qualities are found in the author, a native of Egypt, who undertook extensive journeys to inspect archives in Barcelona and the battlefield of Nicopolis, to mention only two so widely separated localities. All this has made it possible for the author to give an authoritative account of the sporadic and vain attempts to revive a cause for which real enthusiasm was gradually but certainly fading away.

The loss of Akka caused much heartburn, and the first part of the history is devoted to the vast amount of propaganda written with the purpose of stirring up

enthusiasm among princes and peoples. Just as the Crusades had their principal supporters among the French nobility, and I class Richard Coeur d' Lion of England and his Norman nobles with them, so we find also that the most ardent propagandists were French, and the Arabic chroniclers were not far from the truth when they generalised their Christian enemies under the names of *Firang*. The Christian princes, who in this case were also almost exclusively French, conceived the idea of achieving their aim by diplomatic missions to the Mongol rulers beyond the Islamic States, and there is no doubt that the pressure of the latter from the East helped the cause of the would-be Crusaders considerably. No help could be expected by the Muslim rulers of Syria and Egypt from their Eastern neighbours.

As the propagandists pointed out the Muslim States were in reality weak as far as military strength was concerned, only a small proportion of the population being trained for war. The European States on the contrary possessed a much larger population and a war-trained nobility.

One of the causes for the lack of success was that the Italian republics of Venice and Genoa, who alone possessed the necessary fleet for transporting the Crusaders, realised the harm such expeditions were certain to have upon their trade with the Levant, which was the source of their riches and power. Also the more Northern powers, Germany and those beyond, were very lukewarm though at that time richer and more powerful than France. Another point to be considered is that in addition to pious efforts there was a much stronger lust for plunder and the vision of carving out of principalities, as had been the case in the two centuries of the Crusades. A drastic example is the raid by Pierre de Lusignan upon Alexandria in 1365, when after indiscriminate slaughter, rapine and plunder, the invaders hastily re-embarked as soon as they learned that troops were approaching to drive them out. The greatest effort ended in disaster on the utter defeat of the Christian forces by the Osmanli Sultan Bāyazid at Nicopolis in 1396.

Thus ended the age of the Crusades; the Osmanli Turks carried on in the fol-

lowing centuries a holy war which led them twice to the gates of Vienna, but a far more dangerous Crusade against Islam, though not called by its name, was waged till modern times. The Turks through persistent alliances with the wrong friends were in almost every case the losers of territory and power, a process going on in every other Muslim country. In the memory of the living is the statement of the head of a government who declared that the *heathen* Turk must be driven out of Europe.

The work is illustrated with contemporary pictures of the Crusaders and is a source of valuable information and reflection for every Muslim.

C. BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur; Zweiter Supplementband*; Leiden, E. J. Brill. 1938-1045 p.

THIS second volume completes the account of the whole of Arabic literature with the exception of modern authors which, together with the indices, will form the subject of the third volume. The original work has been for years a sheet-anchor for all students, of whatever branch, of the vast literature which had exponents from Spain to India. During the thirty odd years which have elapsed since the appearance of the original work our knowledge of manuscripts hidden in libraries of the East and West has greatly increased, catalogues have been published and the output of the Press has been very considerable. The new supplement has taken all this into consideration and wisely, at the head of the pages, references to the original work are indicated. With an unequalled energy and the help of librarians, such as is only possible in Germany, the author has been able to incorporate indications of the most recent publications. We have in this work the most commodious guide for the location, or even existence, of rare manuscripts in libraries widely apart and no public library which caters for Oriental research can be without this work of last-

ing value. That errors occur in a work which must contain several hundred thousand references is certain and Ritter has published in "Der Islam" a number of rectifications and additions principally after the findings in the libraries of Istanbul. The printing, paper and execution leave nothing to be desired, the only fault one can find is that the price is rather high and so places the work out of the reach of students of small means. Also attention must be drawn to the fact that the author could not be expected to give details as to the value of the manuscripts indicated, as he had naturally to rely upon the published catalogues and it must be left to those who are interested in a certain work to ascertain for themselves which of the manuscripts may be suitable for publication. I am sure all students of Arabic literature will be grateful to the author for his untiring labour.

F. KRENKOW.

HINDUSTANI. By Din Mohammad.

THIS brochure deals with one of the most important politico-linguistic questions of India, which is pertinaciously defying solution. The author has proved beyond doubt that the Urdu language is the product of Indian soil. It was the most widely studied language in the country before the advent of the English to India. It was indeed curious that the Urdu language, which was the symbol of the cultural union of the Muslims and Hindus extending over many centuries, should have been made the object of acrimonious polemic between the different sections of the Indian people. Urdu is the common heritage of all Indians, irrespective of their religion or creed, and any attempt to undermine it is nothing short of treason against all that is noble and great in Indian life.

Unfortunately deep-laid plans are in evidence in every part of India to oust the influence of Urdu and substitute Hindi in its place, and no less a person than Mr. Gandhi has actively associated himself with this reactionary movement.

The writer of the brochure correctly diagnoses the morbid mentality of most of the supporters of Hindi when he says that "The idea working in the mind of the Congressmen is that due to Urdu's long association with the Muslims, its popularity and extension would give the language and culture of the latter a position of unwelcome vantage in the scientific and literary fields."

Surely this kind of mentality will not lead to the cultural unity of India, which is the desire of every true patriot. On the contrary it will irremediably divide the people of this country into separate channels which are not likely to unite at any point in their diverging course. The problem of the lingua franca of India cannot be solved satisfactorily unless it is approached liberally and realistically.

Y. H.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOG OF THE GARRETT COLLECTION OF ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. By P. Hitti, N. Fairs, and B. 'Abd-al-Malik, *Princeton Oriental Texts Series*, vol. V. Princeton, 1938, pp. xii+668+xxiii+56+iv. Large octavo. Price 67 sh. 6d.

AS mentioned in the introduction to this Catalogue, the Garrett collection of Arabic MSS. is the largest in America. Although apparently containing nothing sensational, it is very good. As every similar collection, it contains MSS. of all four classes: *precious*—unique copies, autographs, ancient codices, or generally books of great rarity; *very valuable*—rare works, or very old or good and correct copies; *simply valuable*; and, the bulk of the collection, common copies of well-known or generally uninteresting works such as collections of prayers, school books, etc., which in every collection of this kind form more than a half of its whole contents. All the remarkable items have been noted in the introduction.

A descriptive catalogue of manuscripts is primarily intended as a book for refer-

ence. Therefore the chief aim of the compiler consists in giving, as complete and concise information as is practicable, on the same basis as is done in different encyclopædias. Works or copies of exceptional value and importance may be minutely described, while in the case of well-known items only the minimum of information is sufficient. The most necessary quality of a catalogue, apart from its general reliability and correct statements, is its thoroughly consistent and systematic arrangement, which is of the greatest importance to every student. When dealing with something like fifty different catalogues, in different languages, with different fancy arrangements, bad and insufficient indexes, etc., one has to fish out the information required from a veritable chaos, wasting a great deal of time. It is really one of the most ridiculous sides of modern learning that although quite a great deal is already done, especially in America, with regard to rationalising and standardising general library management, arrangement, cataloguing, etc., nothing so far has been done to come to an international agreement in such an exclusively technical and specialised sphere as the cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts, introducing standard schemes, standard abbreviations, etc., which would immensely facilitate the work of students. Every cataloguer seems to be animated by the spirit of adventure and discovery; every one is more clever than all his predecessors, and every one introduces something new, quite excellent from his point of view but usually quite illogical and most irritating to every one who has to refer to his work. And the present "Catalog" is a good illustration of this. It therefore cannot be recommended as a model to future cataloguers.

It is really remarkable how often the most elementary ideas may be ignored or insufficiently appreciated. Description of a *book* is bound to be concerned with two separate and quite different aspects, of unequal value. The first, and by far the most important, is the *contents* of the volume, the *work*, of which it is a Synopsis. Therefore all information necessary for its identification, description, presence in

other libraries, etc., must be given priority. For technical reasons, the student also very often requires additional information about the value of the copy preserved in the collection: is it complete, old, correct, well written, etc. Therefore the information which pertains only to the individual volume possessed by the library, and which, in principle, would scarcely interest anyone beyond its owners, also becomes interesting, although it occupies only secondary position. It is also useful as a precaution against theft: with the information about the copy at his disposal one would be safe from purchasing stolen property, and thus thieves may be discouraged.

For all these reasons, from the earliest publications of this kind, the custom has been established to separate these two branches of information. What pertains to the *work* is set up in ordinary type, while all that pertains to the individual features of the *copy* is set up in smaller type. This greatly helps the student, and saves his time.

To the authors of the "Catalog" such an elementary truth was not evident. All throughout the huge volume the student has to seek for the information which he requires in the whole note, which jumps from what belongs to the contents to the description of the copy, and returns again, etc. The notes, in addition, sometimes give first the titles of the books, sometimes first the names of the authors. God knows why every title is given thrice: first in a transliterated form, then again in Arabic letters, and in an English translation, which usually is perfectly useless, and very rarely is given in catalogues. What use is it to know that the title means something like "Cream of Thoughts," or "Peace of Breasts," etc.?—students will understand it without the translation, and those who do not know Arabic will not touch the book. The name of the author also for the same obscure reasons sometimes is given in transliteration only, and sometimes twice, with the addition of the same in Arabic letters. If we realise that some of the titles in this triple form take from ten to fifteen lines, and the names of the authors—five to ten, we may see that the

huge size of the catalogue, making its price prohibitive not only for private students, but even for the less fortunate libraries, could be easily reduced by a half without disadvantage to anybody.

There is any amount of minute details which, however trivial they may appear at first glance, are the very essence of the technique of cataloguing. Almost everything here calls for criticism. The authors, as we have seen, are not misers with regard to space and the expense that their wasteful methods entail. But they are very shy to give lists of chapters into which works are divided, even in the case of the more important and less known items. As every student knows, very often there are different versions, "editions," of different works, in which chapters are either re-arranged, or have different headings. Information about all this often is of great value for the student who cannot consult the MS. itself.

Similarly, the authors, with touching perseverance, begin the usual quotations of the first words of the work with the formula of the *Basmala*, occupying more than half a line. Would not it be simpler to remind the reader in the preface that every Muslim work normally begins with this formula; and, in the case of its absence, very rare indeed, specially mention this circumstance? Secondly, as everyone knows, the opening doxology very often is paraphrased, shortened, or even entirely omitted by scribes, and that really the beginning of the work is what is given after the traditional formula of the opening of the work itself,—*amma ba'd*. The authors *never* condescend to do this.

The manner of quoting the colophons in full is also one of the numerous forms of wastage. As every student knows, the colophon is usually added by the scribe, and almost never has anything to do with the work itself. In 90 cases out of 100 it consists of pious expressions, invocations, blessings, and the date written lengthily in words. All this can be easily omitted, and the name of the scribe, the date, and the place (if mentioned) would suffice for all purposes.

There is another good illustration of wastage: at the end of every note there

invariably, 2225 times in the course of the "Catalog," appears a line like "Acquired from Brill, Leyden, A.D. 1900." Is it really so important to know from which shop the book is acquired? Why cannot be this left on the slips of the library? One may appreciate a note of this kind when the copy is purchased at a place, and from an individual who may have some connection with the work or its author. But these 2225 unnecessary lines form about 32 pages of this large size.

There is an irritating feature of many catalogues in which the subjects are divided into something like: medicine, theology, history, biography, etc., and "volumes containing several works." It is really amusing to see that an insignificant booklet of something like six or eight pages is described as an item, with full detail; but a work of a hundred or more pages, only because the economical former owner of the MS. has bound it in one cover together with different other works, having not the slightest connection with it, is only given a short mention. Is it so difficult to distinguish between collections *real*, as the collections of the works of one and the same author, or specially combined according to subject, from collections accidental? It is also a platitude that sometimes an opusculum of a few pages is far more important than a work of five hundred pages. But in their dealing with these *majmu'as* the authors even do not find it necessary to give references to the pages which such items occupy in the volume.

The quality of paper in a copy, the kind of handwriting, and general style of the copy, whether it has marginal lines, or has not, are often important factors in the identification of codices. The manner of the authors in this respect is quite peculiar. They distinguish the paper only as *glazed* and *unglazed*, *Oriental* and *European*. Every hand-made Oriental paper, intended for writing with wooden *qalam*, is *glazed*. If it looks *unglazed*, it means that the glaze is gone. What matters is the colour, which ranges in shadings from pure white to dark brown; there are also blue, yellow, green, grey,

pink, and red varieties; all this is ignored. The difference of the Oriental or European paper is also insufficient: in Turkey, Egypt, and some other places local hand-made paper was sometimes prepared exactly by the same methods as in Italy, and looks quite European, with watermarks, etc. All this is also of great importance for the identity of the copy.

Very few MSS. omit catchwords. It would therefore be far better to note their absence rather than presence. And very few MSS. use bolder handwriting, as in lithographs, instead of red ink headings. Therefore these repeated "entries in red" are quite useless.

Apparently not having sufficient experience with MSS. the authors do not specify the type, school, and character of the handwriting. What is *naskhi*, in which almost all the MSS. in this collection seem to be written? Is it uniform all through? Or what kind of *thuluth* is occasionally introduced? Or *Maghribi*? But the most enigmatic is the *Farisi*, which re-appears now and then,—*equestrial*, as one may take it at first. After all one realizes that this is *Farsi*, Persian, corrupted according to the ideas of the Arabic scholars, obsessed with the rules of their own grammar. What is this *Persian* handwriting? As is known, in Persia almost every century there developed a special form of handwriting for Persian, and separately for Arabic. The handwritings of Western and Eastern Persia, of Turkestan, present-day Afghanistan, and India, which belongs to the same school, are numerous, and vary immensely.

The most peculiar feature of this "Catalog" is the neglect to what in modern cataloguing is usually given the greatest attention, indexing. In that compressed information which the notes are expected to offer, everything may be important for reference. Therefore there is full justification to be more lavish in indexing than in any other part of the cataloguing work. But the authors, quite in accordance with Oriental ideas, seem to be unable to realise this. What is given, is merely the index of the titles

and the authors, in Arabic letters, and, God knows why, the index of the authors is repeated in transliteration also, the index of the authors only, not of the titles!

W. IVANOW.

BULŪGH AL-MARĀM FĪ SHARḤ MISK AL-KHITĀM. By the Qadī Husain b. Ahmad al-'Arshi, edited by P. Anastase Marie al-Karmali; Cairo 1939, 8vo. 442 p.

THIS is a history of the Yaman from the beginning of Islam to the year 1318 (1900) by an author about whom the editor has been unable to obtain any information. The manuscript of his work, bought in Cairo, may have been written there. The work distinguishes itself from the history of the Yaman by 'Abd al-Wāsi b. Yahya al-Wsi'i in that the latter deals almost exclusively with the Zaidi Imāms, while Al-'Arshi tries to treat briefly with all the many petty dynasties which have ruled over the unhappy country since the introduction of Islam. For the earlier times he relies upon 'Umāra, Janadi and Ibn al-Daiba', and becomes more explicit for more recent times. A comparison with the authors named, as far as I have access to them, shows some discrepancies in the dates and names. Altogether the work is an abridgment rather than a detailed history and it ends on p. 82 of the printed text. The remaining pages are the work of the editor who supplements the data of the author for modern times and adds particulars of political events till the middle of the present year. For this account he has drawn upon reports in the daily press and oral information gathered, as well as on recent works dealing with travels in South-Arabia. Further chapters on the geography, mineral resources and the dialect of the country add to the value of the publication. Several indexes make quick reference easy and I believe I do not exaggerate when I assert that the work is the most comprehensive book on all matters concerning the Yaman and the adjoining parts of Arabia.

A study of the texts of the political agreements of the Arabian rulers with European powers, quoted in the Arabic text, is well worth the trouble of studying. Everywhere one can see the difficulty the Arab rulers have to maintain at least a show of independence.

At this point I must make a remark on the value of good indexing. I believe I have had to waste one-fifth of my life upon making card-indexes to works printed in Egypt and India in order to be able for my own use and for the benefit of others to find quickly and with certainty mention of certain persons, facts or poems in the printed books in my library. In Egypt the value of indexes has been realised and many of the publications of the Dār al-Kutub are exemplary, but I would urge that this should be followed also in other quarters. The simple printing of the chapter-headings in place of an index is often a mere waste of paper and wages of the compositor.

STUDIES IN ORIENTAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. By Henry George Farmer, Second Series; The Civic Press; Glasgow 1939, 8vo. 98 pp., with four plates.

IN 1931 Dr. Farmer, one of the greatest living authorities on Oriental music published the first volume of this series. The seven articles included in this series have appeared at intervals in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, but we must be grateful to Dr. Farmer and the Council of the Society that we can have them united in one volume. The second article deals with the work of a Moroccan author, Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Shalāhī who lived under the Merinī Sultans, but of whom no biography appears to be found in any work of the lives of Maghribī lawyers of the Maliki school. His work is not in reality one on music but deals with the legal aspect of the practice of music, and the musical instruments in use in the Maghrib are enumerated and, not always clearly, described. No doubt he came of the Berbar Shilha tribe in the South of

Morocco. The unique manuscript has been frequently used and portions have been translated, mostly very incorrectly as pointed out by the author.

A more technical study is that of the Lute Scale as described by Ibn Sīnā in the *Shifā'*. I must admit that I am not at all competent to appreciate fully this article on account of my lack of the necessary technical knowledge.

The article on the musical instruments found on the Bas-Reliefs of the Taq-i Bustan throw much light upon musicians in the Sasanide Empire, and they are of importance to the students of music as practised in the Muslim Empire, as they were most likely those which were used also in the golden age of Arabic music.

The last article deals with the structure of the lute, al-'ūd, and though we have many descriptions we really are not as well informed as we might be, because we have no early picture of this, the chief musical instrument of the Arabs and Persians. Even its descendant, the European lute, does not seem to appear in early miniatures. Unless I am mistaken the Manessian manuscript of the Minnesingers contains a picture of the German poet Walther von der Vogelweide with such a lute. This would date from the 13th Christian century and be one of the earliest representations of it.

The volume contains a large amount of information on a subject which is treated by few Oriental authors.

F. K.

THE SULTAN'S TURRETS. By Samuel Hassid, B.A. Arch. (Hon.), London, R.I.B.A. (Cert.), England, etc., Messrs Luzac and Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, 8/6.

THIS was "Presented in 1935 under the title of *The Evolution of Minaret Designs in the Mosques of Cairo* and accepted as a thesis for the London University B.A. (Hon.) Degree in Architecture." The whole book is printed on art paper, covering about 110 pages and con-

taining 29 photographic plates. It contains accounts of:—The origin of the Minaret in Egypt; the Umawiyun; the Abbasides; the Tulunides; the Fatmiyun; the Ayyoubiyun; al-Mamalik al Bahriyun; the Ottoman Dynasty and of Muhammad Ali.

The author has undertaken a very responsible and important problem of early Muslim architecture. He has given names of some great authorities on this subject but does not mention their works. It is a pity that the reader fails to find these important data in the book. Even the usual bibliography is omitted, which is absolutely necessary for such critical studies. No architectural drawings have been included, while the photographs give no help in this respect. The book may serve as a guide simply to the minarets of different periods as well as their locations in Cairo, though it is not as comprehensive as the Baedeker's *Guide to Egypt*, and *Cairo, How to See It* by A. R. Cury.

There are many points mentioned in this book which invite our keen attention because the minaret erected as a *madhina* for *adhan* with the mosques is a vital point in the history of Muslim architecture. For instance, the author says on page 17, "Now the early teachings of the Prophet Mohammad perscribed no method for calling of faithful Moslems to prayer. Followers of the new religion who were in daily contact with the Jewish and Christian faiths, which had so largely inspired it, were quick to note this lacuna in its ritual.—Under the Umayyads—the moadhenin climbed to the top of the city wall, whence they chanted their call to prayer. It was, however, soon realised that climbing of the walls was incompatible with the dignity of their ritual office and Maqrizi relates that in 53 A.H. (673 A.D.) a kind of bell called the Naqus was already in use at Fustat to indicate the hour of early morning prayer." We know only so much that during the life of the Prophet just after the flight to Madina from Mecca in the very first year of Hijra an assembly took place with a view to consider the important question of calling the faithful to prayer, which immediately settled the matter once for all when the proposal of Omar ibn-al-Khattab was

unanimously carried ; and no change was ever effected after that. It has been fully discussed by the *muhaddithin*. The latter part of Mr. Hassid's account noted above, requires careful examination in the light of the original text of Maqrizi, by which we presume that he may have meant the *Khatat wal-Athar* of Maqrizi, although he has not mentioned it. It actually concerns the mosque of 'Amar ibn al-Ās which was founded in 21 A.H. met with many changes later. Maqrizi says :—(Cairo edition 1326 A.H., vol. 4, p. 8),

صوامع في اركانها الاربع وهو اول من جعلها فيه
لم تكن . . . مفروشا بالحصباء وامران لا يضرب
بناقوس عند الاذان يعني الفجر

another authority, Taghri Birdi, corroborates Maqrizi in his *النجوم الزاهرة* (Leiden Edition, 1851, p. 77, vol. I) particularly concerning the adhan thus :

كل مؤذن في القسطنطينية في وقت واحد

وامران لا يضرب بناقوس عند وقت الاذان اعني الفجر
and we translate here only the piece concerned :—

And ordered that the " Naqus " should not be struck at the time of adhan, i.e., of the morning.

Now we can realise how far Mr. Hassid has misunderstood the text of Maqrizi, if he has actually consulted it. It should be borne in mind that during the period of Caliph Mūāwiya in 53 A.H. many additions were made to the mosque of 'Amar bin al-Ās at Fustat by Maslamah bin Mukhallad. Those additions of Maslamah included minarets to that mosque as well as to the mosques on which his name was inscribed. The real spirit of the order regarding the prohibition of striking the *Naqus* at the time of adhān, particularly in the morning, is obvious,—that the non-Muslim institutions should not strike *Naqus* with a view of interruption in the adhān of morning.

M. A. C.

NOTICE

Owing to want of space, a number of book reviews have to be withheld this time and shall appear in our next issue.—Ed. I. C.

